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THE
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,
AND OF THE
COLLEGES OF CAMBRIDGE AND ETON.

BY THE LATE
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AND SOMETIME FELLOW OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE.

EDITED WITH LARGE ADDITIONS,
AND BROUGHT UP TO THE PRESENT TIME,

BY
JOHN WILLIS CLARK, M.A.
LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

VOL. I.

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1886.

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TO
THE MEMORY OF
HENRY BRADSHAW
THIS WORK,
WHICH COULD NOT HAVE BEEN PRODUCED
WITHOUT HIS HELP,
IS INSCRIBED
WITH GRATITUDE, AFFECTION, AND REGRET.

*INSATIABILITER DEFLEVIMUS, AETERNUMQUE
NULLA DIES NOBIS MOEROREM E PECTORE DEMET.*

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PREFACE.

HE work now published originated in a lecture *On the collegiate and other buildings in Cambridge*, delivered by Professor Willis in the Senate-House, on Wednesday, 5 July, 1854, on the occasion of the visit of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland to Cambridge.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that he was then approaching the subject for the first time. When collecting materials for his *Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages*, published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1844, he found that the changes in detail and in general treatment observed in the collegiate structures could not be satisfactorily explained without an inquiry into the various dates at which those structures had been originally built, or additions made to them. This inquiry he then determined to undertake. The lecture, therefore, was only one stage in the development of an original idea.

The lecture itself, on a subject which could not fail to interest, especially when set forth with his rare power of exposition and admirable delivery, excited the greatest enthusiasm, and he was requested to publish it without delay. This he undertook to do, though, as was his

habit, he had used neither manuscript nor notes, and had only the reports in local newspapers to assist him; for, strange to say, no London reporter took the trouble to do more than give the briefest notice of the lecture. Before long, however, he found that it would be impossible to do justice to the subject within the narrow limits of a pamphlet, and he announced his intention of developing his lecture into a detailed history. But in this extended labour he made but slow progress. I imagine that when he began to collect materials for the original lecture, he had not contemplated publication at all, and that the labour of going through the authorities a second time, though obviously indispensable, soon became irksome to him. He accomplished this task however, for several colleges, at least up to a certain point, as for instance, for Trinity College, where he was evidently fascinated by the interesting problem which the original arrangement of the site presented, and where the presence of his friend Dr Whewell no doubt stimulated him to special activity. The extent of his research there is shewn by the enormous mass of material which he had collected, and by the numerous plans of the site which he had made and rejected, but which he evidently thought worth preserving for future reference. At King's College also, where the site is of nearly equal interest, he had made similar collections. I conceive that immediately after the delivery of the lecture, excited by the interest which he had aroused, and urged by the representations of friends, he set to work with great energy, and an intention to fulfil his promise of publication at an early date. In December, 1854, in a letter to Mr C. H.

Cooper, the well-known Cambridge antiquary, he speaks of "the complete form of that paper which I am now preparing;" and in the same month the Master and Seniors of Trinity College agreed: "that Professor Willis have leave to publish such extracts from the Books and Documents of the College submitted to his inspection, as tend, in his opinion, to illustrate the Architectural History of the College and the University." Again, in 1856, he was at work on the records of Trinity Hall; and in 1860, when he gave a second lecture on *The Architectural History of the University*, on the occasion of the meeting of the Architectural Congress at Cambridge, he told his audience that "he purposed to bring out a book on the subject very shortly. He had hoped to have done so before this, but he had been under the necessity of deferring it. The work was now in the printer's hands, and he hoped ere long to throw it on their mercy." This second lecture shewed most conclusively the extent of his researches in the six years which had passed away since he had first approached the subject, and it was on that occasion that he first brought forward some of his most celebrated illustrations, as for instance, the comparison between the plans of Queens' College and Haddon Hall, the diagrams shewing the successive changes in the west front of Clare Hall, and the contrast between the aspect of Nevile's Court at Trinity College at the present day, and when it was first constructed. In the following year, as Sir Robert Rede's lecturer, he chose a portion of the subject for more minute illustration—lecturing in the Senate-House on *The Architectural History of Trinity College*. The

promise of speedy publication, however, was, as we all know, never fulfilled, and I am surprised that he should ever have made it in such definite terms. It was retarded by many causes: his natural unwillingness to print before he felt himself thoroughly prepared; the steady increase in the bulk of his materials as he went on, which, as he told me more than once, grew so fast that he felt at a loss how to treat them; doubts as to the form of the work, and the means of defraying its cost; the pressure of his official duties in Cambridge and in London; the work which he undertook in connection with the exhibition held at Paris in 1855; and lastly, his continued devotion to the interests of the Archæological Institute, which carried him away to Gloucester (1860), Peterborough (1861), Worcester (1862), Rochester (1863), Lichfield (1864), Sherborne and Glas-tonbury (1865), and Eton (1866), for all of which meetings he prepared papers of considerable length, involving a corresponding amount of research.

In 1869—when he had resigned his Professorship at the Royal School of Mines—his friends at Cambridge hoped to induce him to resume the work which appeared to have been definitely laid aside, and, through the combined influence of Dr Guest, Master of Gonville and Caius College, and Dr Atkinson, Master of Clare College, then Vice-Chancellor, he was induced to write the following letter:

“Dear Mr Vice-Chancellor,

I beg to inform you that having resigned my office of Lecturer on Mechanism at the School of Mines I am at leisure to complete a work, which I began many years since, on the Architectural and Social History of the University of Cambridge.

As this is a work involving considerable expense in production, and not likely to command a remunerative sale, I have been advised to ask you whether you think the Press Syndicate would be willing to assist in any way towards the publication of the work.

The greater part of it is prepared for the press, and, should your opinion be favourable, I would immediately resume the preparation of the work for the press.

The Rede lecture which I had the honor of delivering in 1861 in the presence of the Prince Consort may be taken as a fair specimen of the manner in which the History of the University and all the Colleges is treated in my work.

I remain,

Dear Mr Vice-Chancellor,

Yours most truly,

R. WILLIS."

CAMBRIDGE,

June 4, 1869.

The Syndics of the University Press intimated without delay their willingness to give every assistance in their power, as soon as a tolerably accurate statement of the extent of the work, and the quantity of illustrations required for it, should be placed before them; and, a few days later, a memorial, signed by eleven Heads of Colleges, and forty-two Members of the Senate, respectfully requested Professor Willis "to publish the materials which he has collected for elucidating the history of the Collegiate Structures in Cambridge, and to allow their names to appear as subscribers to the proposed work."

This expression of interest gave him much satisfaction, and he unquestionably intended to resume and complete his work; but, before doing so, he felt himself under an obligation to Messrs Longman to prepare a new edition of his *Principles of Mechanism*, then out

of print ; and, when this obstacle was removed, the illness and death of Mrs Willis gave a shock to his system from which he never recovered sufficiently to resume any literary work whatever. He often spoke of his Cambridge book, and used occasionally to take out the manuscript and read it, but he was so much enfeebled that he could not even superintend its completion by others. At the same time, though he told me that he had bequeathed the manuscript and all the materials to me, he was unwilling to part with it during his lifetime. He died on Sunday, 28 February, 1875.

When I first examined the manuscript, which was neatly written out, and sorted in folios marked with the names of the different subjects treated of, it appeared to be much more nearly finished than it ultimately proved to be ; and I thought that my task would be limited to the verification of references, and the selection of subjects for illustration. I soon found, however, that I had fallen into a grievous error. At no college was the work quite finished ; if the history of the buildings was complete, that of the site would be unfinished, or vice versâ. At King's College for instance the history of the chapel had hardly been begun, though that of the site had been carefully investigated ; at S. John's College the entire history was unfinished, which was the more to be regretted, as it was known that Professor Willis had carefully watched the destruction of the old chapel in 1869, and had made notes upon it ; while even at Trinity College, though the history of the site, and of King's Hall, had been written out at length, that of the buildings was by no means complete. Everywhere, in fact, there were gaps to be

filled up, but no materials suitable for the purpose were at hand. Notes and sketches existed in abundance, but the greater part of them were written in a species of shorthand, to which he alone could have supplied the key. Under these circumstances I came to the conclusion that in order to produce the work in a way which should be worthy alike of the author and of the University, it would be necessary to go back to the point from which he had himself started, and investigate the whole subject afresh. When this had been done, and not till then, I felt that I should be in a position to edit what he had already prepared, and to complete those portions which he had left unfinished. The necessity for this comprehensive and thorough research will, it is hoped, give a satisfactory explanation of the length of time, just eleven years, which has passed away since I began my work. I have read, and made extracts from, the entire series of bursars' account-books for every college in the University, besides studying the documents relating to the history of the sites, the Order-books, and all other sources of information to which I could obtain access, both at Cambridge and elsewhere. A similar labour has been required for the University buildings. These records, especially those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as for instance the accounts of King's Hall, and those of the Proctors of the University, are exceedingly difficult to read, and require a good deal of preliminary study before any extracts of value can be made from them. Severe as this labour has been, I cannot regret it; for these volumes supply a detailed record of the life of our ancestors, from which, as will be

seen in the separate essays, a complete picture of their manners and customs at different periods can be derived.

Eton College has been included in the work, at my suggestion, partly on account of its close connection with King's College, and partly because the lecture in which Professor Willis set forth its architectural history in 1866—the last, it may be added, which he ever delivered—was considered to be more than usually brilliant and original. But the causes which stood in the way of the completion of his larger work, prevented him from even attempting to prepare this essay for publication. The materials with which I had to deal were in this case more than usually scanty. The introduction only to the lecture had been written, and this dealt with matters of general interest, of no use for the architectural history of Eton College, while the building-accounts, and the bursars' accounts, which are remarkably voluminous and interesting, had been but imperfectly examined. The lecture, again, had been reported with provoking brevity; in fact, the only record of the conclusions at which he had arrived is contained in three columns of *The Athenæum*. This brief summary, with the correctness of which he appears to have been satisfied, as he had carefully preserved it, will be found at the end of this Preface. I have taken it as the basis of my attempt to write such an essay as he would have wished to see; and it will be found that my conclusions, after a far more extended study of the authorities than he had had leisure for, do not clash in any way with his. This part of my work, agreeable as it has been to me, from the affection which I naturally feel towards the school at which I was educated, and

from the great interest attaching to the subject, has necessitated a larger expenditure of time, thought, and labour, than any other.

The general arrangement of the whole work had fortunately been carefully considered by Professor Willis, and he had drawn up for his own use the following scheme :

CONTENTS.

A. History.	General chronological History of the Colleges (add motives and special purposes). College and Hall. History of name. Socii and scholares. Perendinants, pensioners, tutors. Studies and Teachers. Servants. Statutes.
B. Architecture and general arrange- ment of the separate build- ings. Sites.	Separate Architectural History of each College, and of the University Buildings, from the beginning to the present time, including the history of each site. Chronological summary.
C. Special arrange- ment of each building.	General plan of a College. Chapels. Chambers, Studies, and other fittings ; number of persons in each, and their classification. Hall, Kitchen, Combination Room, Lodge, Library, Gates, Treasury.
D. University Build- ings.	University Schools. Senate House. Lecture Rooms. Contracts.

This scheme could be followed in its general outline without difficulty, but for separate details I have often

had to content myself with the indication afforded by a single line, or an unfinished sketch. For instance, in the essay on *The Library*, the following passage occurs: "At the beginning of this century, however, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the Library of Trinity Hall was built and fitted with desks which still remain, and are furnished with a complete mechanism for chaining the books. This is the only example that I have been able to discover in Cambridge, and it is so curious that I proceed to describe it at length"; but the rest of the page is blank. These words, however, shewed me that my uncle had intended to deal with the medieval system of chaining books, and I have therefore done my best to work out the whole subject, as part of the history of library-fittings in general, for which he had left copious notes. His interest in woodwork is well known, and I hope that this essay will be found to be one of the most valuable, and at the same time popular, of the series. In other essays, I regret to say, completion has not been easy, and, in some, not even possible. In that on *The Gateway*, the whole subject of the wooden doors, with which the gateways were originally closed, has been of necessity omitted, because the materials to my hand were so fragmentary that it was impossible to ascertain how he had proposed to treat the subject, as I have explained in the text (Vol. III. p. 295); and the essay on *The Style of Collegiate Buildings*, which he had intended to turn into a history of the influence of the Renaissance on Architecture, has been left, for the same reason, in a wretchedly attenuated condition. In all my additions—and it will be seen that they extend to nearly two-thirds of the whole work in its present form—I

have strictly confined myself within the limits which the author had traced for his own guidance ; remembering at the same time that he proposed to write not merely "the architectural" history, but "the architectural and social" history ; by which epithets I understand that the modifications introduced into collegiate structures by the changing habits of those who use them are always to be borne in mind and noticed. I can only hope that I shall not be thought to have developed this part of my subject, which, as possessing a human interest, is naturally the most fascinating, with too great minuteness. All added matter has been distinguished by enclosure within square brackets.

I am not merely employing a conventional figure of speech when I say that I wish that some other person than myself had been selected to edit and complete so important a work as this. Archæology, like other sciences, especially in these days, when all knowledge is so highly specialised, demands a regular and definite training from those who aim at professing it, and my time, until this task was thrust upon me, had been fully occupied with other and wholly different pursuits. Hence I am afraid that the architectural portion of the work will have suffered through my inexperience, while in that which is strictly editorial I am conscious of numerous defects, more especially in the histories of the earlier colleges, which were finished before I had fully realised the best method of sorting and arranging the materials presented to me. My anxiety to leave untouched what Professor Willis had written, whenever it was possible to do so, led me too frequently to forget that the work had not received his final revision, and that one of the clearest

of writers would have been specially careful to avoid confusion. Further, I have to apologise for a certain want of uniformity between the earlier and later volumes, chiefly in the spelling of proper names. This has arisen, in the main, from the unexpected length to which the work has extended, so that the earlier portions had to be printed off before the later portions were begun.

In preparing some of the more important illustrations of existing buildings, and parts of buildings, I have had the advantage of the artistic talent of my friend John O'Connor, Esq. I wish to draw attention to the beautiful views of Queens' College, of the Fountain and Nevile's Gate at Trinity College, and of the Bath at Christ's College, all of which are by him. The reproductions of the celebrated series of prints by David Loggan, the appearance of which will be considered, I imagine, to be a novel and interesting feature of the work, were, for the most part, executed, like the rest of the wood-engravings, by Mr F. Anderson, to whom my best thanks are due, not only for his professional skill, but for his courtesy in deferring to my wishes on all occasions.

The plans of the colleges have, as a general rule, been based on those prepared in connection with the Award Act of 1856, tested by actual measurements, and brought up to date. In this matter, however, where exact uniformity was not necessary, the plan of each college has been treated with reference to the particular case. In some, as at Trinity Hall and Emmanuel College, older plans have been reproduced; in others, as at Peterhouse and Eton College, entirely original surveys have

been prepared. The plan of the buildings of Trinity College is based upon one measured and drawn by Professor Willis before the Award Act plans were made ; and those of the ground floor and first floor of the Schools Quadrangle were measured and drawn by myself. For some of the older colleges, where it seemed desirable to exhibit the original and the existing arrangements together, the former have been drawn on paper, and the latter on tracing-linen placed above it. This device was suggested by a work, called *Paris à travers les Ages*, published in parts by Messrs Hachette between 1875 and 1882.

A research such as I have had to undertake depended for its success upon the cooperation of all who have the charge of University and College records. From all these, both here, at Oxford, and at the British Museum and Public Record Office, London, I have experienced unvaried kindness, and I beg them to accept this collective expression of my gratitude. In addition to these, however, there are some to whom I am under such particular obligations, that I wish to mention them by name.

My warmest thanks are due, in the first place, to the Reverend D. J. Stewart, M.A., of Trinity College, one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. Mr Stewart, himself an accomplished archæologist and skilful artist, was an intimate friend of Professor Willis, frequently assisting him in the examination and measurement of buildings, and in discussing with him the arrangement of his work on Cambridge. His help has therefore been of peculiar value to me, as it has enabled me to ascertain, in numerous doubtful cases, what method my

uncle intended to have followed, had he been able to prepare his own work for press. Mr Stewart not only placed all his notes at my disposal in the kindest manner, and allowed me to consult him at all times since my work began, but has been at the trouble of reading the greater part of the proof-sheets, thereby saving me from many errors into which I should otherwise have fallen. The value of this help has been most conspicuous in the history of Jesus College Chapel, and in that of S. Benedict's Church.

I have also to acknowledge the help which I received from two friends, now, I regret to say, no more, the Reverend J. Lamb, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College; and the Reverend C. J. Evans, M.A., Fellow of King's College. The former added valuable notes to the history of his own college; the latter contributed the important essay on the Heraldry of King's College Chapel. Besides these, the Reverend G. F. Browne, B.D., formerly Fellow of S. Catharine's College, most kindly placed at my disposal the collections he had formed for the history of his college, and made valuable criticisms on my work; Professor C. C. Babington, M.A., of S. John's College, gave me much help in preparing the history of his own college, and, further, allowed me to use the illustrations which had been prepared for his own work on the old chapel, besides illustrations for other parts of the book; the accurate ground-plan of King's College Chapel, the plan of the Conference Chamber at Jesus College, and the section of the Gallery at Queens' College, were made for me by my friend W. H. St John Hope, M.A., of Peterhouse, now Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries;

the heraldry of Trinity College Library, and of Magdalene College Chapel, were contributed by L. H. Cust, M.A., of Trinity College; and much help in preparing the index was given by F. R. Pryor, B.A., of Trinity College.

I am also much indebted to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford, for allowing me to copy Sir C. Wren's designs for Trinity College library; to Mr H. Maxwell Lyte, and to Messrs Macmillan, for the use of a large number of the beautiful illustrations which had already appeared in Mr Lyte's *History of Eton College*; to Messrs Metcalfe, booksellers, of Cambridge, for a similar permission with regard to several line engravings, previously used in the late Mr C. H. Cooper's edition of Le Keux's *Memorials of Cambridge*; and to the proprietors of *The Portfolio* for the gift of a woodcut of the façade of the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, and of two woodcuts of buildings of S. John's College.

I have reserved to the last the name of the dear friend to whom I am under deeper obligations than I can put into words. No language that I can think of can adequately express what I owe to our late Librarian, Henry Bradshaw, M.A., Senior Fellow of King's College. From the outset of my work he took it, so to speak, into his hands, and treated it as if it had been his own. Notwithstanding the incessant demands upon his time, he always found leisure to help me, to teach me to read difficult medieval handwriting, or to dictate to me some document which I had occasion to copy. On one occasion, I remember, he took the trouble to travel from Cambridge to Eton in order to settle the signification

of a single contraction in one of the building-rolls, on which a good deal depended, and about which I could not feel quite sure. Not content with giving me advice on all questions of arrangement of materials—about which his singularly lucid and orderly mind rendered him an invaluable counsellor—he insisted on reading all the proof-sheets—not merely for the purpose of detecting clerical errors, but that he might copiously annotate them, and shew me how difficult points in history and archæology might be set in the best light. Had it not been for his encouragement, my labours would never have been brought to a conclusion. My greatest pleasure would have been to shew him the completed work; my greatest grief is that he can never see it.

In conclusion, I wish to express my gratitude to the Syndics of the University Press, for the splendid liberality with which they have published the work, and for the patience with which they have submitted to the long, and wholly unexpected, delay, by which its production has been retarded. Nor can I allow it to pass out of my hands without thanking the staff of the Press, not only for the anxiety they have shewn to produce it in the best possible manner, but for many acts of personal kindness to myself.

JOHN WILLIS CLARK.

SCROOPE HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE,

21 *April*, 1886.

APPENDIX.

Report of the Lecture delivered by Professor Willis before the Archæological Institute at Eton, August, 1866; from *The Athenæum* for 4 August, 1866.

PROF. WILLIS ON THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AT ETON.

"The Professor prefaced his account with some introductory remarks on the general history of colleges and their growth. The universities were at first corporations of educated men, the teachers or doctors in which instructed by lectures in the public schools, the students being obliged to find lodgings for themselves. Soon, however, generous persons gave funds to assist poor students. After a time a more definite shape was assumed by these institutions; and lodgings were also provided, that the morals and manners of these students might be brought under superintendence and control. The next step was to purchase houses, endow them and provide them with statutes. Thus arose the communities termed colleges, residing in buildings called the *Domus* or *Aula*, which at first contained little else than chambers to lodge in, with a dining-hall, kitchen, &c., like the ordinary dwelling-house of the period. The first of these colleges was that at Oxford, by Walter de Merton, in 1264; one was founded at Cambridge soon after; and others followed at intervals up to 1379, when in the so-called New College at Oxford William of Wykeham erected the first architectural building, complete in all its details, and so well organized in its statutes, as well as in its structures, as to serve as a basis for all subsequent erections. His plans also included the then new feature of a preparatory school, at Winchester, for young boys, from whom the members of his Oxford College were to be selected.—The Professor next proceeded to the consideration of King's College, Cambridge, and its appendage Eton. He gave a touching account of the effect of the misfortunes of Henry the Sixth in retarding and finally suspending these works, followed by a just parallel between the continual devising of plans for the education and elevation of his people by that monarch and the constant efforts in the same directions by the late Prince Consort.—Prof. Willis then detailed the original plans for Eton College as set forth in that monarch's 'will'—this will being, however, not a 'last will and testament,' but in reality a building specification for his colleges, in which so clearly has he laid down his plans that the lecturer was able to transfer them to paper, and to exhibit diagrams of the ground-plans to his audience as a basis for comparison with a plan prepared by himself of the actual buildings subsequently erected, and shewing the condition of Eton in 1866. Henry, however, did not mature his plans at once, but modified them very considerably

at a shortly subsequent period. He first founded a collegiate grammar-school at Eton and a small college at Cambridge, dedicated to St Nicholas, that saint's day having been his birthday. A site was purchased at Eton, north of the cemetery of the old parish church (now no more), and the King came down and laid the first stone, over which was to be the high altar of the new collegiate church. The King soon enlarged his plans, increasing the number of his beneficiaries and connecting, by statutes copied from Wykeham's, Eton School with King's College at Cambridge.

The contemporary building accounts and documents, containing the King's projects and instructions, long mislaid, and believed to have been stolen, were by a fortunate accident discovered in a forgotten recess of the Library at Eton, about two months since, and liberally submitted to the Professor's inspection. They contain abundant proofs of the personal interest which the King took in the details of the college buildings, and of changes and improvements introduced by him as time went on. They shew that the works at Eton were of two kinds, carried on simultaneously. First, the enlarging, refitting, and altering of buildings that already stood on the site purchased by the King, including the parish church, of which he obtained the advowson, and its conversion into a collegiate church. These buildings were so treated as to make them serve as temporary dwellings for the accommodation of the provost, fellows, and students of his new College, which enabled the school to be brought into active existence from the beginning, without waiting for the erection of the magnificent architectural pile described in his will and other documents, and which was commenced simultaneously with these temporary operations; but which, even if carried on in prosperous times, would necessarily have occupied many years in completion. The chancel of the old parish church was rebuilt on a larger scale, and fitted with stalls and other appurtenances for the daily choral service. A hall in one of the old houses was enlarged; a school-room and other buildings constructed of wood. The almshouse for poor men, described in the will, was also built.

The permanent College was also begun; the first buildings attacked being the great chapel, which now exists, and the hall and kitchens. This chapel was placed in the old parish church-yard, to the north of the old parish church, and was planned as the chancel of a large collegiate church, to be provided with a nave or body for the parishioners, as described in the well-known will of Henry the Sixth, dated 1448. But, after the signature of this will, the King enlarged and altered his plans. He sent persons to Sarum and Winton, and other parts, to measure the choirs and naves of churches there, and had improved designs made for the college buildings.

The Professor found among the documents two specifications relating to the chapel, the one exactly corresponding to that of the will, but in which every dimension is struck through with a pen, and an increased dimension written above it. The other specification describes the chapel or church, as it is called, in different phraseology from that of the will, and more completely. The dimensions in this latter paper are still greater than those of the corrected document, and, what is more

curious still, they correspond exactly with the chapel as it exists. The paper concludes with minute directions that the foundations of the chapel, which had already been laid (of course in accordance with the will, for the works had been in progress for seven years before that will was signed), should not be disturbed, but the new foundations (i.e. for the enlarged dimensions) be laid round the outside of them, and be constructed with the greatest care, and with 'mighty mortar.' The first stone under the high altar to remain undisturbed. This stone was protected by a small chapel built over it in the first years of the works.

The deposition of the King, in 1461, put an abrupt stop to the buildings, which had languished during his increasing misfortunes. That they were resumed, after a long interval of time, by his confidential friend and executor Bishop Waynflete, is stated by Leland, and also shewn by an indenture, in 1475, between him and a carver, who engaged to make a roodloft and stalls for the new chapel, and to take down the roodloft and stalls in the choir of the old parish church. This proves that the great chapel was only then brought into a condition to receive its fittings. It must have been just roofed in. The Professor pointed out to his audience evidences of the haste in which the upper part of the chapel had been completed. The arch heads of the windows are abruptly depressed, in a way which shews that the walls of the chapel were intended to have been carried much higher by the masons who built the jambs and springing of the window-arches. It is probable that the work had been carried up exactly to this level when the defeat of the King stopped the operations. When resumed by Waynflete, with insufficient funds, expedients were adopted to enable the buildings to be rapidly finished and roofed-in for use. The hall exhibits similar evidences to shew that its walls and windows were designed to have been carried up to a much greater elevation than they now present; and that after a sudden interruption it had been hastily put into a condition to receive the roof, which is of a very plain construction. The magnificent body of the collegiate church designed by the founder was never even commenced. The choir, or present chapel, is now terminated westward by a low transverse ante-chapel of slight construction, probably the work of Waynflete.

The old parish church appears to have been pulled down after the present chapel was prepared for service, as above stated. The parishioners retained the right of employing this chapel as their parish church. But the increase in the numbers of the students and of the population, and other causes, creating great inconvenience, both to the college and the parish, a new church or chapel-of-ease was erected in the town of Eton for the use of the parishioners, in the last century.

The arrangement of the college buildings differs entirely from that described in the will of the founder in 1448. The Professor concluded from this, and from the mention of a plan or 'Portratura' exhibited to the King, in the following year, 'for the finishing of the buildings of the college,' that he, when adopting an enlarged design for the chapel, had also determined upon a new disposition for the other buildings.

The college in the will is imitated from Wykeham's colleges, consisting of a quadrangle containing hall, library and chambers, and of

a cloister. But in the existing college the quadrangle of chambers contains not only the hall and library, but is also cloistered. The site of the cloister first proposed, but never commenced, is that now occupied by the school-yard. The cloister quadrangle is arranged upon a plan unusual in colleges. It was built in two stories, having chambers on the north and east sides, and the hall on the south, the dimensions of which agree exactly with the founder's will. The upper chambers are not reached in the usual manner, by assigning one staircase to each contiguous pair; but a gallery is carried round the upper floor, exactly over the cloister of the ground floor, to give access to the doors of the chambers. At each internal angle of the quadrangle, or *quadrant*, as the will terms it, is a square turret containing a spiral stone stair, or *vice*, with a door below and above, by which the upper gallery is conveniently reached.

The chamber buildings were carried round the east and north sides in one style, and probably in the founder's time; but the west side, which contains the great gateway called Lupton's Tower, was built, after a considerable pause in the works, in a totally different manner, during the provostship of [Roger] Lupton [1504—35], and probably in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

The cloister-arcade and chamber-doors on the ground floor on this side appear, however, to belong to the earlier building, and to have been suddenly stopped in an unfinished state. This western side of the quadrant is wholly devoted to the provost, and contains a large dining-hall, termed 'Election Hall,' with a withdrawing-room behind it, over Lupton's entrance-arch, and large bedchambers beyond, joining the hall. In the will of the founder a much smaller provost's lodging is placed in this position in two stories. The present extension is accounted for by the bountiful hospitality which, at and after the period of Henry the Eighth, was exercised by the masters of colleges in favour of the nobility and gentry. This compelled the building of chambers and reception-rooms. After the Reformation the marriage of masters of colleges created a new demand for space, and made it necessary to supply these officers with a family residence.

The subsequent works carried out in this college were enumerated as follows: The lower school, or north side of the entrance quadrangle or 'school-yard,' was built before 1581 [1481?], and has the long dormitory above it. The library in the cloister quadrangle was built by Sir Christopher Wren¹. The new upper school, which is the western boundary of the school-yard, was rebuilt in 1689. In 1758 an attic was raised upon the east and north sides of the cloister court, and the entire group of chambers altered so as to convert them into a row of private houses of three stories each for the fellows of the college. Lastly, the interior of the chapel, which had been refitted and 'beautified' in the Italian style in 1699, by Mr Banks, was well restored to its ancient aspect, with rich stalls and canopies, in 1850, from the designs of Mr Deason."

¹ [This is a mistake. Sir C. Wren died in 1723, and the library was not begun until 1725 (Vol. I. p. 455).]

PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

- CHAP. I. OBJECT OF THE PRESENT WORK. THE MEDIEVAL
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INTRODUCTION¹.

CHAPTER I.

OBJECT OF THE PRESENT WORK. THE MEDIEVAL CONCEPTION OF A UNIVERSITY AND A COLLEGE. FOUNDATIONS WHICH PRECEDED COLLEGES, WITH A LIST OF THE HOSTELS AT CAMBRIDGE.



THE purpose which I have proposed to myself in the present work is to trace the history of the Colleges and of the University buildings of Cambridge, principally with reference to their topography and architecture, the acquirement and increase of their respective sites, the arrangements of their buildings, and the additions which they have received from time to time. This is a very different investigation from that which has usually been proposed as the leading object in the numerous histories of the Universities or their colleges which have already appeared.

As the arrangement of collegiate buildings was made with reference to the collegiate system, it is as impossible to understand their architectural history without some examination of this system, as it would be to attempt the architectural history of

¹ [It appears from the notes left by Professor Willis that he originally intended to have developed this part of his Introduction into a complete historical sketch of the origin and progress of the University and Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, with a full discussion of the special motives of the different founders. Much of this, however, was left incomplete. Since he began to write these matters have been so admirably narrated by James Bass Mullinger, M.A., in his two works: *The University of Cambridge from the earliest times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535*, 8vo, Cambridge, 1873; and *The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles the First*, 8vo, Cambridge, 1884; that it has been decided to limit the present Introduction to what is strictly necessary for the comprehension of the following histories and essays, and to refer our readers to Mr Mullinger for all other details.]

a Benedictine or a Cistercian monastery without reference to the rules of life, for the carrying out of which the entire system of its edifices was invented. The collegiate life, like the monastic life, is a common and a regular life ; and it is a most interesting investigation to trace the gradual development of the collegiate system, and the accompanying contrivance of the group of buildings which is called a College.

The collegiate buildings of the Universities are very remarkable, not only for their connection with the history, the manners, and the customs, of past ages, but as serving to illustrate the various aspects of architectural taste and practice which successively prevailed through a series of six centuries. They offer, moreover, several very valuable specimens of the architecture of each period, amongst many instances of bad taste, which has been especially evinced in attempts to alter ancient structures so as to make them resemble, as closely as possible, the fashion which happened to prevail when repairs became necessary. Few subjects, in fact, offer greater attraction to the architectural historian.

To study these buildings with effect it appeared to me desirable to draw up, as concisely as the subject would permit, an Architectural History of each college and of the University Buildings, in which, in accordance with the plan which I have pursued in other cases, all matters extraneous to the buildings themselves should be kept out of sight, or alluded to as briefly as possible. [These histories will be succeeded by a series of essays, on the development of the collegiate plan, and on the different buildings, and parts of buildings, required for the daily life of the community. It seemed better to place these essays after the particular histories, rather than before them, because, until the latter have been studied, a reader would hardly be in a position to understand the generalisations which are there attempted. In the first place, however, it will be necessary to say a few words on the medieval conception of a University, on the way in which students were lodged before colleges were invented, and, lastly, to give a brief chronological sketch of the foundation of those institutions in both Universities. This part of the subject, again, must be prefaced by a brief description of the topography of the Town of Cambridge, to

illustrate which the accompanying map (fig. 1) has been prepared. Without such a description the relative position of the colleges, and the references to streets, lanes, etc., which occur in the descriptions of their sites, would be almost unintelligible.

Ancient Cambridge was situated wholly on the left bank of the river now called the Cam, at the end of an elevated ridge sloping rapidly down to the marshy ground which lay on both sides of the stream at that part of its course. On this spot, which is crowned by an artificial eminence, probably British, called the Castle Hill, Roman remains have been found in sufficient abundance to justify the identification of the locality with their station *Camboritum*. Its supposed boundaries are indicated by dotted lines on both plans, the second of which (fig. 2) shews the district round the Castle Hill on a larger scale than the general map. These boundaries, laid down in accordance with remains discovered at various times, shew that the station measured diagonally about 1650 feet from north to south, by 1600 feet from east to west. It stood at the junction of two Roman ways, the remains of which may still be traced, viz. the *Akeman Street*, from Brancaster on the coast of Norfolk to Cirencester; and the *Via Devana*, from Chester to Colchester¹.

The Normans built a castle on the same ground which the Romans had selected, to make way for which twenty-seven houses were destroyed, out of the four hundred of which the town then consisted². Many of the earthworks surrounding the Castle Hill ought probably to be referred to this period, and a trace of the Norman occupation survives in the name *Burg*, or *Borough*, which is still sometimes applied to this part of Cambridge, though it is more usually called Castle End³. The Norman stronghold was enlarged and repaired on various occasions, but there is no evidence that it was ever a place

¹ [Ancient Cambridgeshire, by C. C. Babington. Camb. Antiq. Soc. Octavo Publications, No. xx.]

² [Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, Ed. 1876, iv. 221. In the account of the *Burgum de Grentlebrige* in Domesday, we find: "sed pro castro sunt destructæ . xxvii . domus."]

³ [This name is an ancient one, for it occurs in the Senior Bursar's Accounts at Trinity College in 1550—51: "Item to John Panson of the Castell ende for caryeng one loade of clay."]

of any great strength or importance. As early as 1441 some of the buildings had become ruinous, and in the subsequent histories we shall find numerous instances of materials being



Fig. 2. Plan of the district surrounding the Castle Hill, to shew the probable extent of the Roman Station, with the Roman ways which met there. From Professor Babington's *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, p. 5.

brought from it for the construction or repair of the colleges. The gate-house survived until 1842, when it was pulled down to make way for the County Courts and Gaol.

The names applied at different periods to the town and river demand our attention in the next place.

A glance at the plan shews that the castle stood nearly opposite to the northernmost limit of a considerable bend of the river, and that it must always have commanded the point at the bottom of the hill at which that river is crossed by a bridge. As there is evidence to prove that the road which passes over this bridge is the southward extension of the second Roman way above-mentioned (the *Via Devana*), it is almost certain that the river has always been crossed at the same place. In ancient times fords were commonly used instead of bridges; and, in 1754, when Mr Essex was employed to rebuild the bridge, he found traces of such a ford, "which very plainly shewed itself as a firm pavement of pebbles¹." It may therefore be suggested that *Camboritum* signifies, "the ford at the bend²," and that its name was derived from its position, which effectually commanded the passage of the river.

In the Anglo-Saxon chronicle the town is called *Grantebrycge*, or *Grantanbrycge*, which in Domesday becomes *Grentebryge*. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the name is uniformly written *Cantebrigge*, or its Latin equivalent *Cantebrigia*, whence an easy transition gives the modern *Cambridge*.

No distinctive name is given to the river in any of the earliest documents which our researches into the history of collegiate sites have brought under our notice. When mentioned as a boundary it is described in the most general terms, and more frequently by its banks than by its stream. Thus in 1294 we meet with "the king's bank (*ripa domini regis*)³"; in 1325—26 "the common bank (*communis ripa*)⁴"; in 1372 "the common bank called Cante⁵"; and in 1423 "the king's high bank (*alta ripa domini regis*)⁶." In 1336 the property which was bought of

¹ [Babington's Cambridgeshire, *ut supra*, p. 8.]

² [The late Dr Guest says (*Origines Celticæ*, 8vo, London, 1883, I. 370): "The Welsh *rhyd*, a ford, appears as *ritum* in classical geography. * * * Camb-o-ritum (Cambridge) was so called from the ford over the Cam by which the Roman Road passed the river. * * * The letter-change of *mb* for *m* before a vowel is very common in ancient Celtic."]

³ [History of Trinity College, Vol. II. p. 395.]

⁴ [Ibid. p. 396.]

⁵ [History of Trinity Hall, Vol. I. p. 211.]

⁶ [History of Trinity College, Vol. II. p. 405.]

Robert de Croyland for the king's scholars is said to abut westward on "the running stream (*aqua currens*)¹," without any further description to define what stream is meant. So late as 1612, in the deed of exchange between the Town of Cambridge and Trinity College, the boundary of the ground to be exchanged is described as "the river or high stream²."

In 1447, when the ground west of the river was conveyed to King's College, the river is called *le Ee*³, a name which is repeated several times in the college account-books; and in the description of a lane granted by King Henry VI. to the Town of Cambridge in 1455, the stream to which it led is called *le Ree*⁴. This name reappears in Dr Caius' History, where he says that Cambridge is divided into two parts "separated by the *Canta*, now called the *Rhee*." The book was written in 1573, but, in such matters as local names, it probably represents the recollections of its author when he was a resident student (1529—45)⁵.

In the chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon (1130) the church of S. Giles near the castle is described as standing on or near the river Grenta (*super Grentam fluvium*). This name is clearly taken from Grentebrige, the name given to the town in Domesday. The name *Grante*, from the Anglo-Saxon Grantanbrycge, reappears on Saxton's map of Cambridgeshire (1576)⁶, where the western branch of the river is designated the *Granta*. This branch, which rises near Ashwell in Hertfordshire, is called on modern maps the *Rhee*, the name *Granta* being restricted on them to the eastern branch, which rises near Shelford in Cambridgeshire. Saxton, however, recognises the *Granta* only. Camden (1586) recognises the *Cam* as well: "By what name writers termed this River, it is a question: some call it *Granta*, others *Camus*⁷."

¹ [History of Trinity College, Vol. II. p. 420.]

² [Ibid. p. 409.]

³ [History of King's College, Vol. I. p. 349.]

⁴ [History of Trinity Hall, Vol. I. p. 212. My friend Professor Skeat informs me that *Ee* is not of French origin, as I had suggested, but "the pure 12th, 13th, and 14th century spelling of the Anglo-Saxon *ea*, a river. This word, *ea*, is not borrowed from, but cognate with, the Latin *aqua*."]

⁵ [Hist. Cantab. Acad. 115. Compare also pp. 52, 53.]

⁶ [Maps of England and Wales, by Christopher Saxton, fol. Lond. 1579. The map of Cambridgeshire is dated three years earlier than the entire collection, as stated in the text.]

⁷ [Camden's Britannia, by Holland, ed. 1637, p. 486. The Latin words are the same in all the editions: "*alii Grantam, Camum alii nuncupant*."]

In the *Faery Queene* (1590) Spenser recognises the *Granta* only, under the form *Guant*:

“Next these the plenteous Ouse came far from land,
By many a city and by many a towne,
And many rivers taking under-hand
Into his waters, as he passeth downe,
(The Cle, the Were, the Guant, the Sture, the Rowne),
Thence doth by Huntingdon and Cambridge flit,
My mother, Cambridge, whom, as with a crowne,
He doth adorn, and is adorned of it
With many a gentle muse and many a learned wit’.”

On Speed's map of Cambridgeshire (1610) the name *Cam* alone occurs, written twice, once above, and once below, Cambridge; in Drayton's *Polyolbion* (1613) the *Cam* and the *Grant* are both mentioned in the poem, though the word *Grant* alone appears upon the map; and on Loggan's map of the Town (1688) the words *The River Cam* are written out in full, without any other designation; but so late as 1702 an Act of Parliament speaks of the River *Cham* alias *Grant*.

Any explanation of this variety of names is beset with difficulties. It is clear that *Grantebrycge* must mean the bridge over the *Grante*, a very ancient name for the river, the sense of which is now irrecoverably lost; and we may therefore conclude that those who used this term for the town used the corresponding term for the river. Subsequent to this period, the name either fell into disuse, or those who drew up the documents which have come down to us did not think it necessary to define, in any particular way, localities with which the parties to a given transaction were perfectly familiar. The occasional employment of the terms *Ee* or *Rhee* may be due to the taste of an individual scribe. But towards the end of the sixteenth century, when maps came to be drawn, it was necessary to look for more precise nomenclature. By that time the town was called Cam-bridge, but the older name Grante-bridge was doubtless still well known. Geographers could therefore choose between *Grant* and *Cam* as names for the river; and, as Camden says, some chose one, and some the other.

¹ [*Faery Queene*, Book iv. Canto xi. 34.]

The date of the extension of the town from the high ground near the castle to the low ground on the opposite bank of the river must remain uncertain, though the destruction of the houses near the castle by the Normans would obviously compel their inhabitants to remove elsewhere. Hardly any relics of the Norman period now survive, wood having been, in all probability, the material employed for the construction of most of the dwelling-houses¹. The church of S. Giles (fig. 2), close to the castle, was built by Picot, the Norman Sheriff of the county, in 1092, and contained several relics of that period; and the church of the Holy Sepulchre, on the opposite bank of the river, is also a Norman work. But the church of S. Benedict, which is situated near the south border of the medieval town, is much earlier, and shews no trace of Norman influence. Hence it has been conjectured, with much probability, that this edifice was once the parish church of a distinct village, separated from Camboritum or Grant-bridge by the river, and by the marshy ground on its banks². Gradually, as the number of the inhabitants increased, the two became united.

It has been already stated that the *Via Devana* crossed the river at the foot of the Castle Hill. Its subsequent course southwards is marked by the street now called in different parts of its course, Bridge Street, Sidney Street, S. Andrew's Street, and Regent Street. With the exception of two churches, and a few houses on the east side of that street, ancient Cambridge lay wholly westward of it, between it and the river. This position was probably selected because it gave the inhabitants the readiest access to the stream which not only supplied them with water, but with most of the necessities of life, as attested by the numerous "hythes" along the bank, as Corn-hythe, Flax-hythe, Salt-hythe, etc. The branch of the river—once navigable for barges—which flowed on the east side of the island called Garret Hostel Green, has been filled up; but, with this exception, the course of the river has not been altered within the historic

¹ [A house built of stone was evidently a rarity, from the pains taken to draw attention to it. We meet with "le stone house" of the Prior of Anglesey, of Sir John de Cambridge, and others. Moreover "Stenhouse" and "Stonehouse" occur commonly as surnames.]

² [English Towns and Districts: by E. A. Freeman. 8vo, Lond. 1883, p. 244.]

period, and the three public bridges by which it is now crossed have always been in the same positions. That at the north end of the town, under the Castle Hill, was called the Great Bridge, to distinguish it from the Small Bridge, or Bridges, at the south-west corner. These two bridges were practicable for carriages, but the third, or Garret Hostel Bridge, placed about midway between the former two, was for horse and foot passengers only.

Opposite to the church of S. Sepulchre a second street branched off from Bridge Street in a southwesterly direction. This street, now called S. John's Street, Trinity Street, King's Parade, and Trumpington Street, was the ancient High Street.

Both these streets preserve their ancient directions, and Bridge Street its ancient width also; but the portion of High Street which extends southward from Great S. Mary's Church has been changed from a narrow to a spacious thoroughfare by the destruction of houses incidental to the erection of the Senate House, the façade to the University Library, and the new buildings of King's College, S. Catharine's Hall, and Corpus Christi College.

Two corn-mills, of very great antiquity, called respectively the King's Mill and the Bishop's Mill¹, stood at the south-west extremity of the town, where the river broadens into a pool. A third street, called Milne Street, led from these mills in a northerly direction, nearly parallel with High Street, to King's Hall Lane. Between this lane and S. Michael's Lane, now Trinity Lane, the street became much narrower, and was called Foul Lane. Milne Street must have been an important thoroughfare both for the Town and the University, for it communicated with all the lanes leading to the different hythes or landing-places along the river-bank; and the entrance-gateways of six colleges opened into it, namely, those of King's Hall, Michael House, Trinity Hall, King's College (in its first position), S. Catharine's Hall, and Queens' College, not to mention that of Gonville Hall, which was opposite to the portion of it called Foul Lane. The

¹ [For the history of these mills see Le Keux, ed. Cooper, iii. 336. The King's Mill still belongs to the Town of Cambridge, but the Bishop's Mill is the property of Messrs Foster. The mills have been frequently rebuilt, and now form a single edifice externally.]

parish-church of S. John Baptist, commonly called S. John Zachary, also stood in it. When King Henry VI. was engaged in purchasing the extended site for King's College, he obtained possession (in 1445) of so much of this street as fell within the limits of his college, and closed several of the subordinate lanes which communicated with it¹. After this change Milne Street ceased to be a thoroughfare, and the two fragments of it which still exist came to be called Queens' Lane and Trinity Hall Lane respectively.

The limits of medieval Cambridge on the south and east are well defined by the King's Ditch (*fossatum regis*), constructed by order of King Henry the Third in 1267, the exact direction of which has been preserved on several ancient maps².]

In the middle ages the term *fossatum* signified not merely a ditch, but the ground fenced by it³, and this particular ditch was accompanied by a sort of boulevard, or perambulation-road (*circuitus*), which was held to form part of it, and of which no person might make use or take possession, under heavy penalties. This appears from the Inquisition of King Edward I. taken in 1278⁴; and farther, from the instructions to a royal commission issued by King Edward III, July 14, 1348, by which the commissioners were empowered to inquire how many pieces of ground the king possessed within the ditch (*fossatum*) called "le Kyngesdich" in the town of Cambridge, held for perambulation round about the said town; their length and breadth measured in perches and feet; whether any of them be built upon, and if so, by whom, or for whose convenience; how many feet the breadth of the said *fossatum* ought to contain by law, and who was bound to clean it; whether the king might grant the said places without prejudice to himself and others; from whom the pieces were held, by what tenure, and what was their annual value⁵.

We shall meet with the same term, King's Ditch, in the description of the boundaries of the western parts of the site of

¹ [History of King's College, Vol. 1. p. 343.]

² [The channel still exists, but it is carried underground.]

³ [Cowell's Interpreter, Ed. 1727.]

⁴ Rot. Hundred. ii. 392.

⁵ [MSS. Baker, xxxi. 271. The original is among the muniments of King's Hall, preserved in the Treasury of Trinity College.]

King's Hall, Michael House, and Trinity Hall ; and in the first of these three colleges the name is applied to a piece of ground acquired in 1341¹. It appears not improbable that the above-mentioned circuit was originally intended to have been carried along the river as well as along the ditch, and that this piece of ground was part of it.

[At the points where the two principal streets, Bridge Street and High Street, crossed this boundary-ditch, gates were constructed, called respectively Barnwell Gate, and Trumpington Gate. When Dr Caius was writing his history (1573), the former was still marked by a single wooden post². A wall within the ditch was originally intended, but the king was compelled to change his plans, and the fortifications were left half-finished³.

The religious orders established themselves in Cambridge at a very early date. The Augustinian Priory of Barnwell was founded in 1112; the Benedictine nunnery of S. Rhadegund in 1133; S. John's Hospital, an Augustinian House, in 1135; the Franciscan House in, or soon after, 1224; the Carmelites came in 1249; the Friars of the order of Bethlehem in 1257; the Friars of the Penitence, or of the Sack, in 1258; the Dominicans in, or shortly before, 1275; the White Canons in 1290; and the Austin Friars in the same year. The sites of these houses, most of which were subsequently occupied by colleges, have been indicated either on the general plan of Cambridge (fig. 1), or on that of the college which succeeded them, and therefore need not detain us longer.

The ground on the west, or left, bank of the river, from near the Great Bridge to the road which crossed the Small Bridges, now almost entirely absorbed by different colleges, was called the West Field, and, in different parts, Carme-field, and Long Green. Part of this ground was common of the Town of Cambridge, part belonged to different proprietors. The road which traversed the West Field is always described in medieval documents as the road to Barton, the designations of the different roads being evidently given to them as they started from the Castle Hill.]

¹ [History of Trinity College, Vol. II. p. 422.]

² [Hist. Cantab. Acad. 116.]

³ [Cooper's Annals, i. 49, 50.]

The University of the middle ages was a corporation of learned men, associated for the purposes of teaching, and possessing the privilege that no one should be allowed to teach within their dominions unless he had received their sanction, which could only be granted after trial of his ability. The test applied consisted of examinations and public disputations; the sanction assumed the form of a public ceremony, and the name of a degree; and the teachers or doctors so elected or created carried out their office of instruction by lecturing in the public schools to the students who, desirous of hearing them, took up their residence in the place wherein the University was located. The degree was, in fact, merely a licence to teach. The teacher so licensed became a member of the ruling body. The University, as a body, does not concern itself with the food and lodging of the students, beyond the exercise of a superintending power over the rents and regulations of the houses in which they are lodged, in order to protect them from exaction; and it also assumes the care of their public morals.

The only buildings required by such a corporation in the first instance were: a place to hold meetings and ceremonies, a library, and schools for teaching, or, as we should call them, lecture-rooms. [The necessity for enlarging these buildings has naturally kept pace with the increase in numbers and with the intellectual growth of the University; and it will be part of our task to narrate the steps by which the present museums and lecture-rooms for the several different branches of study have been established.]

A college, on the other hand, in its primitive form, is a foundation erected and endowed by private munificence, solely for the lodging and maintenance of deserving students, whose lack of means rendered them unable to pursue the University course without some extraneous assistance.

Each college contained within its walls the necessary buildings for the lodging and food of its members and of their servants, and each was governed by its own code of statutes. The students attended the public lectures and public disputations appointed by the University, and, in addition, in the earlier colleges the older students were enjoined to assist the younger in their private studies; but, afterwards, lecturers for this purpose were

appointed from the members of the college. Besides this assistance, disputations were carried on in the college to prepare its students for their public exercises.

In process of time the superior advantages of this systematic preparation for the University teaching and exercises, as well as the greater convenience and comfort afforded by the buildings and domestic arrangements resulting from the accumulated generosity of successive benefactors—many of whom owed their success in life to their early admission as poor students into one of these colleges—led more wealthy students to desire a participation therein; and they gladly paid rent, and charges for food and instruction. But this privilege was scantily granted, and can hardly be said to have become general until after the Reformation. Old members of a college also, who had lost the privilege of free residence and maintenance by having acquired ecclesiastical promotion or property, were permitted to return to its walls, upon payment of their expenses¹.

The buildings of these communities, each complete in itself, resembled in many respects those of the monasteries, or chapters of secular canons, as being constructed for a community of persons living under a rule, or body of statutes. At first growing up gradually, piece by piece, as funds were provided, and as the collegiate system, in its development by successive foundations, shewed the kind of building required, the earlier colleges were often humble in appearance and retiring in position. But, as colleges increased in number and importance, pride of architectural grandeur and beauty became an element of collegiate character, and each new founder strove to make his college superior to the last in the magnitude and completeness of its structures.

The word college (*collegium*) is a term which properly belongs to a number of persons incorporated as colleagues for certain common purposes, and has no relation to the buildings in which they dwell. It is solely in this sense that it is employed in the charters of the early colleges in both universities. The words applied to the buildings in the same documents are

¹ [In the reign of Queen Elizabeth an order was made at King's College limiting the number of such pensioners (*pensionarii*) to fifteen. A short historical sketch of the collegiate community will be found in the next chapter.]

house (*domus*) and hall (*aula*). [To understand the real significance of the composite designations given to these foundations, it must be remembered that in the thirteenth century dwelling-houses were commonly known by one of three names: house (*domus*), hall (*aula*), and hostel or inn (*hospitium*). When one of these was appropriated by endowment as a fixed residence for a body of scholars (*collegium*), it was styled House of scholars (*domus scholarium*), or Hall of scholars (*aula scholarium*), a compound phrase indicating such appropriation. Thus Merton College, Oxford (*Domus scholarium de Merton*), is not the "House of the scholars of Merton," but the "House-of-scholars of Merton," or, in brief, "Merton House"; the *Domus scholarium sancti Michaelis* is not the "House of the scholars of S. Michael," but the "House-of-scholars of S. Michael," or "Michael House"; the *Aula scholarium Regis* is not the "Hall of the scholars of the King," but the "Hall-of-scholars of the King," or "King's Hall." In some cases the two names are combined. Peterhouse is called the "House of S. Peter, or Hall-of-scholars of the Bishop of Ely (*domus sancti Petri, sive Aula scholarium Episcopi Eliensis*)"; and the society of Balliol College, "the Master and scholars of the Hall or House of Balliol in Oxford (*aula sive domus de Balliolo*)."]

We first meet with the word college in the licence granted by King Edward II. to Adam de Brom in 1324, empowering him to "found a *college* of scholars to be governed by a Rector, to be called the Rector of the House of scholars of the Blessed Mary in Oxford," afterwards called Oriel College. Here the persons and their dwelling are clearly distinguished as a college and a house respectively. In this or a similar form the nomenclature continues for nearly sixty years.

For example, in 1341, Robert de Eglesfield is licensed to "construct a collegiate Hall (*aulam collegialem*) of scholars, etc., by the name of the Queen's Hall of Oxford¹." In 1347 a similar licence is granted to Marie de Valence, Countess of Pembroke, for "a scholars' house (*domus scholarium*)" at Cambridge, the members of which are spoken of in subsequent documents as "the college of the hall of Valense Marie"; and a

¹ Commiss. Docts. (Oxford), Vol. i. Statutes of Queens' College, p. 4.

copy of the charter, in French, dated 1357—58, is endorsed *la chartre du gardein et escoliers de la sale de Valence Marie*. In 1348 Edmund Gonville is empowered to establish "a college of twenty scholars, and to give a name to the said college," which name, as we learn from a subsequent document, was, "the house or hall of the Annunciation of Blessed Mary the Virgin, in English Goneville Hall." In the preamble to the statutes which Bishop Bateman gave to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in 1350, the three words occur together, in a way which defines their meaning more clearly than any other foundation-deed which we have met with. The Bishop declares that :

"We, William of Norwich, by Divine permission Bishop of Norwich, make, ordain, appoint, and establish, in the University of Cambridge, where we, though unworthy of it, received our degree of Doctor, a perpetual college (*collegium*) of scholars in Canon and Civil Law. And our pleasure is that the aforesaid college of scholars be called the college of scholars of the Holy Trinity of Norwich, and that the house (*domus*) which the aforesaid college shall inhabit, be named the Hall (*aula*) of the Holy Trinity of Norwich¹."

In 1359 the Lady Clare decrees that University Hall is for the future to be called the House (*domus*) of Clare; and that her fellows are to swear on admission that they "will promote the honour of the *college* of the aforesaid House²."

In this manner the word college became introduced, but the buildings were still termed Halls;—the word House (*domus*) being used only in the very early instances above quoted—as in the following foundations: Clare Hall, King's Hall, Pembroke Hall, Gonville Hall, Trinity Hall.

The licence granted by King Richard II. to William of Wykeham, 30 June, 1379, permits him "to found and give a name to a certain college, house, or hall (*collegium, domum, sive aulam*)³," and accordingly, in the preamble to his statutes, he declares that he has founded two perpetual colleges of poor scholars, the one commonly called *Saint Mary College of Winchester in Oxenford*, the other *Saint Mary College of Winchester*, these titles being written in English, as above, though the document in which they appear is in Latin. Here, for the first

¹ Commiss. Docts. ii. 415.

² Commiss. Docts. ii. 121, 131.

³ Commiss. Docts. (Oxford), Vol. i. Statutes of New College, pp. v. 1.

time, the word college is applied to the whole establishment, but still in a manner not violating its proper sense. In this form all the succeeding foundations are named; and it is curious to remark that in the Oxford charters and statutes the founders are careful to supply an English title in imitation of Wykeham, who, however, could not prevent the substitution of "New College" for his own lengthy denomination. The succeeding founders in both universities have been more fortunate, for although the public has abbreviated the legal style they have rarely transformed the name so entirely. Even the strange term "Brasenose College" is to be found in the preamble to the statutes, which styles it *the King's Haule and Colledge of Brasenose in Oxford*.

At Cambridge the term college was similarly applied to King's College, and to every succeeding case except the modest foundation of a Master and three fellows termed the "Hall of S. Katerine." The persons for whom the first foundations of King Henry VI. was intended, are styled in the letters patent, dated 12 February, 1441, "the rector and scholars of the King's College of S. Nicholas of Cambridge"; but in the statutes he follows the example of Wykeham and describes his two foundations respectively, in English, as: *The King's Colledge of our Lady and S. Nicholas in Cambridge*, and *The King's Colledge of our Lady of Eaton beside Windesore*, designations which have been shortened by common use into King's College and Eton College. Queens' College was first named the College of S. Bernard. When Queen Margaret refounded it she called it the "Queen's College of S. Margaret and S. Bernard"; but when Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV., accepted the patronage, she in her statutes struck out the name of her predecessor's patron-saint, and reduced the title to "College of the Queen (*collegium reginale*)."
Jesus College, statutably named "The College of the Blessed Virgin Mary, S. John the Evangelist, and the glorious Virgin S. Rhadegund," is the last instance of a complete transformation of the title chosen by the founder.

[It would be beside our present purpose to enter into the difficult question of the origin of the University, which must have preceded the foundation of the earliest college by a con-

siderable interval. The wholesale destruction of records in one or other of the violent attacks which the Town made upon the University in the Middle Ages has rendered accurate knowledge of this period impossible; and we have to content ourselves with the scanty information to be derived from the earliest statutes which have been preserved, and from the accounts given by Caius, Fuller, and others, in their histories of the University. It must, however, be remembered that Caius was separated by nearly three centuries from the period to which we refer, and Fuller by a still longer interval.

It may be assumed that at first the University took no cognisance whatever of the way in which students obtained lodgings. The inconvenience and discomfort of this system soon led to the establishment of what were afterwards termed Hostels, apparently by voluntary action on the part of the students themselves. "The University had no objection," says Dr Caius, "to students renting any empty houses from the townspeople which they could obtain possession of. They called them Hostels or literary Inns (*hospitia seu literarum diversoria*); at Oxford they are called Halls¹." It would appear that at first the University accepted this arrangement without interference; but, as it presently gave rise to grave dissensions between the townspeople and the students, mainly on the question of rent, letters patent were issued by King Henry III., probably at the instance of the University, dated 7 February, 1265—66, appointing a board consisting of two Masters—or, as we should now say, two Members of the Senate—who were subsequently called Taxors, and two burgesses, whose duty it should be to tax, or regulate, for periods of five years, the rent to be paid for any house of which a scholar might happen to be in occupation². The publication of these letters was succeeded by statutory enactments on the part of the University, which enter into details,

¹ [Hist. Cantab. Acad. pp. 46—51. In a subsequent passage (p. 53) he separates the *literarum diversoria* from the *hospitia*. The distinction, however, seems to be merely one of size, and does not imply any difference of organisation. Fuller says distinctly (History, ed. Prickett and Wright, p. 63): "Know also that Inns (whereof only two, Oving's and St Paul's) differed only gradually from Hostles, as being less." The list of Hostels given below shews that Fuller is wrong in thus limiting the number of Inns.]

² [Dyer, Privileges of the University, i. 63.]

regulate the period at which the hire might be effected, and make security for both rent and tenure obligatory on the tenant and the landlord¹.

The expressions used in the earlier of these statutes confirm what was suggested above respecting the voluntary character of this arrangement. Each house in which students resided was managed by a Principal, says Dr Caius, but it is clear from this statute that this officer was not appointed, at any rate at first, by any superior authority. Any scholar might come forward and give the security required for the rent, and be admitted to the Principalship by the landlord; or, if he refused, the scholar might repair to the chancellor and be admitted by him².

In after years, when the collegiate system had become established, certain of these Hostels attached themselves to some college, for the sake of the protection which such a position afforded, according to Dr Caius; but it may rather be suggested that the action proceeded from the colleges themselves, who were glad of additional space for the rapidly increasing numbers of their students; and it will appear in some of the subsequent histories that Hostels were bought out of the corporate funds of a college, or given to it by benefactors. When this union had been effected, we find the government of a given Hostel regulated

¹ [The statutes referred to are (1) Statute LXVII. of the ancient statutes of the University (Commiss. Docts. i. 350), translated in *Early Cambridge University and College Statutes*, by James Heywood, 8vo, Lond. 1855, p. 51; (2) an earlier statute on the same subject printed by Henry Bradshaw, M.A. in the *Camb. Antiq. Soc. Communications*, Vol. ii. p. 279. On the whole subject of Hostels, and the early history of the University in general, see *The University of Cambridge from the earliest times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535*, by James Bass Mullinger, M.A. 8vo. Camb. 1873.]

² [The passage here referred to is translated by Mr Mullinger as follows (p. 219):

“Moreover the scholar who is to give the caution must come in person to the landlord of the hostel, on the aforesaid day [11 June] or within the aforesaid period [11 June to 8 September], but the sooner the better; and in the presence of a bedell or a notary, or of two witnesses, produce his caution, giving effect thereto, if he be willing; by effect is intended either a *cautio fidejussoria*, or a *cautio pignoratitia*, that is, two sureties, or a book, or something of the kind; and, if he be not admitted, the same scholar is forthwith to repair to the Chancellor and produce his caution, in the presence of the aforesaid witnesses, and say in what way the landlord of the hostel has refused him in the matter of the acceptance of the caution; and this having been proved the Chancellor shall immediately admit him on that caution, and to that principalship, notwithstanding the refusal of the proprietor.”]

in part by the college to which it belonged; but a remnant of the older arrangements still survived. Each Hostel was managed by two principals; an External Principal appointed by the college; and an Internal Principal appointed by the residents in the Hostel, with the consent of the External Principal. We know that this was the system at Physwick Hostel belonging to Gonville and Caius College, of which Dr Caius was himself one of the Principals¹; at S. Thomas' Hostel, belonging to Pembroke College, where the Exterior Principal was called the "Over Principal," the "Superior Principal," or the "Chief Principal"²; at S. Bernard's Hostel, belonging to Queens' College³; and it probably obtained at the others also. This change in the position of the Hostels having become established, it was recognised by the University, and a statute was passed, empowering the Chancellor to visit all Hostels, to correct and reform any abuses which he found there, and, if necessary, to depose the Principal. The fellows of the Hostel were to elect a successor within eight days, but, if they neglected to do so, the right of election was to lapse to the college to which the Hostel belonged, if it belonged to a college, or, if not, to the Chancellor or his deputy⁴. This last clause shews that the statute was promulgated after the independent existence of the Hostels had ceased⁵.

No particulars have been preserved of the structural arrangements of any of these establishments; but the approximate dimensions of the ground-plan of several have been ascertained, and laid down on the plans of the colleges to which they ulti-

¹ [A full account of the position of this Hostel, with Dr Caius' description of it, will be found in the History of Trinity College, Vol. II. pp. 415—417.]

² [This statement, which occurs among some notes on Hostels by Professor Willis, is derived from the notes on Pembroke College made by Gilbert Ainslie, D.D., Master 1828—70.]

³ [Masters (History of Corpus Christi College, p. 45) notes that in 1519 "Dr Watson Vice-Chancellor determined that the Exterior Principal (viz. the President of the College) had the same authority over the Fellows and Students in it as the Interior."]

⁴ [Statutes of the University, § 18. Commiss. Docts. i. 316.]

⁵ [In MSS. Baker xxxv. 384 we find a curious memorandum, dated 16 September, 1446, respecting a quarrel which had arisen between the Master and Fellows of Pembroke Hall, and the "Socios studentes sive scolares Hospicii sancti Thome," about the right of election of a new Principal, the Principal having been removed for misconduct.]

mately belonged. These shew that all were of small size. As a general rule they appear to have consisted of one or more dwelling-houses, which in most cases were probably used without alteration. S. Austin's (belonging to King's College) is described as "certain newly-built tenements lying together," and as it had a mean length of 220 feet with a corresponding breadth of 80 feet, it was probably merely a row of houses¹. S. Nicholas' Hostel again, belonging to the same college, was a long narrow strip of ground, on which several detached houses stood². S. Bernard's Hostel (belonging first to Queens' College, and afterwards to Corpus Christi College) was rather more extensive, and appears to have been specially adapted to collegiate purposes, for it had a hall, chapel, library, and gallery³. It must therefore have resembled a small college, as Physwick Hostel did, which, though the ground on which it stood, even after the addition of S. Margaret's Hostel which adjoined it, measured only 160 feet in length by 95 feet in breadth, was rebuilt in 1481, apparently in quadrangular form, and, as Fuller says, "beautified with fair buildings." But, in the Middle Ages, a confined space was not objected to, and the Hostels evidently maintained their popularity long after the foundation of colleges. On this subject the general remarks of Dr Caius, given at the end of his list of Hostels, are well worth translation :

"The greater part of these were in existence within my own recollection, and in this year, 1573, I am in my sixty-third year. They were held in good repute by those who devoted themselves to literature, and were crowded with students. Their inmates dined and supped together, as men do who have to lead a common life, and to share a common lot. Neither Inns nor Hostels were endowed with any landed property. Each student lived at his own charges, not on the charity of the community. Now, however, they are all deserted, and given back into the hands of the townspeople, with the exception of S. Thomas, which belongs to Pembroke Hall; S. Bernard and S. Mary, which belong to Corpus Christi College; S. Augustine, which belongs to King's College; and those of Gerard, Oving, S. Gregory,

¹ [History of King's College, Vol. 1. p. 344.]

² [Ibid. p. 342, and *note*.]

³ [History of Corpus Christi College, Vol. 1. pp. 245—248. At the end of the Audit-Book of S. John's College for 1521-22 is a list of payments made "For Maister Docket," i.e. Andrew Docket, first President of Queens' College, among which we find: "Item for Cheyning of his ij Bookes in Barnard hostell library v."]

Physwick, S. Margaret, and S. Catherine, which belong to Trinity College¹."

This precise statement may be compared with the more ornate language of Fuller :

"We read how in the Hostles of St Mary's, Bernard, Thomas, Augustine, there were twelve, twenty, and sometimes thirty Regents, besides non-Regents above them, and young Students beneath them. As for the Hostles designed for Lawyers, almost every one of them had fourscore or an hundred Students. * * *

In these Hostles Scholars were more conveniently accommodated than in townsmen's houses (wherein anciently they lived), both because here they were united under one head; and because they were either rent-free, or paid it by agreement to a chief of their own Society. But, as stars lose their light when the sun ariseth, so all these Hostles decayed by degrees, when endowed Colleges began to appear in Cambridge; and I behold Trinity Hostle (wherein Students continued till the year 1540) as the longest liver, surviving all the rest.

But, whilst they were in use, many worthy Scholars were bred therein, and pity it is, the catalogue of their names is lost²."

Before leaving this part of our subject, we will give an alphabetical list of those Hostels about which tolerably certain information can be obtained. We have used four lists of Hostels: (1) that of Archbishop Parker³; (2) that of Dr Caius⁴; (3) that of Richard Parker⁵; (4) that of Fuller⁶. Archbishop Parker, whose list was published in 1572, enumerates seventeen Hostels,

¹ [Hist. Cantab. Acad. pp. 52, 53.]

² [Fuller, ed. Prickett and Wright, p. 64.]

³ [Printed in his *Catalogus Cancellariorum* etc., privately printed in 1572, and commonly found bound with the treatise *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, printed in the same year. Both books were reprinted together, Hanovix 1605, and London, 1729. This list of Hostels, in Latin, is evidently based on one in English, probably made for his use, as it is preserved among his MSS. in Corpus Christi College Library, CVI. 133. It is printed in the notes to Fuller, *ut supra*, p. 62.]

⁴ [Hist. Cantab. Acad. pp. 47—51.]

⁵ [Printed in his sketch of the history of the University of Cambridge, called *Σκελετος Cantabrigiensis*, written in 1622, and first published by Hearne in his additions to Leland's *Collectanea* (ed. 1770, Vol. v. pp. 185—257). This work, translated into English, forms part of a small 8vo volume without date called: "The History and Antiquities of the University of Cambridge. London: Printed for T. Warner at the *Black Boy* in *Paternoster Row*." Some copies have a title-page dated 1721, with different names of publishers. This translation has been used in the following list, but it has been compared with the original, and tacitly corrected where necessary.]

⁶ [Fuller, ed. Prickett and Wright, pp. 56—60.]

which he divides into Hostels of Students in Arts (*Hospitia Artistarum*) among which he includes King's Hall and Michael House; and Hostels of Students in Law (*Hospitia Furistarum*). Dr Caius, writing in 1573, enumerates twenty Hostels, all of which, with three exceptions, had been in existence within his own recollection (*stativa nostra memoria*). Richard Parker enumerates twenty-five hostels, and, as he includes among them "S. John's College, now building on the North and West sides," the list must have been drawn up between 1598 and 1602, while the second court of S. John's College was being built. As Parker resided in the University as Fellow of Gonville and Caius College from the date of his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1593 until 1611¹, he must have had exceptional opportunities for making himself acquainted with local topography, and his identifications of sites are therefore extremely valuable. Fuller's list, included in his history of the University, first published in 1655, is compiled from the three others. He enumerates thirty-four Hostels. These lists have all the same defect: the particulars given in them are based on no better authority than personal recollection or local tradition, for their authors had no means of access to leases and conveyances, from which alone certain information about pieces of ground can be obtained. Dr Caius may be excepted from this statement so far as his own college is concerned; and, in consequence, his account of Physwick Hostel is quite different from that which he gives about any other.

The following list enumerates twenty-seven Hostels out of the thirty-four recorded by Fuller. The seven omitted are (1) God's House in its original position; (2) "God's House, now parcel of Christ's College"; (3) "Jesus Hostle, or de Pœnitentia Jesu"; (4) "S. John's Hospital"; (5) "S. John's Hostle of Regulars now translated into S. John's College"; (6) Knapton's Place; (7) "Pythagoras House." God's House is omitted because it was never a Hostel in the strict acceptation of the term, as will be shewn in the next chapter; the House of the Friars of the Penitence was a House of regulars, which, after it was dissolved, became part of Peterhouse; S. John's Hospital and S. John's Hostle are enumerated by Fuller in error; Knapton's Place is identical with Bolton's Place, included in the

¹ [Cooper's Annals, iii. 165.]

list; and the house called Pythagoras School was not a Hostel. It will be understood that each Hostel is included in all four lists unless the contrary is stated.

S. AUGUSTINE'S or S. AUSTIN'S HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Artistarum* on the south side of King's College, to which it belonged (Vol. I. p. 344). Richard Parker and Fuller call it the pensionary of King's College, for which purpose it was fitted up in 1574 (Ibid. p. 554). There was another S. Austin's Hostel in Milne Street, near Clare Hall (Ibid. p. 341).

S. BERNARD'S HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Artistarum* in High Street, belonging first to Queens' College, then to Corpus Christi College (Vol. I. pp. 245—248). Fuller describes it as "situate where now the Master's garden of Bennet College," a statement borrowed from Richard Parker.

BOLTON'S PLACE or KNAPTON'S PLACE. A house in High Street, purchased for Pembroke College about 1430 (Vol. I. p. 123). Fuller is our only authority for regarding this house as a Hostel.

BORDEN'S or BURDEN'S HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Juristarum*, which probably derived its name from its founder, or a former possessor. King Henry VI. bought it from the Prior and Convent of Ely in 1446, and gave it to Clare Hall in 1448. It was situated on the east side of Trinity Street, a little to the north of S. Michael's Lane. Fuller describes it as "near the back gate of the Rose Tavern, opening against Caius College." The Rose Tavern had been previously called Wolf's Tavern, and Richard Parker describes the Hostel as "those Houses before which there are great gates, near the north side of the back entrance to Wolf's Tavern, not far from the Lane that runs between *Trinity* and *Gonville* and *Caius* Colleges. This *Hostel* did belong to Clare Hall; but in former times to the Hospital of St *John the Evangelist*." It had become a private house before 1572, for Archbishop Parker's list of Hostels, printed in that year, states that it had been lately purchased by Ralph Bickerdick, a townsman.

S. BOTOLPH'S HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Artistarum* belonging to Pembroke College. It was situated in High Street, on the south side of S. Botolph's Churchyard, occupying in breadth the whole space between S. Botolph's Lane and Pembroke Street; one end abutted upon High Street, but its length has not been recorded (Vol. I. p. 139 *note*). It had ceased to be a Hostel for students before 1496, when it was leased by Pembroke College as a dwelling-house¹, and earlier leases for the same purpose may possibly exist. Fuller speaks of it as the place "where Wenham a cook dwelt in my time, and where some collegiate character is still retained in the building."

S. CATHERINE'S HOSTEL. In Trinity Lane, on the east side of Physwick Hostel (Vol. II. p. 417). Recorded by Caius, Richard Parker, and Fuller. The latter calls it "St. Katherine's Hospital."

¹ [MSS. Baker, xxxv. 381.]

S. CLEMENT'S HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Juristarum* in Bridge Street, on the south side of S. Clement's Church.

COUSIN'S PLACE. A house in High Street, purchased by Pembroke College in 1389 (Vol. I. p. 123). Recorded by Fuller only as a Hostel.

CROUCHED HOSTEL, or, HOSTEL OF THE HOLY CROSS. A house sold to the University in 1432 to increase the area of the Schools Quadrangle (Vol. I. p. 319, Vol. III. p. 8). Recorded by Richard Parker and Fuller. There was a Crouched Hall on the site of Trinity College (Vol. II. p. 396); and Carter (p. 15) mentions "S^t Crosse's Hostle, where is now the building of the old Tennis-Court, and Benet-College Orchard." When the older Hostel was pulled down by the University, the inmates may have migrated to this more modern building.

S. EDMUND'S HOSTEL. Mentioned by Caius as a building which had ceased to be a Hostel before his time (*extra nostram memoriam*). Fuller is unable to assign a situation to it (*nomen patet, locus latet*), but his editors suggest its identification with the House of White Canons of S. Edmund of Sempringham, opposite to Peterhouse.

S. EDWARD'S HOSTEL. Mentioned by Caius in the same sentence with S. Edmund's. Fuller says that it was "against Little S. Mary's, where lately a victualling house, called the Chopping Knife," a statement borrowed from Richard Parker.

ELY CONVENT. Recorded by Fuller only, as "near Borden's Hostel, for Ely Monks to study in." Carter (p. 15) says that it "was situated between the *Rose* back-gate, and the west end of *Green Street*." A Hostel which had been bought for this purpose between 1321 and 1341 occupied part of the site of Trinity Hall (Vol. I. p. 210).

GARRETT HOSTEL; or, S. GERARD'S HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Artistarum* occupying part of the site of Trinity College, where the present Bishop's Hostel stands (Vol. II. pp. 403, 551).

S. GREGORY'S HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Artistarum*, on the north side of Michael House (Vol. II. p. 397), of which, according to Archbishop Parker, it was a kind of colony (*tanquam colonia*). Fuller says that it was situated "where now Trinity College dove-cote." It is sometimes called Newmarket Hostel.

HARLESTON'S INN. A *Hospitium Juristarum* recorded by Caius as an Inn (*diversorium*), and by Fuller as a Hostel. Caius says that it "was situated on the river bank, not far from the east end of the great bridge, at the lower extremity of Harleston Lane." Richard Parker says: "*Harleston*. Is the narrow Place (*angiportus*) by St Clement's Church, still call'd *Harleston-Lane*, where the Houses stand on the East side of St Clement's near the King's Ditch. To the Principal, Fellows, and Scholars of this *Harleston Hostle*, or *Inn*, which was call'd *Harleston Place*, William Gray, the 26th Bishop of Ely, granted Licence to

perform Divine Service in their Oratory, *Anno* 1466. Near the great Bridge to the Eastward was the little *Harleston Lane*. At the End of it, close to the King's Ditch, stood this *Hostel*, to the Eastward of *St Clement's Church*." The position here indicated will be readily understood by reference to the map of Cambridge. Harleston Lane is now called Thompson's Lane. Archbishop Parker calls it a most ancient Hostel (*hospitium vetustissimum*) but gives no particulars.

- S. HUGH'S HOSTEL. Recorded by Fuller only, who says of it: "This my worthy friend, Mr Moore, late Fellow of Caius College, first decried out of an ancient manuscript (once belonging to Ely) attesting that Mr — of St Hugh's Hostle, was admitted to plead in the Bishop's Courts. Thus hath he recovered the denomination, let others discover the situation thereof."
- S. MARGARET'S HOSTEL. Recorded by Caius, Richard Parker, and Fuller. It adjoined Physwick Hostel on the north, to which it was added after it became the property of Gonville Hall in 1467. The dimensions are minutely stated in the conveyance (Vol. II. p. 415).
- S. MARY'S HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Artistarum*, on the south side of Gonville and Caius College, opposite to Great S. Mary's Church (Vol. III. p. 40).
- S. NICHOLAS' HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Juristarum*, on the east side of Preachers Street or S. Andrew's Street, at the corner of that street and the road leading to Barnwell, now Emmanuel Street (Vol. II. p. 692). Fuller, translating Caius, says of it: "The Scholars hereof, as eminent for hard studying, so infamous for their brawlings by night." Among the injunctions of the Visitors of King Edward the Sixth in 1549 is one regulating the share which the members of this Hostel were to take in the public proceedings of the legal faculty¹. There was another Hostel of the same name in Milne Street, which was absorbed in King's College (Vol. I. p. 342), and it has been suggested, with much probability, that, when it was destroyed, the students migrated to the house in Preachers Street (Le Keux, ed. Cooper, iii. 215).
- OVING'S INN. A *Hospitium Juristarum* next Garret Hostel (Vol. II. pp. 551, 668).
- S. PAUL'S INN. A *Hospitium Juristarum*. Caius describes it as "not far from S. Michael's Church towards the north, facing the market-place." Fuller says: "St Paul's Inn, now the Rose Tavern." This tavern is known to have stood at the end of the passage now called "Rose Crescent."
- PHYSWICK HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Artistarum* in Trinity Lane, nearly opposite to the entrance of Gonville Hall. Caius has left a particular account of it, which is translated in the History of Trinity College (Vol. II. p. 417).

¹ [Lamb's Documents, p. 140.]

RUDD'S HOSTEL. Recorded by Caius, Richard Parker, and Fuller. Caius places it in Preachers Street "a little beyond the church of the Friars Preachers, but on the opposite side of the street"; and the latter, copying Richard Parker, describes it as "Rud's Hostle, over against Emmanuel College, where now the Castle Inn." As this Inn is still standing, the position of the Hostel can be exactly determined. It was given to S. John's Hospital by Hugh de Balsham, in 1284, to compensate the brethren for the loss of S. Peter's Church and the Hostels adjoining it¹.

S. THOMAS' HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Artistarum* situated on the east side of High Street. In 1451 it was acquired by Pembroke College (Vol. I. p. 124), to which it became attached, as mentioned above, as a student-hostel. It is shewn on Lyne's map, 1574 (Vol. I. p. 246). Its site is now occupied by the chapel of Pembroke College. There was another Hostel of the same name in Piron Lane, now part of the site of King's College (Ibid. p. 337).

TRINITY HOSTEL. A *Hospitium Juristarum*, placed by Caius "opposite Trinity Church, from which it took its name"; and by Archbishop Parker, "opposite the churchyard of Trinity Church, towards the east." Richard Parker describes it as, "the Houses opposite to the East-End of the Church of the *Holy Trinity*, where there were scholars in the year 1540." Fuller, evidently in error, places it on the south side of the church.

TYLED HOSTEL. A Hostel in Trinity Street, so called from the material with which it was roofed (Vol. II. p. 426). Recorded by Caius, Richard Parker, and Fuller.

UNIVERSITY HOSTEL. On the east side of High Street; recorded by Richard Parker and Fuller. In 1351 it was sold by the University to the foundress of Pembroke College, by whom it was pulled down, and the site included in the court (Vol. I. p. 122). When Richard Parker wrote it was still called "the *Hostle*."

In the next chapter we will proceed to a chronological enumeration of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.]

¹ [Commiss. Docts. ii. p. 3. It is there called "hospicium contra fratres predicatorum." Baker's History of S. John's College, ed. Mayor, p. 25.]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF COLLEGES AT
OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE; AND OF THE COMMUNITY FOR
WHICH THEY WERE INTENDED.

MONASTERIES and Chapters had been accustomed from an early period to send docile students of their body to reside in some University, maintaining them there for a stated number of years, and then supplying their place with others. Pope Honorius III. (1216—27) enjoined this practice, and to encourage it permitted students of theology residing in a University to retain the rents of their prebends and benefices for five years¹. But Alan Basset's bequest of 200 marks to the University of Oxford in 1233, for the maintenance of two chaplains, is the earliest recorded instance of such practical assistance to learning. His executors conveyed the money to the Priory of Burcester² or Bessetor, in the county of Oxford, "to the end that they according to their discretions should manage it for the use of the University," and, certain lands having been bought with it, the brethren "obliged themselves to pay from thence eight marks at two terms in the year to two Chaplains or Scholars of the University of Oxford, or elsewhere, *ubi studium fuerit universitatis in Anglia*, to the end that they should pray for the souls of the said Alan and his wife and all the faithful deceased, on certain days that were to be appointed³." This liberality was paralleled by William de Kilkenny, Bishop of Ely, who, dying in 1256, left a similar sum in trust to Barnwell Priory for the support of two priests studying theology in the University of Cambridge, who were to pray for his soul and to receive annually

¹ [The Bull of Pope Honorius granting this permission is quoted in the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX., printed in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, fol. Antwerp, 1648, p. 248.]

² Burcester, a priory of Austin Canons, had been founded in 1182 by Gilbert Basset, Baron of Hedington. He died 1203. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 432.

³ [The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford: By Anthony à Wood; ed. Gutch, 1792, i. 232. Kennett (*Parochial Antiquities*, 4to, Oxford, 1695, p. 212) places Basset's death in 1233, ten years earlier than Wood; and concludes (*ibid.* p. 213) that from this period the *Schola Burcestriensis* began.]

ten marks from the priory¹. Before this last date, in 1249, William of Durham had bequeathed 310 marks to the University of Oxford

“to the end that with the revenues issuing thence ten or eleven or twelve Masters, or more, should be sustained and relieved in the Schools of Oxford. The executors delivered the said sum thereupon to the Chancellor and Masters of the University, that they might dispose of it according to his will; the which, after they had received, they lent it out to Scholars upon pledges given in, and use paid at the return thereof, to the end that with the interest the said number of Masters might be sustained².”

[The University put out part of this money upon loan, and invested part of it in houses, of which purchases were made in 1253, 1255, 1263. In one of these four Masters were subsequently established, and out of this establishment a college subsequently grew; but the manner in which that employment of the bequest was brought about clearly shews that no idea of its possible future development in such a direction presented itself to the minds of those who recommended it in the first instance.

In the course of the year 1280 a document, endorsed (in a later hand) “Statutes of the great Hall of the University, or Statutes for William of Durham’s scholars³,” was ordered to be sealed with the University Seal. This document takes the form of a report made by delegates appointed to inquire into the bequest of William of Durham, and to make rules for its future management. After detailing the use which has been made of part of the bequest, into which we need not now enter, they recommend the selection of four Masters, three of whom shall receive fifty shillings in each year, and the fourth, who is to act as bursar, and manage the property, fifty-five shillings. These four Masters are to live together, and study theology, in obedience to rules to be made by other delegates appointed by

¹ Hare, Vol. i. Baker, History of S. John’s College, ed. Mayor, p. 21. Bentham’s Ely, p. 149.

² [Wood; History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford: ed. Gutch, 1786, p. 40. Anstey: Munimenta Academica, Rolls Series, p. xxix.]

³ [These statutes are printed by Anstey, *ut supra*, pp. 780—783.]

the Chancellor.] The name University Hall, given to this house as soon as it was purchased, and even before the Masters removed into it, has adhered to the Society, though in the now altered form University College, from the beginning to the present time, notwithstanding various attempts to call the college by the founder's name. The purchase of the present site, it must be remembered, was not begun until about fifty years afterwards, and the scholars were not transferred to their new abode until about 1343.

The collegiate system, as described in the previous chapter, that is, an incorporated body of men living together, as distinguished from students living apart in lodgings, the rent of which happens to be paid for them by some benefactor, was really inaugurated by Walter de Merton¹, a man of property and influence, Lord High Chancellor of England, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester. It must not, however, be supposed that the whole system assumed, at its first invention, the shape with which we are familiar. Merton devoted more than twelve years to the elaboration of plans for his college, during which period they were constantly changing, and he died in 1277, three years after their completion, when he could not have been less than seventy years of age. His plans therefore represent the matured views to which he had been led by the experience of a long and busy life.

The first charter, and the first body of statutes, for the "House of scholars of Merton" are dated 1264; but the provisions set forth in these documents are developed from a previous scheme of uncertain date, by which he assigned his manor of Malden in Surrey, with other manors, for the support of his eight nephews, who are described as pursuing a course of University study (*in scholis degentes*), under a rule (*ordinatio*) prescribed by himself.

The foundation of 1264 is for a Warden, twenty scholars, two (or three) ministers of the altar, and certain serving-men, who are designated simply brethren (*fratres*), but whose number is not

¹ [The following account is borrowed in the main from a Sketch of the Life of Walter de Merton, by Edmund [Hobhouse], Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand. Oxford, 1859. See also Skelton's *Pietas Oxoniensis*, or, Records of Oxford Founders, 4to, Oxford, 1828.]

specified. It is expressly stated that the scholars might pursue their studies at Oxford, or at any other University¹.

These two forms of Merton's first foundation closely resembled those which we have just mentioned. The distance of the house from Oxford, upwards of 50 miles, effectually precluded the scholars from residing in it when pursuing their studies at that University; while the provision that they might, if they pleased, study at another, shews that it must have been intended rather as a source of revenue than a place of abode. In fact, "the statutes of 1264 exhibit to us an institution divided in locality, the head with the œconomical and ecclesiastical part of the body living in one place, in the country; the academical in another, where its academical functions could be effectively pursued²."

In the following year, 1265, Merton began to acquire property in Oxford, and by the end of 1267 had become the possessor of the whole site of the college as at present constituted, with the appropriation of the parish churches of S. John Baptist and S. Peter's in the East. In 1270 he "issued his statutes afresh, for the purpose of ratifying in time of peace the disposition of his estates which he had made in time of civil war (*tempore perturbationis Angliæ*), and for the sake of adding newly acquired property, and increasing the number of his scholars; but he does not mention any change of locality³."

This change was not made until the final code of statutes was published in 1274, in the preface to which he confirms the foundation of "the House, which I directed to be called the House of scholars of Merton," and assigns to it a local habitation in Oxford, where the name is to be perpetuated, and where the scholars are to remain for ever⁴.

¹ [The words thus translated are "viginti scholarium in scholis degentium Oxoniæ, vel alibi ubi studium vigere contigerit." *Commiss. Docts. (Oxford)*, Vol. i. *Statutes of Merton College*, p. 5.]

² [Sketch, etc. p. 17.]

³ [Ibid. 18.]

⁴ [The following note on the date of the Merton College Statutes was supplied by the late Henry Bradshaw, M.A.: "It should be mentioned that a copy of these statutes of 1274 exists at Merton College (Sketch, etc. p. 32), and in an early Register of the Bishops of Lincoln in the Library of the University of Cambridge, in both cases dated from London, 1267. That at the College has attached to it Merton's seal as Bishop of Rochester, which he was not until the autumn of 1274. The most likely explanation seems to be that an x has dropped out from the date, and that for 1267 we ought to read 1277. Under this view the document becomes

In this rapid enumeration of the collegiate foundations we have no room to examine in detail the educational intentions of the different founders; but, as Merton's statutes—the Rule of Merton (*regula mertonensis*) as it came to be called—served as the model for so many subsequent statutes, it will be well to give the summary of Merton's intentions which we find in Bishop Hobhouse's sketch of his life:

“Our founder's purpose I conceive to have been to secure for his own order in the Church, for the secular priesthood, the academical benefits which the religious orders were so largely enjoying, and to this end I think all his provisions are found to be consistently framed.

He borrowed from the monastic institutions the idea of an aggregate body living by common rule, under a common head, provided with all things needful for a corporate and perpetual life, fed by its secured endowments, fenced from all external interference, except that of its lawful patron; but, after borrowing thus much, he differenced his institution by giving his beneficiaries quite a distinct employment, and keeping them free from all those perpetual obligations which constituted the essence of the religious life.

His beneficiaries are from the first designated as *Scolares in scholis degentes*; their employment was study, not what was technically called the religious life. * * * He forbade his scholars ever to take vows, they were to keep themselves free of every other institution, to enter no one else's *obsequium*. He looked forward to their going forth to labour *in seculo*, and acquiring preferment and property. * * * Study being the function of the inmates of his house, their time was not to be taken up by ritual or ceremonial duties, for which special chaplains were appointed; neither was it to be bestowed on any handicrafts, as in some monastic orders. Voluntary poverty was not enjoined, though poor circumstances were a qualification for a fellowship. No austerity was required, though contentment with simple fare was enforced as a duty, and the system of enlarging the number of inmates according to the means of the house was framed to keep the allowance to each at the very moderate rate which the founder fixed.

The proofs of the founder's design to benefit the Church through a better-educated secular priesthood, are to be found, not in the letter of his statutes, but in the tenor of their provisions, especially as to studies, in the direct averments of some of the subsidiary documents, in the fact of his providing Church patronage as part of his system, and in the readiness of prelates and chapters to grant him impropriations of the rectorial endowments of the Church¹.”

While Merton was slowly maturing his educational intentions, John de Balliol, the father of the King of Scotland, had mainly a later exemplification of the Statutes which received his approval in the interval between his election and his consecration as Bishop.”]

¹ [Sketch, etc. pp. 21, 22.]

tained by exhibitions certain poor scholars at Oxford, and intended also to have procured a habitation for them, but, dying almost suddenly in 1269, gave on his deathbed a charge to his wife and executors to carry out his desires. She hired a house for the scholars, whom she designates simply "our scholars (*scholares nostri*)," and, in 1282, gave them a short body of statutes. Soon afterwards, having purchased the site of the present Balliol College, she removed them into the buildings which then occupied a part of it, and which she had enlarged for their reception. Their number appears to have been sixteen until 1340, when Sir Philip Somerville added six. In the preamble to his statutes the "Hall or House of Scholars of Balliol (*aula sive domus de Balliolo in Oxonia*)" is first mentioned.

About the same time that this foundation was in progress, Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, was endeavouring to give to the University of Cambridge the benefit of the system so happily established by Merton twenty years previously. His mode of proceeding was not fortunate. In his own words, he attempted "to introduce into the dwelling-place of the secular brethren of his Hospital of S. John studious scholars living according to the rule of the scholars of Oxford called of Merton¹," an unpalatable change of system which led to unappeasable dissensions between the brethren and the scholars, and compelled the Bishop, in 1284, after three years trial, to separate his scholars from the Hospital, and to establish them independently in two hostels (*hospitia*) next to the Church of S. Peter (now S. Mary the Less), outside Trumpington gate², whence the name Peterhouse (*domus scholarium sancti Petri*), which the college bore from the beginning³. This house or college so founded, the Bishop endowed and partly set in order as far as his means allowed, but not so fully as he had proposed, had not the

¹ [These words are quoted in the letters patent of King Edward the First, dated 24 December, 1280, authorising the settlement of the Scholars in the Hospital. *Commiss. Docts. ii. p. 1.*]

² [Letters patent of Bishop Hugh de Balsham, dated 31 March, 1284, recited in a similar document issued by the King, 28 May, 1285, authorising the removal of the scholars to their new home. *Commiss. Docts. ii. p. 1.*]

³ The founder called it "*Domus Sancti Petri, seu Aula Scholarium Episcopi Eliensis*": *Ancient Statutes of Peterhouse*, dated 1344. *Commiss. Docts. ii. 7.* Bentham's Ely, p. 150.

common lot of mortality cut short his plans. On his deathbed he bequeathed to his scholars certain books, and 300 marks for erecting new buildings; but this sum was only sufficient to purchase an enlarged site, and it was long before they acquired sufficient additional endowments to complete the establishment of the college, which at the death of the founder was barely able to provide a slender maintenance for fourteen scholars and a Master. The commissioners of King Henry VIII. found that the community consisted of a Master, fifteen fellows, two bible-clerks, eleven poor scholars, and six servants, making a total of thirty-five persons.

More than forty years elapsed at Cambridge before the example of Hugh de Balsham was followed by the next succeeding foundation of Michaelhouse, and in the meantime we may turn to Oxford, where, in 1283, John Giffard "instituted a nursery and mansion place" for thirteen student-monks of the Benedictine Abbey of S. Peter at Gloucester. Eight years after, in 1291, he was induced to enlarge his grant of land to admit of the erection of a general monastic college for the student-monks of all the Benedictine abbeys in England.

"Upon which gift they celebrating the same year a general chapter at Abingdon, appointed awarders and overseers concerning the building, and, after an equal tax raised from them, built several lodgings here, with the help of private persons assisting the same work, and divided (though all for the most part adjoining to each other) by particular roofs, partitions, and various forms of structure, and known from each other, like so many colonies and tribes, * * *, by arms and rebuses that are depicted and cut in stone over each door. * * *

What abbeys then sent their monks to be trained up here, were, St Peter's in Gloucester, Glastenbury, and St Alban's, whose arms are over the outward gate; Tavestock, Burton, and Chertsey abbeys; Coventry, Evesham, and Einsham, St Edmondsbury and Winchcombe abbeys; Abbotsbury, Michelney, Malmesbury, Rochester, and Norwich abbeys. * * *

Many other abbeys and priories in England of this Order, containing almost three parts of them, resorted hither, and the remainder went to Cambridge, where they had a particular habitation for themselves, re-edified in the 11 of Hen. VIII. [1519—20] by Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and called for some time Buckingham College * * *; both which, as well this here at Oxon, as that at Cambridge, entertained two or three novices, sometimes more, of the said abbeys; according to the number and greatness of them, who maintained them till they were graduated, and then to return to their

monasteries, to read and teach their brethren, and others sent in their places¹."

The community was governed by a prior, elected in the first instance by the founder, and subsequently by the students. The buildings, of which a portion still survive as Worcester College, appear to have been arranged, at least after a time, in quadrangular form, and mention is made of a hall, chapel, and library. The latter, on the south side of the chapel, was built, and stocked with books, at the sole charge of John Wethamstede, Abbot of S. Albans 1420—40. It "contained on each side five or more divisions, as it may be partly seen to this day by the windows thereof²." The Benedictine Abbeys, as enumerated above, continued to send their students to this house until the dissolution of monasteries. The Abbey of Durham did not join the association, for at about the same time they acquired ground in Oxford, and began the erection of a place of study (*studium*) for themselves, which eventually rose to great importance under the name of Durham College, as will be related below, when we come to the general establishment of monastic colleges in the reign of King Edward III.

In the seventh year of King Edward II., Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, obtained a licence in mortmain (10 May, 1314), to assign a messuage in Oxford called, from a former possessor, Hertford Hall, or briefly, Hert Hall, to twelve scholars from his own diocese. In the statutes given by the Bishop in 1316, the scholars are called *Scholars of the Hall of Stapeldon Halle*; and it is expressly provided that in case of their removal to another site, this name is always to be given to their House. The removal took place in less than two years after the first foundation, when they were transferred to S. Stephen's Hall on the present site; but, notwithstanding the founder's injunctions, the House soon came to be called *Exeter Hall*, and, subsequently, *Exeter College*, a name which was legally conferred upon it by the charter of incorporation of Queen Elizabeth, 22 March, 1566. The statutes of 1316 recognise thirteen scholars instead of twelve. One of these is to study Theology or Canon Law, the remainder Philosophy. The

¹ [Dugdale, Mon. Angl. iv. 403—406.]

² [Wood, ap. Dugdale, *ut supra*, p. 405.]

Principal, here called Rector, is to be elected annually by the scholars¹.

King Edward II. himself supported scholars at Cambridge, the earliest notice of which occurs in a writ, in French, addressed to the sheriff of Cambridge in the tenth year of his reign, 7 July, 1317, commanding him to pay certain sums for commons, house-rent, etc. to "our dear clerks, John de Baggeshote and twelve other children of our chapel at the University of Cambridge²." This benefaction was subsequently developed into King's Hall, as will be related below.

In the seventeenth year of this king's reign, 20 April, 1324, his almoner, Adam de Brom, obtained licence to found "a college of scholars studying diverse sciences, to be managed and ruled over by a Rector chosen by the said scholars, under the name of the Rector of the House of scholars of S. Mary of Oxford." These scholars, of which the number is not mentioned, were to be "studying and conversant in divinity and logic." In the following year, 1325, the founder surrendered his house to the king, with the request that it might be by him "so ordered as he should think fit." Letters patent were accordingly issued, 23 May, 1326, confirming the foundation, and giving statutes. The society was to consist of a Provost and ten scholars, who were to study Divinity. Three of their number might study Canon Law, with permission of the rest, or even Civil Law for a limited period, with the view of becoming thereby better qualified for the study of Canon Law. The founder became the first Provost³. The scholars were first settled in a tenement purchased by the founder, called "Tackley's Inn," but afterwards,

¹ [This account of the foundation of Exeter College is derived to a certain extent from Wood, *History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls*, etc. pp. 104, 640; but more particularly from the Statutes, printed in 1855, for the use of Her Majesty's Commissioners, and from the Register of Exeter College, by the Rev. C. W. Boase, Oxford, 1879. For these two volumes I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Boase.]

² [This document, unfortunately imperfect, is printed in *Commiss. Docts.* i. p. 66.]

³ [Wood, *ut supra*, p. 122. *Commiss. Docts.* (Oxford), Vol. i., Statutes of Oriel College, pp. 5, 6. Dr Ingram suggests (*Memorials*, Oriel College, p. 5) that "the title of Provost (*Præpositus*) was perhaps given to Adam de Brom because he was already Rector of S. Mary's Church. The titles appear to have been convertible, for Dr Hawkesworth, the third Provost, whose memorial on a brass plate is still legible in S. Mary's chancel, is there styled "*Præpositus hujus ecclesie*."]

in 1329, removed to a large messuage, bestowed on them by King Edward III. in the first year of his reign, called "La Oriole," whence the house obtained the name, Oriel College.

The second college in Cambridge was founded by Hervey de Stanton, Rector of East Dereham and North Creak in Norfolk, Canon of York and Wells, and Chancellor of the Exchequer to King Edward II.; a man therefore of property and influence, who may be compared with Walter de Merton both in these respects, and in the prudent care with which he prepared and perfected his foundation. [Like Merton, he began by purchasing the advowson of the parish church of S. Michael, with the ground to which it was attached; and, in the next place, a house¹ which was probably large enough, without much alteration, to contain the seven scholars of the first foundation, with their master. These purchases were made in September, 1323, and March, 1323—24. The statutes are dated 27 September in the latter year, on which day the college was solemnly opened. Accounts of these ceremonies have so rarely been preserved, that it will be interesting to translate the narrative drawn up, apparently from a contemporary record, by the compiler of the cartulary of Michael House called the Otryngham Book². After relating the purchase of the site, as above mentioned, and the acquisition of licences of foundation from the king and the Bishop of Ely, the chronicler proceeds:

"In the next place, having first obtained the licence of our lord the King, and subsequently the assent of the Bishop and Chapter of Ely,...in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and twenty-four, and in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Edward, son to King Edward, that is to say Edward the Second, on the fifth day before the calends of October, he founded, in the aforesaid messuage, and regulated for all future time, a house of scholars of S. Michael, in honour of the most exalted and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; of Mary, Mother of God; S. Michael the Archangel; and All Saints. This house or college he willed should be called the House of scholars of S. Michael at Cambridge.

On the day and year aforesaid, the said Hervey Stanton, our lord and founder, being personally present in the said house, made choice of two honourable men, of wide learning, who had been ordained

¹ [A full account of the site and buildings of Michael House will be found in the History of Trinity College, Vol. II. pp. 394—402. See also Vol. III. p. 489.]

² [This book is described in the Appendix to the History of Trinity College, Vol. II. p. 669.]

priests, namely Mr Robert de Mildennale, bachelor in Theology, and Mr Thomas de Kenyngham Master of Arts, whom he made swear on the word of God that they would select five other men of good moral character, learned, and moreover indigent; who were regents in Arts¹, or were at least bachelors in the same faculty.

These two persons therefore selected four priests: Mr Walter de Buxton, Mr Henry de Langham, *Dominus* Thomas de Trumpishaghe, *Dominus* Edmund de Mildenale; and, besides them, Mr Roger de Honyng then actually a regent.

In the persons of these seven men, therefore, specially called together, and set in the presence of the aforesaid founder, and expressly consenting thereunto, the said lord and founder founded the aforesaid house, as has been said, and established it with all possible security.

On the same day the elders of the whole University having been summoned and assembled in the hall of the aforesaid college or house, together with the elders of the whole town of Cambridge, whose names are written at the end of the narrative of the foundation of the said house, public notification was made of the aforesaid election and foundation, by the founder himself in person; and he there exhibited the act of our lord the King, of the Bishop of Ely, and of the chapter of the same place, in virtue of which he was enabled to bring about the congregation or college, which has been described above.

Moreover on the same day, in the presence of all the aforesaid persons, the same lord and founder advanced the said Mr Walter de Buxton to the office of master of the house, (the votes of the fellows having been taken before the election was declared); and without delay caused certain statutes to be publicly read in the presence of the aforesaid reverend persons.”]

This “House of scholars, chaplains, and others,” as it is termed in the statutes, was founded for persons of more advanced age than those which had preceded it; for every scholar on admission was to be priest and Master of Arts—and no one could be ordained priest until he had attained his 25th year—or at least a Bachelor of Arts, and, if so, bound to proceed to the degree of Master, and to apply himself subsequently to the study of Theology². In after years the number of the inmates of the house was slightly increased, and when the Commissioners of King Henry VIII. visited it in 1545—46, they found a Master, eight fellows, three chaplains, four bible-clerks, and four servants, making a total of twenty persons³.

¹ [That is, M. A. under five years standing.]

² [The statutes, in which these provisions occur, are printed in Mr Mullinger’s first work, pp. 640—645. They are analysed by him with great ability, pp. 234—236.]

³ [This is the number given in the detailed account of the College (Commis. Docts. i. 120); in the summary (ibid. 292), it is raised to 21.]

In less than two years after this carefully prepared and well considered foundation had been thus publicly established, the University of Cambridge, in its corporate capacity, obtained a royal licence, 20 February, 1326, to settle a body of scholars (*collegium scholarium*) in two houses in Milne Street¹,—as the street which then ran, parallel to High Street, from what is now Queens' College to the back-gate of Trinity College, was then called,—and by a subsequent document, dated 15 July, 1326, Richard de Badew, then Chancellor of the University, and the whole Senate (*cetus magistrorum ibidem regentium*), declared that the house had been so founded, and the two messuages aforesaid assigned to it². The house thus constituted was called University Hall, like the foundation established out of the bequest of William of Durham in the sister University; but it was not successful, and, after languishing for about twelve years, the same Richard de Badew, by a deed dated 6 April, 1338, in which he styles himself "Founder, Patron, and Advocate of the House called the Hall of the University of Cambridge," granted all his rights and titles therein to the Lady Elizabeth de Burgo (daughter of Gilbert de Clare), who refounded it, and supplied the endowments which it had previously lacked. In her statutes she fixes the number of scholars at twenty, including the Master, provided the revenues prove sufficient; but the Commissioners of King Henry VIII. found that the community then consisted of a Master, twelve fellows, four bible-clerks, one scholar, and five servants, making a total of twenty-three persons³. Lady Clare changed the name from University Hall to Clare House (*Domus de Clare*); but as early as 1346 we find it styled Clare Hall⁴, a name which it bore until it was changed to Clare College, 15 January, 1856, by a resolution of the Master and fellows. In this foundation, as at Michael House, it was provided by the statutes that six of the full number of fellows and scholars should be in

¹ [The licence (printed in Commiss. Docts. ii. p. 117) gives permission "Cancellario et Universitati Cantebrigg' quod ipsi quoddam collegium Scholarium in universitate predicta de novo statuere et ordinare, et illa duo mesuagia que iidem Cancellarius et universitas habent in vico qui vocatur Milnestrete...eisdem scholaribus ad inhabitandum dare et assignare possint."]

² [MSS. Baker, ii. 169. MSS. Harl. Mus. Brit. 7029.]

³ [Commiss. Docts. ii. p. 129; i. p. 264. In the summary (p. 292) the number rises to 28.]

[⁴ Ibid. ii. pp. 118, 121.]

priests' orders; and that every newly elected fellow should be either a Bachelor of Arts, or of standing to take that degree.

In the year before the re-foundation of Clare Hall, King Edward III., who had continued his royal father's benevolence by supporting scholars at Cambridge, and had increased their number, issued his charter, dated 7 October, 1337, for the perpetuation of this bounty by the foundation of a college of thirty-two scholars, to dwell together under the government of a Warden (*custos*), in the house which he had purchased of Robert de Croyland, and which was to be called the King's Hall of Scholars, or King's Hall¹. This was the largest foundation which had been hitherto attempted in Cambridge, and the provisions of the statutes exhibit a closer resemblance to modern collegiate education than those of the preceding foundations, especially as regards the age of the scholars. These statutes were given by King Richard II., in 1380, forty-three years after the foundation, but we may presume that he ratified, in most particulars, the custom which had grown up in the interval. Each scholar, on admission, was to be at least fourteen years old, and of sufficient proficiency in grammar to study Logic or any other faculty which the Warden might, after examination, select for him; but, after having once chosen a faculty, he might not change it for another without the Warden's leave. No limitation of study is anywhere prescribed; but, as might be expected from the age of the scholars, diligence is much insisted upon, and minute directions are given enjoining sobriety in dress and demeanour.

This "King's Hall of Scholars" at Cambridge was immediately followed by the foundation of the "Queen's Hall of Scholars" at Oxford, by Robert de Eglesfield, chaplain to Philippa, Queen of Edward III. The name which he gave to his college was selected for the mere purpose of placing it under the patronage of the queen, and thus establishing a claim upon the royal bounty. The purchase of certain tenements having been effected in the course of the year 1340, a royal charter was obtained in January, 1340—41, and the establishment of the society, then consisting of a Provost and twelve

¹ [The site and buildings of King's Hall are fully described in the History of Trinity College, Vol. II. pp. 420—463.]

scholars, in one of the said tenements, probably a house called Temple Hall, was effected without delay. The statutes are said to have been given in 1340, but they can hardly have been promulgated before the formal foundation of the House. The founder's object was to establish a Hall for the study of Theology. Hence all his scholars, who were to be Masters of Arts, were ultimately to be admitted to priests' orders. His statutes are elaborate, voluminous, and full of mystical allusions developing with poetic fancy the details of a large and complex establishment, which he professes himself wholly without means to carry out.

"According to the imaginative fashion of the times, he wishes his foundation to resemble, as nearly as possible, in outward appearance, the institution of the first preachers of Christianity. Hence the original number of the Provost and Fellows was to be thirteen, in memory of Christ and the twelve Apostles; and the ultimate number of poor boys [was not to exceed seventy], in memory of the Seventy Disciples. Hence the Doctors among the Fellows were to wear crimson robes at dinner and supper 'for the sake of conformity to the Lord's Blood'; hence thirteen beggars, deaf, dumb, maimed, and blind, were to be introduced daily into the hall, and have, at the common expense, bread, beer, potage, and fish, in order to remind the Fellows of the passion, love, poverty, and humility, of Christ. Hence on Maunday Thursday thirteen beggars were to eat in the presence of the Fellows, and were to receive from the Provost and Fellows vestments, and from the hands of the Fellows the grace-cup in imitation of Him who on that day gave his blood in the cup to his disciples. Hence, probably, the injunction that the Provost and Fellows were to sit at table all on one side, as in pictures of the Last Supper, and (apparently from some mystical reason), they are to be convened to dinner and supper by the sound of a trumpet¹."

No other college was founded in Oxford during the reign of King Edward III., but four arose in rapid succession at Cambridge: Pembroke Hall, Gonville Hall, Trinity Hall, and Corpus Christi House. In fact, although five years intervene between the charter-dates of the first and last of these, all four were planned and carried forwards simultaneously.

Pembroke Hall, at first named the "Hall of Valence Marie," was founded by a rich and noble lady, Mary de Saint Paul, daughter of Guy, Count of Chatillon and Saint Paul, and

¹ [Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners (Oxford), 1852, p. 202.]

related through her mother¹ to King Edward III. She had married Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, in 1321, but, becoming a widow in less than three years afterwards², she retired from the world, and gave her estates to pious works, of which this college, and the nunnery of Denny Abbey near Cambridge, are examples. The royal licence of foundation for the former, granted 24 December, 1347³, is for a Master and thirty or more scholars. She actually founded fifteen, with four bible-clerks⁴. In the previous year, 14 September, 1346, she had obtained the first portion of the site, and, during her survival of thirty years, spared no expense or pains to obtain papal privileges, ecclesiastical endowments, and increased space, for her college⁵.

In a month after the licence for Pembroke Hall had been obtained, a similar one was granted, 28 January, 1347—48, to Edmund Gonville, Rector of Terrington, and Rushworth, in Norfolk, for the foundation of a college of twenty scholars in dialectics and other sciences⁶. He had bought three tenements and a garden in Free School Lane, then called Lurteburgh Lane, in the previous year⁷, and having given to his intended college the name of the "Hall of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin," popularly denominated Gonville Hall, settled a Master and four fellows therein⁸; but, dying in 1351, left the completion of his design to his executor William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich. Bateman was at that time engaged with his own foundation of the "Hall of Holy Trinity," commonly called Trinity Hall, for

¹ [Her mother was daughter to Beatrice, daughter to King Henry the Third, and therefore great-aunt to King Edward the Third.]

² The pretty tradition given by Caius (*Hist. Cantab. Acad.* p. 58), and copied by Parker, Fuller, and others, which slays her husband at a tournament on the bridal day, and makes her virgin, wife, and widow in the same morning, has no historical foundation. Her husband died on a mission to the Court of France, 27 June, 1324, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. *Le Keux*, ed. Cooper, i. 50.

³ *Commiss. Docts.* ii. 189.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 141. The Commissioners of King Henry the Eighth enumerate 29 persons: viz. a master, 15 fellows, 4 bible-clerks, and 5 servants.

⁵ [*History of Pembroke College*, Vol. I. Chapter I.]

⁶ *Commiss. Docts.* ii. 213.

⁷ [The site of Gonville Hall is fully described in the *History of Corpus Christi College*, Vol. I. p. 243.]

⁸ [Caius, *Hist. Cantab. Acad.* p. 64.]

scholars of Canon and Civil Law. In January, 1350, he issued his statutes, and in the following month (23 February, 1350) obtained a royal licence, addressed to "the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of the Holy Trinity," authorising them "to buy houses, hostels, and a site suitable for their dwelling." This document, which speaks of the collegiate body as already incorporated, must clearly have been preceded by the usual licence of foundation. In the same year he purchased, from the Chapter of Ely, a considerable portion of the site¹. Moreover, between October, 1350, and January, 1351—52, he succeeded in appropriating to his college the churches of Brynyngham, Wood Dallyng, and Stallam, in Norfolk, and of Cowlyng in Suffolk². His plan comprised a Master, twenty fellows, and three scholars, but, like Edmund Gonville, he died unexpectedly, at Avignon, 6 January, 1354—55, of poison, as it was believed³, leaving his establishment immature, and with only funds for the maintenance of a Master, three fellows, and three scholars. These were augmented by subsequent benefactors, and in 1545—46, the community consisted of a Master, ten fellows, seven scholars, and five servants, making a total of twenty-three⁴.

Before his death he had made progress in settling the foundation of Gonville Hall. He began by removing it, in 1353, from the neighbourhood of Corpus Christi House to the present site next to his own college, which had belonged to the former society, but which they gladly exchanged for one that enabled them to extend their own boundaries⁵. The Bishop altered the tenements that stood on this new site to fit them for the reception of Gonville's Fellows, and appropriated to the college the

¹ [Described in the History of Trinity Hall, Vol. I. Chapter I.]

² [Commiss. Docts. ii. 407—413.]

³ [Warren, in his MS. account of Trinity Hall (described below, p. 237), states that Bishop Bateman "was buried in the Cathedral of Avignon. Search was made for his tomb, and even for a record of his burial in 1740, but nothing was found." App. CXXXVII. The story of the supposed poisoning is given by the same writer, App. XLIII.]

⁴ Commiss. Docts. i. 157. [The summary, p. 292, makes the total 26.]

⁵ [By an agreement, called *Compositio de Amicabilitate*, between the Hall of the Annunciation and Trinity Hall, dated 17 September, 1353, it was agreed that precedence should be allowed to the scholars of Trinity Hall on all public occasions "tamquam fratres primogeniti et prestanciores," except when any member of Gonville Hall took a superior degree. MSS. Baker xxix. 279.]

rectories of Mutford, Foulden, and Wilton, in Norfolk, the advowsons of which had been purchased out of their funds; but the funds remaining were only sufficient to maintain three fellows with the Master. Eight other fellowships had been added by successive benefactors before 1545—46. At that time the community consisted of 27 persons.

The House of Corpus Christi was projected between 1342 and 1346 by the members of a gild of that name. During that period they began the formation of a site in the lane now called Free School Lane, next to Gonville Hall¹. Shortly afterwards, they were joined in their scheme by the members of the gild of S. Mary, and in 1352 (7 November), through the good offices of Henry Duke of Lancaster, the king's cousin, who had accepted the office of Alderman of the united gilds on Corpus Christi Day in that year, they obtained a royal licence "to found a house of scholars, chaplains, and others, to be called the House of scholars of Corpus Christi and Blessed Mary, and to be governed by a Master according to the rule (*ordinacio*) prescribed by the said Alderman and brethren²." The first body of statutes, drawn up in 1350, is probably the rule here referred to³. They were copied in the main "from those of Michael House, some passages being reproduced verbatim. It is required that the scholars shall one and all be in priests' orders, and shall have lectured in arts or philosophy, or at least be scholars in either civil or canon law or in arts, intending to devote themselves to the study of theology or of the canon law, the number of those devoting themselves to the last named faculty being restricted to four⁴." The community at first consisted of a Master and two scholars, with two servants, the revenues not being sufficient for the support of more. Other scholarships were added gradually, and in 1545—46 fifteen persons were maintained, viz. a Master, nine fellows, three bible-clerks, and two servants⁵.

This college was therefore projected, and the clearance of the site at least commenced, at about the same time as the first

¹ [History of Corpus Christi College, Vol. I. Chapter I.]

² Commiss. Docts. ii. 445.

³ [A second body of statutes was drawn up and confirmed in 1356. Masters, pp. 15, 16.]

⁴ [Mullinger, *ut supra*, pp. 249, 250.]

⁵ Commiss. Docts. i. 193. [The summary, p. 292, makes the total 17.]

purchase for the site of Pembroke Hall, viz. towards the end of 1346; and the designs of the four colleges must have been conceived at about the same period. The dates of their respective licences of foundation have determined their precedence in the University in the order which I have followed in this history¹.

Having now noticed all the colleges set on foot down to the end of the reign of King Edward III., it will be convenient to make a short digression on the subject of monastic colleges, towards the establishment of which a great step was made during his reign. The importance of providing education within the precincts of monasteries², both in England and on the continent, had engaged the attention of Popes and Councils from a very early period, and the larger monasteries at least possessed a Master (*magister*), whose duty it was to instruct the inmates in Grammar, Logic, and Philosophy, or, as they were called, "the primitive sciences," just as the secular Cathedral bodies had, for the same purpose, their *Archischola* or *Cancellarius*, the office from which the Chancellor of the University derives his name. When Universities came to be established, they were resorted to by monks of the different orders, who, if they could not obtain the hospitality of some convent, were obliged, like other students, to reside in hired lodgings. The inconvenience of this close association of regulars with seculars was soon recognised, and special hostels for monks were established at the Universities of Paris, Montpellier, Toulouse, Bologna, etc. We have already noticed the similar foundation for Benedictine students at Oxford in 1287, called Gloucester House. It may be presumed that these tentative establishments proved successful, for, early in the following century, monastic colleges were organised on a definite system by the constitutions promulgated in 1335, 1337, and 1339, by Pope Benedict XII. for the reform of the Cistercians,

¹ [It has been explained above, that, in the case of Trinity Hall, this document has not yet been discovered, but that it must have been issued before 23 February, 1350, the date of the earliest licence which has been preserved. Again, as the statutes of Trinity Hall are dated 15 January, 1350, they must have been written before the end of 1349. The four colleges were therefore planned between the end of 1346 and the end of 1349.]

² On the whole subject of monastic education see Mabillon, *Traité des Études Monastiques*, 12mo, Paris, 1691. Part I. Chap. xii.

Benedictines, and Augustinians. In each of these codes, amongst various other injunctions, the duty of sending docile scholars of the Order to a University, and of maintaining them while there, is strictly commanded, and enforced by rules. Every Benedictine or Augustinian monastery was compelled to send students to a University in the proportion of one to every twenty of their total number, or more, if their custom had so ordained¹. These students were to live together with a fixed allowance, in the monastic manner, five, or four at least, if Augustinians, and ten if Benedictines. It is not clear whether by these rules it was intended that all the monastic students from the different monasteries were to be collected in one college, or whether it was only meant that where the lesser monasteries furnished but one or two students each, these should be grouped in different houses, so as to make up the prescribed number in each. All, however, were to be under the common rule of an officer elected annually, called the prior of students; and both at Oxford and Cambridge we find, a century later, that they had a doctor in the respective faculties of Theology and Canon Law, under whom the students were to commence at the charge of the monastery to which they belonged².

In the Cistercian constitutions, Paris is specified as their University for France; Bologna for Italy; Salamanca for Spain; and Oxford for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. No special Cistercian college was, however, established there until 1437, when Archbishop Chichele founded S. Bernard's College,

¹ [The number of students to be sent is regulated by the 8th section of the Constitutions of 1337, "De studentibus ad generalia studia mittendis": "Statuimus et ordinamus, ut ecclesie, monasteria, prioratus, et alia loca hujusmodi, singula videlicet eorum, cum suis membris inferius declarandis, de quolibet vicenario numero monachorum unum aptum pro fructu majoris scientiæ acquirendo, ad generalia seu solennia studia mittere teneantur, et quemlibet eorum mittendorum de infrascripta pensione annua providere. Sic autem vicenarium numerum volumus computari, ut illi duntaxat monachi numerum ipsum efficiant in hoc casu, qui sunt seu erunt in ecclesiis, monasteriis, vel locis principalibus, et in locis aliis eisdem monasteriis, ecclesiis, et locis principalibus subjectis, habentibus octo monachos sive plures; et hii solum cum monachis ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, et locorum principalium hujusmodi in computatione ac missione hujusmodi conjugantur." Wilkins, Concilia, II. 585—613.]

² Reyner, Appendix, p. 134. The provision of a Doctor, whose special duty it was to teach the Benedictine students, appears first in the statutes of the Chapter held at Northampton in 1444.

now part of S. John's College. Student-monks of the Cistercian Order were maintained in it in the usual manner, by contributions from the different monasteries.

On the receipt of the papal injunctions, the Benedictines of England held a provincial chapter at Northampton (in 1338) to carry them out; and this was followed by a series of such meetings, apparently biennial. Detailed records of many of these have been preserved, in which priors of students are regularly elected, reports received concerning the manner in which the several monasteries have sent students, and the delinquents fined and admonished¹. The Oxford prior was appointed immediately, but the corresponding official for Cambridge does not make his appearance until the latter end of the century². The purchase of a hostel at Cambridge for the student-monks of Ely by John de Crawden about 1340, was an evident consequence of this reform³. This hostel, however, was sold to Bishop Bateman in 1347⁴, and the monks were left to lodge in the colleges, or in the town, until 1428, when for the first time a general Benedictine hostel, afterwards called Buckingham College, was established. [This foundation was due to the energetic action of the prior of students for Cambridge at the chapters held at Northampton in 1423 and 1426. "On the second day of meeting," says the chronicler of the former assembly, "John de Bardenay, prior of students for Cambridge, rose first, because the prior of students for Oxford was engaged in important business of his own, and set forth two propositions in a style not wholly undeserving of praise." His first proposition related to the conduct of the Abbot of Colchester, who, without due excuse, had

¹ [Reports of these chapters will be found in the Appendix to Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, fol. 1626.]

² [The appointment of the Prior for Cambridge is directed in the statutes of a chapter, undated, which are printed by Reyner, pp. 194—202. He explains in a note, p. 202, that as the report of the chapter of 1343 shews that no such official then existed, while in that of 1423, eighty years afterwards, he is present and speaks, the undated statutes must belong to some chapter held between the two.]

³ "From the time of Prior Crowden, there was generally three or four of the Ely Monks constantly residing at Cambridge, maintained there at the Convent expense, and regularly took their Degrees; after which they returned to the Convent, and others were sent to supply their places: as appears from the Rot. Comput. remaining in the Church." Bentham's *Ely*, p. 220. [John de Crawden, or Crowden, was Prior 1321—41.]

⁴ [History of Trinity Hall, Vol. I. p. 210.]

kept the scholar belonging to his monastery away from the University for a whole year. In the second place, he drew the attention of the assembly to "the desirability of removing certain impediments to education; and, above all, he earnestly appealed to them to grant by special favour a considerable sum of money to the students at Cambridge, with which a suitable hostel might be bought, and, if a royal licence could be obtained, be assigned to them as a dwelling¹." At the second meeting, "John Sudbury, prior of students in the University of Cambridge, delivered himself of a single supplication only; namely, that scholars of the order in that University having been hitherto dispersed through the town in the houses of the laity, whereby observance of their Rule had been grievously weakened, and religion openly set at nought, the President and the assembly might think proper to purchase a piece of ground, on which the students, or their superiors, might construct an edifice suitable for their common habitation. At the close of the speech the President declared himself in favour of a proposition so reasonable, and so conducive to the honour and advantage of the Order²." The royal licence which had been hoped for in 1423 was granted by King Henry VI. in 1428 (7 July), in virtue of which the Benedictines of Croyland were allowed to have assigned to them two messuages in the parish of S. Giles in Cambridge, on condition "that all monks of the order of S. Benedict, within our kingdom of England, or elsewhere within our dominions, may dwell there together while pursuing their University course (*scolas exercentes*), according to the regulations to be promulgated at a general chapter of the Order³." On the site thus obtained, now included in Magdalene College, the different Benedictine monasteries built chambers for their students, as at Gloucester House, Oxford.⁴ We learn from a Bull of Pope Sixtus IV.,

¹ [Reyner, *ut supra*, Appendix, p. 176.]

² [Ibid. p. 187.]

³ [This document, first discovered and translated by Cole (MS. xlv. 182), is printed from his copy by Gough, *History and Antiquities of Crowland Abbey*, Appendix, No. L. (Bibl. Top. Brit. Vol. III.); and translated in Cooper's *Annals*, i. 178.]

⁴ [History of Magdalene College, Vol. II. pp. 351, 359—364. The following rule, extracted from the thirteenth chapter of the statutes of 1343 (Reyner, *ut supra*, p. 163), explains the way in which the separate buildings of these monastic colleges

dated 22 May, 1481, that before this college was built, the monks of Norwich had been in the habit of residing in Trinity Hall and Gonville Hall, until hindered by the foundation of this general hostel of the order, which compelled them to remove thither. The Bull dispenses with the constitutions in their favour, and allows them to continue to reside in the two colleges in question¹.

The Augustinians, being subject to the same constitutions as the Benedictines, held similar chapters for sending students to the Universities. It may be presumed that at Oxford their students would be lodged in their Priory of S. Frideswide, until the college of S. Mary was specially founded by Thomas Holden in 1435, "for the reception of the novices of the order of S. Augustine²." At Cambridge they had no special college, but,

were assigned: "Item cum iuxta constitutionem Benedicti Papæ duodecimi, quanto plures studentes poterunt pariter, debeant convocari: decernimus ut Priores studentium sic ordinent de cameris ac studiis in loco prædicto, quod ultra anni medietatem non vacent, si qui nostri ordinis fuerint, qui voluerint occupare; hoc tamen observato, ut si quis de domo seu de monasterio, cujus sumptibus aliqua camera ædificata fuerit, seu nobiliter reparata, illuc venerit ad studendum, hujus auctoritate statuti eam liberè ingredi valeat, aut pacificè possidere. Teneatur etiam, quicumque eam prius occupaverat, absque difficultate et contradictione quacunquē exire."]

¹ The original Bull is apparently lost, but it is copied at length in the Annals of Gonville and Caius College (vellum copy, p. 20). It is headed: "Bulla Sixti quarti Aº. Dº. 1481. Quod liceat Monachis Norwicensibus studere in Collegio, non obstante decreto ut omnes Monachi universitatis studeant in Collegio de Buckingham quod hodie Collegium Magdalene dicitur." This heading was evidently written when the Annals were composed by Dr Caius, or at least after the foundation of Magdalene College. The Bull itself, addressed "Priori et Capellano Ecclesiæ Norwicensis ordinis Sancti Benedicti," begins as follows: "Exhibita siquidem nobis pro parte vestra petitio continebat quod olim bonæ memoriæ Willelmus Episcopus Norwicensis monachorum dictæ ecclesiæ literarum studio insistere volentium commodo et utilitati providere cupiens de bonis a deo sibi collatis duo collegia, ... Gunvill Hall et Trinitie Hall nuncupata, in Universitate studii generalis Cantabrigiæ Elien' dioc' in quibus monachi predicti morarentur et studerent, fundavit et dotavit": but that because "Benedictus Papa XI, predecessor noster, dudum inter alia statuit et ordinavit quod omnes et singuli monachi dicti ordinis in eadem universitate studere volentes in certo alio Collegio dictæ universitatis ad hoc deputato morarentur et studerent, monachi ejusdem Ecclesiæ in prefatis Collegiis studere non possunt." The true explanation of these expressions appears to be that given in the text, namely, that the Constitutions of Benedict XII. (not XI. as stated in the Bull), having compelled the Benedictine students to live together, the Norwich monks were no longer allowed to remain in the colleges specified. Probably they resisted the change, and the struggle led to the application for this Bull.

² Wood, *History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls*, ed. Gutch, p. 651. Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities*, ed. 1695, p. 214.

besides their convent at Barnwell, they had a house within the limits of the ancient town, in which their students could conveniently reside.

It is evident that Oxford was the favourite University for monastic students. Bishop Kennett¹ notices the Augustinian Schools, one of Divinity, another of Philosophy; the Benedictine Schools for Theology, the Carmelite Schools for Divinity and Philosophy; the Franciscan Schools; and, besides these, Schools appropriated to the benefit of particular religious houses, as the Dorchester Schools, the Eynsham Schools, the Schools of S. Frideswide, of Littlemore, of Oseney, of Stodley, etc. The Benedictines set the example of erecting special monastic colleges there, for, in addition to Gloucester House, which is referred to in the statutes promulgated by the Benedictine chapter held at Northampton in 1343, as "our common House in Stokwell street²," the Benedictines of Durham had built a Hall at Oxford for their own students before the end of the previous century, and it appears that Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham 1333—45, who left his celebrated library in trust to the scholars of this Hall, had intended to increase its buildings and endowments. His successor, Thomas de Hatfeld (1345—82), did actually commence the formation of a college of eight student-monks³, to be elected and transmitted thither in order, according to the Benedictine constitutions, one of whom was to be Prior or Warden (*custos*); with eight secular scholars, each to remain seven years, and to receive a testimonial on leaving. His death left the foundation incomplete, but subsequently, in 1381, it was matured, under the name of Durham College, and its buildings are even now partly retained in Trinity College. This college was exempted from the rule of the prior of students,

¹ Kennett, *ut supra*, p. 214.

² Reyner, *ut supra*, p. 162.

³ [The existence of Durham College before Bishop Hatfeld's time is proved by the mention of it in the treatise called *Philobiblon*, written by, or under the direction of, Richard de Bury himself in 1344, where he states (cap. 19) that he has given his books "communitati scholarium in aula nostra Oxon. degentium"; and the catalogues of the library at Durham contain two lists of books sent "collegio monachorum Dunelm. in Oxonia," the second of which is dated 1309. See *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Dunelm.* ed. Surtees Society, p. 39. The description of the foundation, and its statutes, are contained in a deed between the chapter of Durham and Bishop Hatfeld, undated, printed in Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 618—20.]

because erected before the constitutions of 1337¹. It differed from the regular Benedictine house called Gloucester House in admitting secular as well as monastic students. A college with a similar constitution was founded in 1363 by Archbishop Islip for the Benedictines of Canterbury, called Canterbury College², now included in Christ Church.

After this discussion, we will return to Oxford, where William of Wykeham's *Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre in Oxenford*, commonly called New College, received the royal licence in 1379, thirty-eight years after Queen's College. It was conceived upon a plan so much larger, more comprehensive, and well-considered in every respect of organisation as well as of buildings³, that it served more or less as a model for all succeeding foundations. Wykeham's first purchase for the site was effected in February 1369—70, a little more than a year after he had been consecrated Bishop of Winchester, and the first stone of the buildings was laid 5 March, 1379—80. The work of construction occupied six years, and the warden and fellows, who had been appointed soon after the date of the charter, and had resided during the interval in various halls and hostels, were put in possession in 1386. They entered the college in solemn procession at nine o'clock in the morning of Saturday, 14 April, the vigil of Palm Sunday, preceded by the cross, and singing a litany⁴. As the life of the founder was prolonged until 1404, eighteen years after the completion of his college, he was enabled to modify the details of the establishment, and to revise his statutes from time to time, as the experience of the practical working of them suggested improvements. He gave at least four several editions of them to the college between 1386 and 1400, each corrected and

¹ In the record of Prior Wessyngton's literary labours at Durham, A.D. 1466, it is said that he established: "that the Prior of students had no right to interfere with the Durham College at Oxford, because there was already a Prior established in that College before any Prior of students had been created." Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres. ed. Surtees Soc. p. cclxx.

² Wood, *ut supra*, pp. 455, 651.

³ [The arrangement of Wykeham's buildings is fully described in the Essay on "The Collegiate Plan," Vol. III. pp. 256—259.]

⁴ [Lowth, *Life of William of Wykeham*, p. 167. Mackenzie Walcott, *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, p. 282.]

enlarged from the previous one¹. His plan comprehended also the new feature of a preparatory college at Winchester, to be called *Saint Mary College of Winchester*, for the education of young boys, from whom alone the candidates for admission to the Oxford college were to be taken², which, like the former, he built and established during his life. The first stone was laid 26 March, 1387, at nine o'clock in the morning; like the college at Oxford, it occupied six years in building, and the warden and scholars made their solemn entrance into it, chanting in procession, at nine o'clock in the morning of 28 March, 1393³. The school, however, had been opened nearly twenty years before, at Michaelmas, 1373, and in the interval the Society had been accommodated with temporary lodgings. The number of members of each establishment was nearly the same, and greatly in excess of those of any previous foundation. Each Society was to consist of a Warden, seventy poor scholars, ten priests, three chaplains, and sixteen choristers, making a total of one hundred. To these were added for the college at Winchester three clerks⁴, a Master, and an usher, making a total of one hundred and five. These persons, it must be remembered, were all nominated, in the first instance, by Wykeham himself, for, unlike so many of the founders whose history we have glanced at, and who by premature death, or want of means, were unable to fulfil their benevolent intentions, and left their buildings incomplete and the projected number of their scholars deficient, he was enabled to render his two colleges perfect in every particular. [The Oxford college was intended to promote all the recognised branches of learning. Of the seventy fellows, fifty were to be students in arts or divinity, while two were permitted to study medicine, and two astronomy. The remaining twenty were to be trained for the law, ten as civilians, ten as canonists⁵.

¹ [The various revisions of Wykeham's statutes are described by Lowth, *ut supra*, pp. 168—170.]

² [Wykeham says of it: "Principium et origo collegii nostri Oxoniæ prædicti, velut hortus irriguus ac vinea pubescens in gemmas, ipsum collegium nostrum Oxoniæ fructiferâ prole fœcundet, flores et fructus mellifluos in vinea Domini Sabaoth per Ipsius gratiam allaturum." Walcott, *ut supra*, p. 122.]

³ Lowth, *ut supra*, pp. 175, 176.

⁴ [They are called "clerici conducticii et remotivi." Walcott, *ut supra*, p. 131.]

⁵ [Mullinger, *ut supra*, p. 303.]

This is the only foundation which falls within the reign of King Richard II., then just begun. The rest of his reign, and those of his successors, King Henry IV. and King Henry V., saw no new accessions to the number of colleges in either University. The long reign of the religious King Henry VI., on the other hand, added no fewer than eight, four at Oxford, and four at Cambridge.]

New College was succeeded, at an interval of nearly half a century, by the little college of divines (*collegium theologorum*) which the founder, Richard Flemmyng, Bishop of Lincoln, intended to call *The College of the Blessed Virgin Mary and All Saints, of Lincoln*, and it has always been designated Lincoln College. The letters patent of King Henry VI. are dated 13 October, 1427, and part of the intended site was obtained shortly afterwards; but, before it could be completed, "the Founder died, left his College unfounded, and all things relating thereunto without any maturity¹." No statutes had been given, and the Society was governed "in an arbitrary way, as the Rector thought fit and meet," until 1479, when Thomas Rotherham, then Bishop of Lincoln, constituted himself the second founder, and gave a body of statutes, based, as it would appear, on the traditional intentions of Bishop Flemmyng. The Society consisted originally of a Rector, seven scholars, and two chaplains, who were to be established in the Church of All Saints, which, with certain other chambers united to it, was to be erected into a Collegiate Church, or College². The object of the foundation was to strengthen the University in the opposition which it had at all times offered to heresy³, expressions which have been considered to refer to the doctrines of Wycliffe, of which the founder had been first a supporter, and afterwards a determined opponent. This brief sketch will be sufficient to shew that Lincoln College, so far from imitating New College,

¹ [Wood, *ut supra*, p. 237.]

² [This description of the college is derived from the preamble to the letters patent of 1427. The whole passage is translated in the Essay on "The Chapel," Vol. III. p. 494.]

³ [See the Founder's preface, prefixed to Rotherham's statutes, *Commiss. Docts.* (Oxford), Vol. i. Statutes of Lincoln College, p. 7. Rotherham says (*ibid.* p. 11) that the college was to be founded "pro destruendis hæresibus, et erroribus evellendis, plantandisque sacræ doctrinæ seminariis."]

either in constitution or in plan, offers a remarkable contrast to it in both respects.

Thirty-two years after Wykeham's death, one of his scholars¹, Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, determined to erect two Colleges at Oxford. In 1437 he founded St Bernard's College for Cistercian student-monks, as has been already narrated, and, in the following year, began the purchase of a site for "The Oxford College of the Souls of all the faithful departed" or, as it was to be popularly called, *All Soulen College*, out of compassion, as he states in the preface to his statutes, for the destitution of the clergy, the soldiery of the church, and not less for the soldiery of the kingdom, whose numbers had been grievously thinned by the wars with France². He laid the first stone in person, 10 February, 1437—38, and obtained a charter from King Henry VI. in May following³. The society was to consist of a warden and forty fellows and scholars, of whom twenty-four were to study arts, and philosophy, or theology, and sixteen canon and civil law. The statutes, drawn up by the founder, or under his direction, were sealed by him 2 April, 1443, ten days before his death. They are modelled on those of Wykeham, and, as the first warden, Richard Andrews, had been for some years fellow of New College, there can be little doubt that it was the intention of the founder to imitate Wykeham, so far as the restricted purpose of his own college rendered such imitation possible⁴.

Nearly a century had elapsed at Cambridge since the foundation of the four colleges of Pembroke Hall, Gonville Hall, Trinity Hall and Corpus Christi House, when William Byng-ham, parson of the church of St John Zachary, London, built a place of education for poor scholars in grammar called God's House. The site selected was the corner of Milne Street and Piron Lane, now included within the antechapel of King's College. Bingham began to purchase land in 1437, but he had probably established his scholars at a somewhat earlier

¹ [Chichele had been educated at Winchester and New College. *Life*, etc., by O. L. Spencer, 8vo Lond. 1783, p. 5.]

² [Commiss. Docts. (Oxford), Vol. i. Statutes of All Souls College, p. 11.]

³ [Wood, *ut supra*, p. 256.]

⁴ [*Life*, *ut supra*, p. 163.]

date in a hostel called "Tyled Hostel," which he leased from Barnwell Priory. In 1439 (13 July) he obtained the royal licence to assign the House to the master and scholars of Clare Hall¹. His petition to King Henry VI., in answer to which the above licence was granted, graphically describes the objects which he had in view:

"Unto the Kyng our Souerain lord, besecheth ful mekely your poure preest and continuell bedeman William Byngham, person of Saint John Zacharie of London, unto your souerain grace to be remembred, how yat he hath diuerse tymes sued vnto your Highnesse shewyng and de[cla]ryng by bille how gretely y^e clergie of this your Reaume, by the which all wysdom, konnyng, and governaunce standeth, is like to be empeired and febled, by the defaute and lak of scolemaistres of gramer, insomoch that as your seyd poure besecher hath founde of late over the est parte of the wey ledyng from Hampton to Coventre, and so forth no ferther north yan Rypon, .LXX. scoles voide or mo yat were occupied all at ones within .L. yeris passed, bicause yat yer is so grete scarstee of maistres of gramer, whereof as now ben almost none, nor none mawen be hade in your Universitees over those yat nedes most ben occupied still there: wherefore please it unto your most Souerain Highnesse and plenteous grace to considre how that for all liberall sciences used in your seid universitees certein lyfode is ordeyned and endued, savyng only for gramer, the which is rote and grounde of all the seid other sciences, and thereupon graciously to graunte licence to your forseid besecher yat he may yeve withouten fine or fee [a] mansion ycalled Goddeshous the which he hath made and edified in your towne of Cambrigge for the free herbigage of poure scolers of gramer * * * unto the maister and scolers of Clare Hall in your universitee of Cambrigge and to yeir successours * * * to thentent yat the seid Maister and Scolers mowe fynde perpetually in the forseid mansion ycalled Goddeshous xxiiii Scolers for to comense in gramer, and a Preest to governe yem for reformation of the said defaute, for the love of God, and in the wey of Charitee²."

The house thus established in connection with Clare Hall in 1439 was presently refounded by royal charter as a college, 9 February, 1441—42, under the name of "the Proctor and Scholars of God's House," with all the privileges usually granted to collegiate bodies, and two months afterwards a further charter of dotation was granted to it. It appears from Byngham's second petition, to be quoted below, that God's House became a building of considerable extent and importance. Its position, however, rendered its acquisition a matter of necessity to King

¹ [Commiss. Docts. i. 42.]

² [Commiss. Docts. iii. 153.]

Henry the Sixth, not merely for his extended design, but even for the convenience of his first buildings¹; and Bingham made no difficulty about surrendering it, under promise of obtaining a larger and better building. For this, however, he was compelled to wait more than three years, to his own great loss and inconvenience, and finally to address a second petition to the King:

"To the kyng owr souereyng lord, Beseches mekle your pouer prest and dayle bedman William Byngham to whome it lyked your good grace for to grant licence to have made A College for drawyng forth of maystres of gramer in a mansion of his in your vniuersite of Cambrige ecalled godeshous as it appers by your lettres patentes there of made vn to hym tho which mansion afterward it lyked your graciouse hieghnese to desir to haue for enlargeyng of your worthy College of owr lade and of seint Nicholase in the wiche sayd mansion calde Godeshous myght wel be logged .i. persones and so wern comynle.

For the wiche mansyon it wase promysed your sayd besecher that he shuld have had an other mansion redele ordeynd and bygged sufficiently as large and larger as wele bygged and better as cler with owt Charge and better in alle Condycyons. And also your lettres patentes in his hande for foundyng of his College ther in the same mansion so ordeynd for hym of new with owt any labour or any cost vn to hym as my lordys of Salesbury and of Suff' knawn wel both the wiche promyse as yet was not fulfilled your sayd bedman to fulgret labourse excessyfe werenes and all new costes to hym importable in his sute to gete a new patent at his own cost for the same mater.

And ouer that thate he hyrd hym loginge for his scolers and for harbergach of his stor and hustilmentes for his howseholde by .iij. yers to geder or euer he couth get or purvey hym of any place to purchase to his ese vn to now late that he with gret difficulthe purveyd hym of a place wher for hym most for euer more pay yerle xxj^s iiij^d wher be for

¹ [In the Letters Patent dated 26 August, 1446 (*ibid.* p. 163), confirming to Bingham his new site in S. Andrew's Street, we find the following passage: "*Pensantes nichilominus pia consideracione qualiter novo Collegio nostro in villa predicta per nos in honore beatissime Marie virginis et Sancti Nicholai Confessoris nuper erecto dictum tenementum cum gardinis vocat' Godeshous adeo contiguum situatum sit quod absque illo tenemento in edificando nostrum predictum Collegium procedere nequiuimus, et quod ad rogatum nostrum specialem prefatus Willelmus Byngham idem tenementum in ampliacionem fundi Collegii nostri antedicti in complacenciam nostram singularem nobis tradidit et dimisit.*" The "new college lately built" can only mean the Old Court, as the foundation of the new chapel was not laid until 25 July, 1446, one month before this document was signed. God's House was not conveyed to King's College until 25 July, 1446 (*History of King's College, Vol. I. p. 338*), but Bingham may have sold it to the royal commissioners at an earlier date. They began to acquire ground for the new site in 1443 (*ibid.* p. 337).]

he payd for his awn sayd mansion of Godeshous nocht tho valew of a peper corn.

And there to wher he was competentle byggyd for many a yer for his scolers and his howshold he can not byg his sayd place newly now purveyd with CC li tho wich is to hym inportable and nocht lyke hym to bryng abowte with owt specyall gyft of God and your gracyouse supportacyon.

Wher for pleise it your good grace for to consider the forsayd mat' and there vp on thurgh contemplacyon of these premysses for to grawnt to your sayd besecher sum supportacyon to relevyng of tho sayd pouer College of Godeshous by such weyese and in such maner that shal in no wyse anyntyse nor munysch your tresur nor your coffures as your sayd besecher shal clerle shew to your gracyouse heyghnes whan it lyke your grace for to here hym for tho lofe of god and in the way of charyte."

The new site which Bingham obtained, will be found described in the History of Christ's College, of which it now forms a part. As regards position and dimensions, it must have been far more convenient than the former one; but the revenues of the House, notwithstanding the good intentions of King Henry the Sixth, who was named by Bingham as co-founder, and whose charter contains a long list of the endowments which he proposed to confer upon it, so as to provide for the support of sixty scholars "not only in grammar, but in the knowledge of other liberal sciences," were never able to support more persons than a Proctor and four students. It continued, however, to exist until it was refounded on an extended scale by the Lady Margaret, at the beginning of the following century, as Christ's College¹.

[While Bingham was establishing his modest grammar-college in connection with Clare Hall, King Henry VI., then a young man of eighteen, was planning his own two foundations of Eton College and King's College. It has usually been assumed that he was actuated from the first by a desire to imitate, if not to surpass, William of Wykeham's similar foundations at Winchester and Oxford; and it is unquestionably true, that, after the scheme had been fully matured, both the buildings and the statutes of Wykeham were adopted as models. A careful study of the documents, however, shews that at the outset

¹ [Letters patent, 26 August, 1446. Commiss. Docts. iii. 162; Charter of Christ's College, 1 May, 1505, *ibid.* p. 127. Cooper, *Annals*, i. 189.]

the King's intentions were limited to the foundation of a school at Eton, copied from Wykeham's school at Winchester, and a small college at Cambridge; and that the idea of making the two institutions dependent upon each other, on the Wykehamite model, was an afterthought.

The first definite step towards the foundation of Eton College was the purchase of the advowson of the Parish Church of Eton in August, 1440. Before this, however, the king had made one purchase at least for the site of the intended college; and had visited Winchester, for the purpose, we may safely assume, of seeing the school in active work. The first sketch of the constitution of the college is contained in letters patent dated 12 September, 1440. It was then to consist of "a Provost, with a suitable number of fellows, priests, clerks, choristers, certain poor scholars, and other poor men, together with one master in grammar, whose duty it shall be to instruct these scholars, and any others who may resort thither from any part of England, in the knowledge of letters, and especially in grammar, without payment." In less than a month, however, a second document makes the college to consist definitely of a Provost, 10 priests, 4 clerks, 6 choristers, 25 poor scholars, 25 poor men, and a master in grammar. This body corporate, under the name of *The King's College of Blessed Mary of Eton beside Windsor*, was to have its habitation on a site adjoining the churchyard of Eton, and the church itself, erected into a collegiate church, was to be united with, and appropriated to it, for ever¹. The buildings were begun in the course of the following year², and by the end of 1443 were so far advanced that the college could be formally opened, though the numbers were still incomplete³.

A college at Cambridge had evidently been projected by the king at about the same time as the college at Eton; for the site of what is commonly called "The Old Court" was conveyed to him by his commissioners at the beginning of 1441 (22 January); and he laid the first stone of *The King's College of S. Nicholas in Cambridge*, which was to consist of a Rector and twelve scholars, 2 April in the same year. The statutes

¹ [Letters patent, 10 October, 1440. Heywood and Wright, p. 388.]

² [History of King's College and Eton College, Vol. 1. p. 383.]

³ [Lyte's Eton College, p. 21.]

were to be drawn up by John Langton, Chancellor of the University, John Somerseth, Chancellor of the Exchequer, William Lyndewode, Keeper of the Privy Seal, William Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln, and William Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury; the first rector was to be William Millington, and the first scholars were named at the same time by the founder¹. In these arrangements there is no reference to Winchester, or to the election of scholars educated at Eton. Two years afterwards, however, the king enlarged his designs, and in letters patent dated 10 July, 1443, announced that the poor scholars educated at Eton were to be admitted to his college at Cambridge, which was henceforward to be called *The King's College of S. Mary and S. Nicholas at Cambridge*². Other changes were made at the same time; the Rector became the Provost, and the framing of the statutes devolved upon the king himself, the persons appointed to do the work having petitioned to be released from the duty.

It is from this point that a direct imitation of William of Wykeham may be said to commence. The small tentative foundations which had been established at Eton College and King's College, were so completely obliterated by the elaborate scheme propounded in 1443 or shortly afterwards—a scheme which, when carefully examined, is found to be closely copied from Wykeham—that we are tempted to conclude that the king, on finding himself compelled to provide his own statutes, had chosen to adopt a scheme which had been found to work well elsewhere in preference to any attempt at inventing a new one for himself.

Each college was to consist of a Provost, 70 poor scholars, 10 priests, who at King's College are called secular priests

¹ [Letters patent, 12 February, 1441. Heywood and Wright, p. 1. On Millington see a valuable paper by the late Rev. G. Williams, in *Camb. Antiq. Soc. Comm.* i. 287.]

² [The change is directed in the following passage, *ibid.* p. 6: "Cumque etiam nos iam pridem, instinctu Spiritus Sancti ad id, ut speramus, inducti, fixo et immutabili proposito concluderimus quod pauperes indigentesque Scholares Collegii nostri regalis beate Mariæ de Etona Lincolniensis dioc', postquam fuerint ibidem grammaticæ rudimentis sufficienter imbuti, ad prefatum collegium nostrum Cantebrigie, quod de cetero Collegium Regale Beate Marie et Sancti Nicholai Cantebrigie nuncupari volumus, transferentur, studiis ibi liberalibus [etc.] perfectius imbuendi."]

(*presbyteri seculares*) and at Eton College priest-fellows (*presbyteri socii*); and 16 choristers. To these are added, at King's College, 6 clerks; making a total of 103; at Eton College 10 chaplains, 10 clerks, a master, an usher, and 13 poor men, making a total of 132. These numbers are slightly in excess of those given above for Winchester College, even after deducting the poor men, who form no part of Wykeham's foundation.

The qualifications of the scholars of King's College, and the course of study prescribed for them, cannot be better told than in the words of Mr Mullinger:

"The college is designed for the maintenance of poor and needy scholars, who must be intending to devote themselves to the sacred profession, at that time (says the preamble) 'so severely weakened by pestilence, war, and other human calamities'; they must wear the 'first clerical tonsure,' be of good morals, sufficiently instructed in grammar, of honest conversation, apt to learn, and desirous of advancing in knowledge. * * * The curriculum of study is marked out with considerable precision: theology (*sacra scriptura seu pagina*), the arts, and philosophy, are to constitute the chief subjects, and to form the ordinary course; but two masters of arts, of superior ability (*viracis ingenii*) may apply themselves to the study of the civil law, four to that of the canon law, and two to the science of medicine; astronomy (*scientia astrorum*) is permitted as a study to two more, provided that they observe the limits imposed by the provost and the dean; a precaution, we may infer, against the forbidden researches of the astrologer. The transition from the scholar to the fellow is here first clearly defined. It is not until after a three years' probation, during which time it has been ascertained whether the scholar be *ingenio, capacitate sensus, moribus, conditionibus, et scientia, dignus, habilis, et idoneus* FOR FURTHER STUDY, that the provost and the fellows are empowered to elect him one of their number¹."

A complete change in the design for the buildings of both colleges was a natural result of this extension of the original plan. At Cambridge the first college was left unfinished, while the site for the splendid buildings which were to surpass those of New College at Oxford was being acquired, and the buildings themselves were being begun, only to be left in their turn as incomplete as those which had preceded them. At Eton, which was more under the king's eye than Cambridge, the progress of the buildings was still slower, for his desire to construct them on as large a scale as possible made him change the design fundamentally at least twice; and, when the chapel was nearly

¹ [History, *ut supra*, p. 308.]

finished, it was pulled down again in order that the dimensions might be increased. This subject, however, must not be more than alluded to here, as it is fully discussed in the History of the two colleges.]

The real founder of Queens' College, Cambridge, which is next in order of succession to King's College, was Andrew Doket, Rector of S. Botolph's Church in Cambridge, who, 3 December, 1446, obtained a royal charter for a college of one president and four fellows¹. It was to have been placed on a site which he had acquired to the east of the present one, extending from Queens' Lane to Trumpington Street, and only about seventy-five feet in breadth. The charter constituted Andrew Doket president, and appointed four other persons fellows. Soon after, in imitation of his royal master, he extended his views, and having obtained the southern half of the present site, both better in position and admitting of enlarged buildings², the charter was cancelled at his own request, and a second issued 21 August, 1447, authorising the re-foundation of the college on this new site. It is in this charter that the name, *The College of S. Bernard of Cambridge*, first appears. But meanwhile Doket, following the example of the chaplain of Queen Philippa, who had founded Queen's College at Oxford, persuaded Queen Margaret to take his college under her protection, and to refound it under her own name³. Her petition to her husband, asking for his leave to do this, is as follows :

"Margaret"

"To the King my souerain lord.

[R. H.]

Besechith mekely Margarete Quene of Englund youre humble wif,
Forasmuche as youre moost noble grace hath newly ordeined and

¹ The number might be smaller or greater according to the state of the finances: "quatuor sociorum, seu plurium vel pauciorum prout casus eveniret secundum ipsius collegii facultates et expensas ampliandas vel diminuendas." The only duty enjoined upon the fellows was prayer for the king and queen, for their souls, and for the souls of their predecessors and posterity. Searle, *Hist. of Queens' Coll. (Camb. Antiq. Soc. 8vo Publ. No. ix.)* p. 8.

² [The words used in the charter are: "pro placabiliiori situ ac elargatione edificiorum et habitationis hujusmodi collegii." Searle, *ut supra*, p. 10.]

³ [Professor Willis has given in the text a probable reason for the queen's action, which is not explained in any contemporary document. Fuller, p. 161, says that "as Miltiades' trophy in Athens would not suffer Themistocles to sleep, so this queen

stablisshed a Collage of Seint Bernard in the Vniuersite of Cambrigge With multitude of grete and faire priuileges perpetuelly appartenyng vnto the same as in youre lettres patentes therupon made more plainly hit apperith

In the whiche Vniuersite is no collage founded by eny Quene of Englund hidertoward

Plese hit therfore vnto youre highnesse to yeue and graunte vnto youre seide humble wif the fondacion and denominacion of the seid collage to be called and named the Quenes collage of Sainte Margerete and Saint Bernard, or ellis of Sainte Margarete virgine and martir and saint Bernard confessour, and therupon for ful euidence thereof to haue licence and pouoir to ley the furst stone in her owne persone, or ellis by other depute of her assignement, So that beside the moost noble and gloriouse collage roial of oure Lady and Saint Nicholas founded by youre highnesse may be founded and stablisshed the seid so called Quenes collage to conseruacion of oure feith and augmentation of pure clergie namely of the Imparesse of alle sciences and facultees theologie to the ende these accustomed of plain lecture and exposicion botraced with docteurs sentences autentiq' parformyd daily twyes by two docteurs notable and wel auised vpon the bible aforenoone, and maistre of the sentences afternoone, to the publique audience of alle men frely, bothe seculiers and religieus, to the magnificence of denominacion of suche a Quenes collage, and to laude and honneur of sexe feminine, like as two noble and deuoute Contesses of Pembroke and of Clare founded two collages in the same Vniuersite called Pembroke halle and Clare halle, the wiche are of grete Reputacion for good and worshipful clerkis that by grete multitude haue be bredde and brought forth in theym And of youre more ample grace to graunte that alle priuileges, Immunittees, proffites, and comodites contened in the lettres patentes aboue Reherced may stonde in their strength and pouoir after forme and effect of the contene in theym. And she shal euer preye God for you¹."

The above petition is without date, but it must evidently have been sent to the king between 21 August, 1447 (the date of the last charter), and 30 March, 1448, on which day letters patent under the great seal were issued, granting to Margaret of Anjou the lands of S. Bernard's College, and licence to found a new college, to be called The Queen's College of S. Margaret and S. Bernard (*Reginale Collegium Sancte Margarete et Sancti Bernardi in Universitate Cantebr'*). A month later, 15 April,

beholding her husband's bounty in building King's College, was restless in herself with holy emulation, until she had produced something of like nature."

¹ [Searle, *ut supra*, p. 15, collated with the original in the Treasury of Queens' College. Mr Searle reads "facultees theologic," with the MS; but there is an erasure after the adjective, as though an attempt had been made to correct a clerical error of "theological" for "theologie."]

1448, the queen issued letters patent, in which she founds the college under the above name. In these two charters of King Henry and Queen Margaret, the same society was constituted as in the two earlier charters of S. Bernard's College.

No time was lost in commencing the necessary buildings, for the foundation-stone was laid by Sir John Wenlock, the Queen's commissioner, on the very day on which her own charter was executed, and the quadrangle had apparently been nearly completed when the war began, and stopped alike the King's college and the Queen's. But Andrew Doket survived, and at the restoration of tranquillity succeeded in placing his college under the patronage of the queen of King Edward IV., who, as Elizabeth Wydeville, and afterwards as Lady Ferrers, had been attached to the person of Queen Margaret, and would naturally be well acquainted both with the college and its President.

The first evidence of her interest in the college is afforded by a licence in mortmain, granted 25 March, 1465, in which the college is said "to exist by virtue of the patronage of Elizabeth, Queen of England, our most dear consort"¹; and in 1475 she gave the first statutes, describing herself in the preamble as "a true foundress (*vera fundatrix*) of the college"². Andrew Doket lived nine years longer, and died 4 November, 1484, having presided over his college, and watched its fortunes, for thirty-eight years during its progress to stability. In 1545—46 thirty-nine persons were maintained in it.

[The following description of the objects of the foundation, as set forth in the statutes of 1475, is given by Mr Mullinger³:

"The foundation is designed for the support of a President and twelve fellows, all of whom are to be in priest's orders. * * * When elected [every fellow] is bound to devote his time either to philosophy or to theology, until he shall have proceeded in the intervening stages and finally take his doctor's degree. On becoming a Master of Arts he is qualified to teach in the *trivium* and *quadrivium* for the space of three years; a function which, as it appears to have been a source of emolument, being rewarded by a fixed salary from the college, is limited to that period; its exercise, on the other hand, is not obligatory, provided that the fellow's time be devoted to the study of the liberal sciences, or to that of the natural, moral, or metaphysical philosophy of Aristotle. On the completion of these three years, if a fellow should

¹ [Searle, *ut supra*, p. 70.]

² [Commiss. Docts. iii. 18.]

³ [History, *ut supra*, p. 316.]

have no desire to study theology or to proceed in that faculty, he is permitted to turn his attention to either the canon or the civil law ; but this can only be by consent of the Master and the majority of the fellows ; and the concessive character of the clause would incline us to infer that such a course would be the exception rather than the rule."]

Simultaneously with the above, the more considerable college of Magdalen was begun and completed at Oxford by William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester. By the first licence which he obtained from King Henry VI. 6 May, 1448, he settled a president and 20 scholars¹ in certain Halls which he had purchased on the south side of High Street, just within the East gate of the city, intending at that time to found only a Hall to be called *Magdalen Hall*. But eight years afterwards, 27 September, 1456, he obtained a surrender of the Hospital of S. John Baptist with all its possessions, including its site and buildings; and in the following year, 18 July, 1457, obtained the royal licence to establish *Seynte Mary Magdalen College* in its place, for a much more extensive society. He transferred his previous establishment thither, and, like Andrew Duket, whom he survived only two years, lived to witness the complete establishment of his noble foundation, notwithstanding the civil wars and change of dynasty. [The disturbed state of the country, however, and perhaps his own altered position under King Edward IV., delayed the commencement of his buildings for sixteen years, for the first stone was not laid until 1473. They are believed to have been completed in or about 1481, for in September of that year Waynflete visited the college "to see the buildings," in which, a few days afterwards, he was able to entertain King Edward IV. and his retinue². Their arrangement, which is copied to some extent from that of Wykeham, will be discussed in a future chapter³.] Wood eloquently describes this college as the most noble and rich structure in the learned world, exceeding any foundation for secular scholars in Europe; and Holinshed eulogises the founder and the college in the following passage:

¹ [Waynflete was empowered by the licence (Commiss. Docts. Oxford, ii. p. v.) to appoint 50 scholars, but Wood (Colleges and Halls, p. 308) shews that only twenty were actually appointed, whose names he gives.]

² [Chandler, *Life of Waynflete*, p. 149.]

³ [Essay on "The Collegiate Plan," Vol. III. p. 261.]

"His vertuous disposition was right apparant, and it were but by this the godlie erection of that worthie worke, Magdalene colledge in Oxford, a plot right aptlie chosen out for studie at first, with strength and workemanship soone after builded according, in proportion beautifull outward, and for use verie commodious within; sorted into a faire mansion for the president, severall and meet for a man to that office of worship and gravitie, and also into other roomes for the fellowes, officers, and younger students. Not without a vertuous remembrance of the verie tenderlings who might appeare to be toward and teachable; whereof part to be trained up in the divine science of musike iustlie reported in a distichon, that

Gaudia si superûm res sit mortalibus ulla
Integra quæ referat; musica sola refert:

the use of it commendable serving by sweet harmonie to praise God in church, and for delectable recreation to a gentlemanlie mind any where else; and part of these yoong ones to be taught the grammar in a faire schoole well appointed therefore, out of which as out of a nurserie of it owne, for supplement certeine to keepe full the number, these budlings at need from time to time to be dulle derived and drawn.

Now somewhat in casting vpon this devout mans devise and compasse; to consider the companie of students there, that in seuerall sciences and sundrie professions are not a few; then their assigned studies and exercises in them, their steps in rising and reward for diligence, from the lowest logician to the highest degrees of doctrine in schooles, their officers in house, their orders for governance in maners, in safeguard of health and helpe in sicknesse: and that chieftest is, the revenues certeine for provision and maintenance of all, it may be a question not easie to answer: whether at first in this founders meditation upon such a worke were a mind more magnifike, or a more amplitude of abilitie after in so absolute a forme to performe it, or else a profounder wisdom for perpetuitie into so perfect an order in all points to have fixt it¹."

It should be added that the Hospital of S. John, although surrendered, was not wholly suppressed. Pilgrims were still entitled to refreshment, and charity boys were fed with the relics of the tables. The new institution was engrafted on the old, and the poor were no sufferers². Thus Waynflete accomplished that which Hugo de Balsham had unsuccessfully attempted in the foundation of Peterhouse.

[It is evident that Waynflete's main object in founding Magdalen College was the education of the clergy; for, though the preamble to the statutes mentions the liberal arts, sciences, and faculties, immediately after the support and exaltation of the

¹ Holinshed, ed. 1587, p. 628.

² Wood, Colleges and Halls, p. 311. Chandler, *ut supra*, p. 94.

Christian faith, the advancement of the church, and the increase of divine worship, it is evident from what follows that theology was to be the principal study of the members of the college. In this respect his scope was narrower than that of Wykeham, though it is evident that he borrowed many of the details of his statutes from him. The Society was to consist of a President and forty poor scholars, or fellows, all in Holy Orders (*clerici*), who were to study theology and philosophy; but, by special leave of the President, two or three might study civil or canon law, and the same number medicine. Besides these forty scholars, there were to be thirty others, of a different grade, called *Demyes*, who were to apply themselves to grammar, logic, and sophistry. Further, in order to provide for the proper conduct of divine worship, four priest-chaplains, eight clerks, and sixteen choristers, were to be appointed.]

We must now return to Cambridge, where the College or Hall of S. Catharine was founded in 1475. It had been projected by Robert Wodelarke, Provost of King's College 1452—79, during the reign of King Henry VI., and the first purchase for the site was made in 1459; but the outbreak of the civil war compelled the founder, like Waynflete, to lay his plan aside for some years, and he did not obtain his charter until the fifteenth year of the reign of King Edward IV., 16 August, 1475¹. In that document the house is said to be founded for a master and three or more fellows². In the founder's statutes the number is six, with the sensible proviso that it shall be smaller or larger according to the condition of the finances. The object which Wodelarke had in view was "to extend the usefulness of the church, the preaching of the word of God, and the study of theology, philosophy, and the other arts, within the University of Cambridge³." No fellow might graduate in any other faculty than in that of theology or arts. In 1545—46 thirteen persons were maintained in it.

¹ Commiss. Docts. iii. 75.

² [In the cartulary compiled by Wodelarke, called *Memoriale Nigrum* (described below, Vol. II. p. 70), we find a note, written apparently by himself, to the effect that the college has been founded for a master and *ten* fellows, and that apostolic authority has been obtained for its erection at any future time into a college, with all the usual privileges of such institutions.]

³ [The words are: "collegium unum sive aulam,...ad...ecclesie...utilitatem, sa-

No college originated in either University during the short reigns of King Edward V. and King Richard III.; [but in that of Henry VII. we meet with the first of a series of transformations of older institutions by which, in the course of about twenty years, the three flourishing colleges of Jesus, Christ's and S. John's came to be established at Cambridge.]

In the twelfth year of King Henry VII. the ancient, and once prosperous, nunnery of S. Rhadegund was dissolved, and converted into a college, by John Alcock, Bishop of Ely. This fate is said to have been brought about by the misconduct of the inmates of the House. According to tradition the estates were neglected and the revenues wasted, the buildings were allowed to fall into partial ruin, the nuns broke their vows, their number was at length reduced to two, and in 1497 the nunnery was suppressed on the petition of the Bishop, to whom the estates were granted in furtherance of his plan of founding a college. The charter prescribes that such college, when erected, shall be called the College of S. Mary the Virgin, S. John the Evangelist, and S. Rhadegund; but this title was superseded, almost from the beginning, at the express desire, as it is stated, of Bishop Alcock, by the name which it has always borne, Jesus College¹. This is the first example of the

crosancti verbi dei administrationem, ad sacræ theologiæ, philosophiæ, ceterarumque artium cognitionem amplificandam in Universitate Cantabrigiæ erexi." Ibid. p. 78.]

¹ [Sherman (Hist. Coll. Jes.) gives the following account of the reason for this change of name: "Reverendus autem Pater antiquæ et religiosæ Domus S. Rhadegundis (suaræ jurisdictioni subjectæ) ruinas contueri aegrè sustinens...coenobium in Collegium convertebat, idemque in honorem B. Virginis Mariæ, S. Joan : Evangelistæ: et gloriosæ Virginis S. Rhadegundis (Monasterii foundationis et dedicationis non immemor) dedicari jussit, vulgo autem appellari Collegium Jesu (ab Ecclesia conventuali sive sacello nomini Jesu dicatæ) et Magistrum sociosque et scholares ejusdem Collegii Jesuanos, et Magistros socios et scholares Collegii Jesu communiter dici voluit; et Jesuani quidem non infrequenter in Registr. Epi. Eliensis scriptisque antiquioribus nuncupantur...." This narrative can hardly be correct. The *cultus* of the "Name of Jesus" had not been long introduced when Bishop Alcock founded his college; and it is not likely that the nuns' church would bear any other name than that of S. Rhadegund. On the other hand, a chapel within their church (indicated by the words "sive sacello") may have been dedicated to the Name of Jesus; and the Bishop may have wished to perpetuate such dedication by changing the title of his college.

The description of the ruin into which the house had fallen is given as follows in the preamble to the charter (Commiss. Doc. iii. 91). King Henry the VII. states that he has heard from the trustworthy relation of the Bishop of Ely, and from public

complete conversion of a decayed monastic establishment into a college, with the retention of the same site and buildings; though the alien priories had furnished a considerable portion of the endowments of the colleges of Eton, King's, and Magdalen, Oxford.

[The foundation-charter, dated 12 June, 1497, prescribes that the college shall consist of a Master, six fellows, and a certain number of scholars, who are to be instructed in grammar, and offer up daily prayers for the king, and other specified persons: but the statutes, which, though they were not given until the following century by Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely 1515—34, profess conformity with the presumed intentions of the founder, extend the number to twelve fellows, and eight scholars (*pueri*). The fellows, as soon as they have taken the degree of master of arts, are to devote themselves to theology; and the scholars are to study grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, logic, or philosophy. Before their admission they are to have become sufficiently conversant with music to take part in the chapel services. In 1545—46 thirty-one persons were maintained in it.]

The two colleges which stand next in order of date, Christ's College and S. John's College, both claim as their foundress Margaret Beaufort, mother of King Henry VII., commonly called the Lady Margaret. Of these the former only was completed by herself; the arrangements for the latter, which proved far more difficult and intricate, had been only begun when she died (29 June, 1509), and were carried to a successful issue by

rumour: "quod domus siue Prioratus Religiosarum mulierum sancte Radegundis de fundacione et patronatu Episcopi ut in iure ecclesie sue Eliensis ac terre tenementa redditus possessiones edificia necnon res bona iocalia et alia ornamenta ecclesiastica eidem domui siue Prioratui pie et caritatiue antiquitus data et collata per negligentiam atque improvidam et dissolutam disposicionem et incontineniam occasione vicinitatis Vniuersitati Cantebrigg' Priorissarum et religiosarum mulierum domus antedictæ in tantum dilapidata destructa deuastata alienata diminuta et subtracta existunt ipseque ad tantas inopiam et paupertatem sunt redactæ quod diuina obsequia hospitalitatem aut alia misericordie et pietatis opera ibidem iuxta primariam fundacionem et ordinationem fundatorum suorum usitata manutenere et supportare seu seipsas, que due tantum numero existunt, quarum vna alibi professa alteraque infamis existit, aliquantulum sustentare seu releuare non valeant set ipsas domum siue prioratum predict' quasi desolat' relinquere oporteat." On the other hand the Compotus Rolls for 1450—51, 1451—1452, preserved in the Treasury of Jesus College, mention repairs to the Hall, Kitchen, and other offices, which in the second of the two years above mentioned occupied sixty days.]

her executors, or rather by one of them, her faithful friend and confessor, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester¹.

[Christ's College was an extension and development of God's House, which, as we have already seen, had been transferred to a new site in S. Andrew's Street by King Henry VI. The charter granted to Christ's College by King Henry VII., 1 May, 1505, shews distinctly that no suppression of the original foundation was intended. After rehearsing the failure of King Henry VI. to endow it with funds sufficient for the maintenance of sixty scholars as he had proposed to do, we are told that the Lady Margaret, out of the affection which she bore to him while alive, and her trust in his sanctity now that he is dead, is desirous of completing his college, and placing it on a firm footing (*finire et stabilire*). She is therefore to be foundress, the present proctor and scholars of God's House consenting; the members of her foundation are to be added to those already in existence; and the name of the college, on account of her love for the Name of Jesus Christ, is to be changed (also with the consent of the proctor and scholars) into Christ's College. The foundation, as enlarged by her benefactions, is to consist of a Master, 12 fellows (*socii*), and 47 scholars (*discipuli*). In 1545—46 seventy-two persons were maintained in it.

The statutes, which were given in 1506, and are probably the work of Bishop Fisher, present several new and interesting features, which must be briefly noticed. At the outset the fact that the new college is only an extension of God's House is again insisted upon, for the preamble expressly tells us that the Master, John Sickling—who had been the last Proctor of God's House—and the fellows, have assented to the new rule. Theology is to be the chief subject of study; law and medicine are not once alluded to, and the Master is bound by his oath not to allow any of the fellows to apply himself to any other faculty than those of arts and theology. The fellows are to take priests' orders as soon as possible. They are to be chosen, if eligible, from the scholars, but, if fitting candidates be not forthcoming, from the whole university. The course of instruction of the scholars is specially defined; and among the subjects

¹ [Mullinger's excellent account of these two colleges, and analysis of their statutes (History, pp. 445—472), will well repay attentive study.]

to be lectured on the works of the poets and orators occur for the first time. The admission of pensioners (*pensionarii et convivæ*) is another innovation.

Among the conventual establishments of Cambridge, the foundation of which was mentioned in the last chapter, a hospital of Augustinian Canons, called the Hospital of S. John the Evangelist, was included. Originally it had been well endowed, but, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is said to have fallen into the same state of decay as the nunnery of S. Rhadegund. Some doubt must, however, be felt respecting the real extent of this decay; for, if the documents which authorise the suppression of the two houses be compared, it will be found that the description of the condition of the hospital is copied from that of the nunnery with a closeness which throws suspicion on the truth of both accounts. The property has been squandered, the buildings have gone to ruin, hospitality and divine worship have been neglected, and even the two surviving brethren have deserted the precincts, to the grave scandal of their Order and the Church¹. Whether these charges were true or false, the suppression of the Hospital had been decided upon by the advisers of the Lady Margaret, and licences to that effect had been obtained from King Henry VII. and from the Bishop of Ely (her own stepson, James Stanley), when the progress of the design was arrested by the deaths, first of the king, and then of the foundress herself. Difficulties of various kinds—into which we need not now enter—retarded the foundation of the college for nearly two years, but these were finally overcome by the perseverance, as above mentioned, of Bishop Fisher, and a charter was obtained from King Henry VIII., 9 April, 1511, in virtue of which the Hospital was changed into a college consisting of a master and fifty fellows and scholars, who were to study theology and the liberal sciences². The buildings had been commenced in February, 1510—11, and the college was formally opened 29 July, 1516. A body of statutes had been prepared by Bishop Fisher, which the Master and twenty-four fellows

¹ [Letters patent of Henry VIII., 7 August, 1509. Commiss. Docts. iii. 221.]

² [For further particulars of the intricate negotiations which preceded the foundation of S. John's College, see Baker's History, ed. Mayor, pp. 61—69; and Mullinger's able summary, pp. 461—472.]

swore to observe. This first code is copied in the main from those of Christ's College; and the two subsequent codes, given by the same person in 1524 and 1530 respectively, develop their provisions without introducing any important innovation. They are based upon those given in 1516 to Corpus Christi College Oxford by Bishop Fox. In 1545—46 one hundred and fifty-two persons were maintained in it.]

Soon after the commencement of the last-mentioned colleges at Cambridge, the sister university witnessed the nearly simultaneous foundation of the colleges of Brasenose and Corpus Christi, after an interval of sixty-four years since the last Oxford College of Magdalen had arisen. Brasenose was the work of two joint founders, William Smyth, Bishop successively of Lichfield and Lincoln, and Sir Richard Sutton. [The first purchase for the site, namely, "the lease of two ancient Hostels for learning, situate on the west side of School street, called Brasenose Hall, and Little University Hall¹," was effected in 1508; and the first stone of the buildings was laid at the south-west corner of the quadrangle, 1 June, 1509². By the royal licence, dated 15 January, 1511—12, the co-founders were empowered to found a college for a Principal and sixty scholars, to be instructed in the sciences of sophistry, logic, and philosophy, and afterwards of divinity, by the name of the *Principal and Scholars of the King's Hall and College of Brasen Nose in Oxford*. The statutes, however, which were originally drawn up by Bishop Smyth before 1513, and finally issued in a revised form by Sir R. Sutton³, 1 February, 1521—22, recognise only twelve scholars or fellows (*scholares socii*), who were to be natives of the diocese of Lichfield, or failing them, of the diocese of Lincoln. Besides these, scholars who were not fellows were to be admitted in proportion to the size and number of the apartments (*secundum capacitatem cubiculorum*)⁴.]

The establishment of Corpus Christi College by Richard Fox, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1507—18, and Bishop of Winchester from 1501 to his death, 14 September,

¹ [Wood, *Colleges and Halls*, p. 354.]

² [Ibid. p. 367.]

³ [Lives of William Smyth and Sir R. Sutton, by Ralph Churton, 8vo, Oxford, 1800, p. 311.]

⁴ [Commis. Docts. (Oxford), Vol. ii. Statutes of Brasenose College, p. 12.]

1528, was proceeding contemporaneously with the last. When the first royal charter was issued, 12 March, 1512—13, the founder intended that his college should receive student-monks from his cathedral-monastery of Winchester, upon the plan of Durham College and Canterbury College, and, like them, should include a mixture of secular scholars. The buildings had been even begun with the object of realising this design, but, before they had proceeded far, he changed his mind, upon the advice, as the story runs, of Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, an intending benefactor, who is reported to have said:

“What, my lord, shall we build houses, and provide livelodes for a companie of bussing monks, whose end and fall we ourselves maie live to see? No, no, it is more meet a great deale, that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as who by their learning shall doo good in the church and commonwealth¹.”

The charter was therefore returned, and a new one obtained, 26 November, 1516, for a college to consist of a President and thirty scholars, more or less, who should study theology, philosophy, and arts. The statutes were given by the founder in the following year, 1517, when (20 June) they were “read, and then approved of by him in the Church or Chapel of the Hospital of S. Cross, near Winchester, in the presence of clerical and laical people².”

[Bishop Fox, like so many churchmen of that day, had been both a statesman and a diplomatist. In the latter capacity he had travelled much, and while abroad had probably become acquainted with the new learning which was slowly making its way into England. It is not therefore surprising to find that his statutes, while conceived in the same spirit as those already given to Christ's College, Cambridge, by his friend Bishop Fisher, enjoined still bolder innovations. He appoints three lecturers in his college, one on the Latin classics, one on the Greek classics, and a third on divinity. This last is directed to follow the fathers of the Church—Jerome, Austin, Ambrose, Origen, Chrysostom—and to eschew the medieval writers, “except where the commentaries of the former doctors fail³.”

¹ Holinshed, ed. 1587, p. 840.

² [Wood, *ut supra*, p. 391.]

³ [Statutes of Corpus Christi College, etc. By G. R. M. Ward, M.A. 8vo, Lond., 1843, p. 104. Mullinger, *ut supra*, pp. 520—523.]

Meanwhile, Cardinal Wolsey was maturing his plan for a college, which, in size, in endowments, and in the special purposes of its foundation, would have offered a striking contrast to those which had preceded it. The revenues, amounting to an annual income of £2000, exclusive of all deductions, were to be provided by the suppression of upwards of thirty religious houses, including the celebrated Augustinian Priory of S. Frideswide, the patron-saint of Oxford. The suppression of this house, the site of which was to provide the principal portion of the site of the new college, was authorised by a Bull of Pope Clement VII., dated 3 April, 1524, and confirmed by the king shortly afterwards (19 April). In the following year, 1 July, 1525, the site was conveyed to the cardinal, and the foundation of *Cardinall College* authorised (13 July)¹. The society, instead of being composed of a master and fellows, after the usual fashion of colleges, was to consist of a dean and canons—perhaps in order to soften as much as possible the transition from the old to the new state of things—who were to study theology, canon and civil law, arts, medicine, and polite literature, besides devoting themselves to the continuous practice of divine worship. The first stone was laid, with suitable ceremonial, 20 March, 1525—26², and a dean and eighteen canons were appointed shortly afterwards. The statutes, given by the Founder, probably in the same year, develop the details of the foundation at great length. Of these we can give only a brief sketch. There were to be 60 canons of the first order (*primi ordinis*), and 40 canons of the second order, or “petty canons”; divine service was to be conducted by 13 hired priests (*presbyteri conducticii*), 12 clerks, and 16 choristers, with a teacher in music; and 24 servants. Besides these—and this was the most original part of the whole scheme—there were to be six public Professors, of theology, canon law, civil law, philosophy, medicine, and literature, to be chosen by a special board of electors, to whom the utmost liberty of choice was permitted. Their duties, salaries, and the books on which they were to

¹ [These dates are derived from the letters patent dated 13 July, 1525, printed in *Commiss. Docts. (Oxford)*, Vol. ii. *Cardinal College*, p. 4.]

² [This date is that of the inscription on the foundation-stone, printed by Gutch in a note to *Wood, Colleges and Halls*, p. 421; in the text the ceremony is said to have taken place 15 July, 1525.]

lecture, are all minutely specified. Besides these, there were to be four private professors (*privati ac domestici professores*), or, as we should call them, lecturers, to be chosen out of the canons of the first order, to lecture in sophistry, dialectics, philosophy, and literature.

The buildings which were to contain this society, which, when complete, would have amounted to 173 persons¹, were carried forward with the utmost activity until October, 1529, when they were stopped by Wolsey's attainder.

In 1532 the college was refounded by the king, under the name of *King Henry the Eighth's College*; but this, after an existence of only thirteen years, was again surrendered into the hands of the founder, 20 May, 1545. In the following year he refounded it under the mixed form of a cathedral and a college. The church became a cathedral church, forming the see of the recently created Bishop of Oxford, and the college was named *The Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation*². The society, as first constituted, offered a curious mixture of a college and a school, for it was to have consisted of a Bishop, a dean, eight canons, eight petty canons, and other officers, sixty scholars or students, a schoolmaster, an usher, and forty children. The latter part of this strange scheme, however, was never carried out, and, instead of the scholars and the children, one hundred students were appointed.]

A few weeks later, 19 December, 1546, the king issued letters patent founding his own college at Cambridge "for a Master, and 60 fellows, and scholars," to be called *Trinity College within the Towne and Universitie of Cambrydge of Kynge Henry theight's fundacion*. In order to make way for the new establishment, King's Hall and Michael House had been compelled to surrender themselves and their possessions into the king's hands (29 October); and Physwick Hostel had been forcibly taken

¹ [Wood, *Colleges and Halls*, pp. 423, 424, raises the number to 186, by including the subdean, 4 censors, 3 bursars, 4 private professors, and the steward, 13 persons in all. It is clear however from the statutes (Commiss. Docts. (Oxford), Vol. ii.), that all these were to be chosen from the 60 canons *primi ordinis*. The arrangements of the buildings will be described in the Essay on "The Collegiate Plan," Vol. III. p. 263; and the intended chapel in that on "The Chapel," *ibid.* p. 508.]

² [The Latin title is "ECCLESIA CHRISTI CATHEDRALIS OXON. DE FUNDATIONE REGIS HENRICI OCTAVI."]

away from Gonville Hall. By uniting these three sites and three sets of buildings, with the lanes that separated them, an area of sufficient extent was provided, but, as the curious and complicated history of this site will be found narrated at length in the History of Trinity College, no further particulars of it need be given in this place. The letters of foundation were succeeded within a week by a second document (24 December), by which the college was endowed with revenues of the clear annual value of nearly £1700¹—arising mainly out of impropriated livings, the property of recently dissolved religious houses. [The king died in little more than a month after the date of the last of the above documents, and it therefore fell to the lot of his successor to provide the statutes which he had announced his intention of giving². The objects which he had in view are, however, clearly stated in the preamble to the charter of foundation. After referring to the special reasons he had for being thankful to Almighty God for peace at home, for successful wars abroad, and, above all, for the introduction of the pure truth of Christianity into his kingdom, and the defence of it against the heresies and wicked abuses of the Papacy on the one hand, and unbelief on the other, he sets forth his intention of founding a college: "to the glory and honour of Almighty God, and of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, for increase and strengthening of Christianity, extirpation of error, development and perpetuation of religion, cultivation of wholesome study in all departments of learning, knowledge of languages, education of youth in piety, virtue, self-restraint, and knowledge, charity towards the poor, and relief of the afflicted and distressed."]

The five principal colleges of student-monks which have been mentioned in due course, were naturally included in the Act of Parliament for the dissolution of the monasteries, which became law in 1539, but it is remarkable that the sites and buildings of all of them, after passing through various hands, were obtained by the founders of new colleges, for whose purposes the construction and arrangement of their buildings

¹ [The charters of foundation and dotation are printed in *Commiss. Docts. iii.* pp. 365—410; and a convenient analysis of the latter in *Cooper's Annals*, i. pp. 445—451. The number of persons is given below, Vol. II. p. 463, *note*.]

² [*Commiss. Docts. iii.* 367.]

especially fitted them. Thus in Cambridge the general Benedictine House, which had latterly been known as *Buckingham College*, was granted to Thomas Lord Audley, who obtained the royal licence to found in its place the college of S. Mary Magdalene, for a master and eight fellows, 3 April, 1542¹. At Oxford, Canterbury College was bestowed by the king himself upon his newly created Christ Church, of which it became the Canterbury quadrangle. In the first and second year of Philip and Mary the Benedictine Durham College, and the Cistercian Bernard College, were purchased, the first by Sir Thomas Pope, the second by Sir Thomas Whyte, and converted into colleges, in which the monastic buildings were for the most part retained. The former became Trinity College (8 March 1555)², for a President, twelve fellows, and eight scholars; the latter, S. John Baptist College (1 May, 1555)³, on the more considerable scale of a President, and thirty fellows or scholars, the number of whom was subsequently increased to fifty. The statutes, given shortly afterwards, prescribe their subjects of study to be civil and canon law, the liberal arts (defined to consist of dialectics, rhetoric, natural and moral philosophy), and theology, and regulate, with curious minuteness of detail, the precise proportions which the number of students in each of these is to bear to the whole body of fellows⁴. Sir Thomas Whyte also purchased (in 1559) the site and buildings of the suppressed Gloucester College, founded in 1291, as already related, for Benedictine students in general. This he converted into "a Hall for Academical Students" in connection with his own college, to which he conveyed it. He repaired the buildings, and "soon after settled therein a Principal and a hundred scholars or more, some living upon their own charges, but most by his benefaction." He proposed to call it *S. John Baptist's Hall*, but, as so frequently happens, the attempt to change the old name was unsuccessful, and it was always called *Gloucester Hall*, until converted into Worcester College in 1714⁵.

¹ [History of Magdalene College, Vol. II. pp. 359—363.]

² [This is the date of the royal charter of foundation. Wood, Colleges and Halls, p. 517.]

³ [Ibid. p. 535.]

⁴ [Commiss. Docts. (Oxford), Vol. III. Statutes of S. John's College, p. 37.]

⁵ [Wood, Colleges and Halls, p. 630. Ingram, Memorials, Vol. II. Worcester College, p. 5.]

The reign of Philip and Mary further witnessed the enlarged endowment of Gonville Hall at Cambridge by John Caius, M.D.; to whom, in consideration of his benefactions, the title of co-founder with Edmund Gonville and Bishop Bateman was granted by charter, 4 September, 1557¹. Popular usage, however, has given his name alone to the college, although he himself called it *The College of Gonville and Caius founded in honour of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, [with the obvious intention of not only commemorating the original founder, but of preserving the name which he had given to his college. Dr Caius gave statutes in 1558, which he amplified in 1572. The previous statutes of Bishop Bateman are respected, and the intentions of benefactors are not disturbed. Of the fellowships founded by himself two only are to be held by medical men, the third by a theologian. The study of anatomy, with the dissection of the human body, is directed to be pursued, but with this exception, the statutes offer no marked contrast to the older codes. Like them, they are filled with minute directions respecting dress, discipline, the use of Latin, the care of the gates and buildings, and other matters of like nature which might well have been left to the discretion of the Society.]

The reign of Queen Elizabeth is distinguished by the foundation of three new colleges.

At Oxford Hugh ap Rice, or Price, a Welshman, Doctor of Civil Law and Treasurer of S. David's, founded Jesus College, 27 June, 1571, on the site of a Hall for students called White Hall. It appears that he had petitioned Queen Elizabeth that she would extend her patronage to his college. Her letters patent, however, go far beyond this, for they describe her in the usual florid language as founding the college out of gratitude to God for his benefits, and appoint it to be called *Jhesus College wythin the Citie and Universitie of Oxforth, of Quene Elizabeth's fundacion*. This assumption of the position of foundress by the queen did not confer any substantial benefit on the college, except some timber out of the royal forests of Shotover and Stow²; and Dr Price, who bequeathed to it all he possessed, must be considered the real founder. The original

¹ [Commiss. Docts. ii. 216.]

² [Wood, Colleges and Halls, p. 569.]

foundation was for a Principal, 8 fellows, and 8 scholars, all of whom were nominated by the queen, but the statutes, given in 1622, double these numbers. Wood further states that the founder intended "the maintenance of certain scholars of Wales to be trained up in good letters," and that they lodged in White Hall until sufficient buildings had been erected for their reception¹. The letters patent define their subjects of study to be, science, philosophy, arts, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, as a preparation for theology.

Jesus College at Oxford was followed by Emmanuel College at Cambridge, founded 11 January, 1583—84, by Sir Walter Mildmay, for a Master and 30 Fellows and Scholars. It was erected on the site of the house of the Friars Preachers, or Dominicans, whose buildings were, in part, altered for the reception of the students. This college is usually termed a Puritan foundation, but this imputation rests on the tone given to it subsequently, rather than on any expressions in the charter or the statutes. The former states that the queen, being anxious "to increase anything which may concern the orthodox faith of Christ," has licensed the foundation of "a college of theology, science, philosophy, and arts, for the propagation of the pure gospel of Christ, our only mediator"; and the preamble to the latter speaks of the founder's desire "to do his best to develop, for the sake of posterity, purity of religion and of life²."

Ten years afterwards, 25 July, 1594, letters patent were issued for the foundation of Sidney Sussex College at Cambridge. These were procured by the executors of Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex, who had died 9 March, 1588—89, and whose will contained the following clause:

"Also where sithence the decease of my said lord, the earl of Sussex, I have, in devotion and charity, purposed to make and erect some good and godly monument for the maintenance of good learning; and to that intent have yearly gathered and deducted out of my revenue so much as conveniently I could; I do therefore now, in accomplishing and performing of the same my charitable pretence, what with the ready money which I have so yearly reserved, and with a certain portion of plate, and other things which I have purposely left, will and ordain, that my executors shall bestow and employ the sum of £5000 over and besides

¹ [Wood, *ut supra*, pp. 569, 570.]

² [Commiss. Docts. iii. pp. 479, 484.]

all such my goods, as in my present will remain unbequeathed, for the erection of a new college in the university of Cambridge, to be called, the Lady Frances Sidney Sussex College; and purchasing some competent lands thereunto to be annexed, for the maintenance of the master and of ten fellows, and twenty scholars, students there, according to the laudable customs of the said university; if the £5000 and remainder of my said goods unbequeathed will thereunto extend. And if the said portion of money and goods shall not be thought, by the judgment of my executors, to be sufficient for that purpose as to erect and found a new college in my name, for the maintenance thereof, as I before intended, then my will and mind is, that my said executors, by their best advisement and good discretion, shall bestow and employ the said sum of £5000 for the enlarging the college or hall called Clare-hall in the said University of Cambridge; and for the purchasing of some such lands, clear of incumbrance, as the residue of the said money will or may purchase by the best endeavours, to be annexed to the said college or hall for ever, for the maintenance of so many fellows and scholars, to be kept and maintained there, as is now used; as the same livings and lands so purchased will conveniently maintain and keep, according to the ordinary rate and allowances now used and appointed in the said university, which college or hall from thenceforth perpetually shall be named, Clare and Lady Frances Sidney Sussex College or hall; and the scholars and fellows, which shall be placed there in my name, to have and enjoy such and like liberties, customs, and privileges in the same hall, as others the fellows and scholars there in every respect. And whatsoever my insufficiency of knowledge hath omitted for the orderly and strict directions of the proceedings herein, I refer and commit to the further discretion, knowledge, and advisement of my said executors; by whose care, and with the assistance of others my well and godly disposed friends, my special will herein may be speedily and truly performed, established, and done.

Requiring the earl of Kent principally, and the rest of my said executors, with the assistance of my said supervisors and assistants before named, for God's cause, and in discharge of their consciences, to execute and accomplish this my present last will and testament in all things, and with all convenient expedition, according to my intent and meaning, even as they will answer it at the dreadful and last day of judgment before the throne of God's divine majesty, where the secrets of all hearts shall be opened and revealed¹."

The executors of the Countess met with difficulties in carrying out her intentions. They did not obtain possession of the site of the convent of the Franciscans, commonly called the Grey Friars, until 10 September, 1595; and the foundation of the college was not laid until 20 May, 1596. The letters patent state the object of the foundation to be "the education of young men and others in piety, virtue, discipline, letters, and science, to

¹ [Cooper's Annals, ii. 463.]

the common use and advantage of the Church of Christ, our kingdom, and our subjects," and limit the number of beneficiaries to a Master, 10 fellows, and 20 scholars¹.

Two colleges, Wadham College, and Pembroke College, were founded during the reign of King James I., and both at Oxford. The first was planned by Nicholas Wadham, a Somersetshire gentleman, and Dorothy his wife, but, he dying before his intentions had taken effect, 20 October, 1609, it was wholly carried out by his widow. She tried, in the first instance, to buy Gloucester Hall, but, failing in this, obtained the site and buildings of the Augustinian Priory without Smyth-gate in the north suburbs of Oxford, 29 May, 1610. The first stone of the buildings was laid 31 July, 1610, and they were probably completed in rather less than three years, for the first warden, fellows, and scholars, were admitted 20 April, 1613. The royal licence, dated 20 December, 1610, describes the college as for "Divinity, Civil and Canon Law, Physic, good Arts and Sciences, and the Tongues²." The Foundress issued her foundation-charter, and gave statutes, in 1612. The royal licence for the foundation of Pembroke College was issued 29 June, 1624. King James I. assumed the title of founder, as Queen Elizabeth had done in the case of Jesus College, but the funds were provided by the will of Thomas Tesdale, of Glympton, near Woodstock, who died 13 June, 1610, and by other benefactors. The college was founded in an ancient Hall for students in the civil and canon law, called Broadgates Hall, nearly opposite to the west front of Christ Church. The statutes, given by six royal commissioners in 1629, bind all the members of the college—which is to consist of a Master, 10 fellows and 10 scholars,—to the study of theology; but in the royal licence civil and canon law, medicine, arts, and languages, are allowed in addition to theology³.

No farther addition was made to the number of colleges until the reign of King William III. when Sir Thomas Cookes, of Bentley in Worcestershire, obtained a royal licence, 22 October, 1698, for the conversion of the site and buildings of Gloucester Hall into Worcester College, as already mentioned, for a Provost,

¹ [Commiss. Docts. iii. 529.]

² [Wood, Colleges and Halls, p. 593.]

³ [Commiss. Docts. (Oxford), Vol. iii. Statutes of Pembroke Coll. p. v.]

12 fellows, and 8 scholars, all to be chosen from boys educated in Worcestershire¹. He died in 1702, leaving £10,000 in the hands of trustees to complete his foundation.

An ancient Hall for students at Oxford called Hert Hall, which had lodged the scholars of Bishop Stapledon in 1314, as explained above (p. xxxvi.), and those of New College while their own buildings were in progress, was endowed in 1740 by Richard Newton, D.D., and a charter was obtained (27 August), "for raising it into a perpetual college for students of Divinity, the Civil and Canon Law, Physic, and other good Arts, and Languages²," consisting of a Principal, four senior fellows, and eight junior fellows, by the name of Hertford College. The college was dissolved, 28 June, 1805; and in 1815, the buildings being in a very ruinous state, it was granted by Act of Parliament to the University, in trust for the Principal and other members of Magdalen Hall, the Society of Magdalen College undertaking to put the buildings into complete repair. In 1874 Magdalen Hall was dissolved, and the Principal and Scholars thereof, together with certain Fellows, were incorporated as a college, for which the ancient name of Hertford College was revived.

This closes the list of colleges at Oxford, but at Cambridge the will of Sir George Downing, of Gamlingay Park in that county, Baronet, dated 20 December 1717, directed the foundation of a college to be called Downing's College, in the event of the failure of certain trusts created by the said will. Sir George Downing died 10 June, 1749, but the establishment of the intended college was retarded by litigation, and a royal charter was not obtained until 1800 (22 September). The college, as therein described, is to "consist of one Master, two Professors (that is to say) a Professor of the Laws of England and a Professor of Medicine, and sixteen Fellows, two of whom shall be in holy orders, and the rest shall be laymen; and of such a number of scholars as shall hereafter be agreed on and settled by the statutes of the said college³."

¹ Commiss. Docts. (Oxford), Vol. iii. Worcester College, p. 19. The documents printed in this volume shew that the early history of this college as given by Wood, *Colleges and Halls*, p. 630, and followed even in the Report of the Commissioners, 1852, is erroneous in many particulars. ² [Wood, *Colleges and Halls*, p. 641.]

³ [Commiss. Docts. iii. 606. Further particulars of the foundation of Downing College are given in the History, Vol. III. pp. 753—768.]

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

EDWARD I.

1274. Oxford. Final statutes given to Merton House by the Founder.
 1280. „ Rules for the management of University Hall prescribed by the University.
 1282. „ Statutes for Balliol House.
 1283. „ Foundation of Gloucester House for student-monks of the Benedictine Abbey of S. Peter at Gloucester.
 1284. Cambridge. Hugh de Balsham's scholars removed to Peterhouse.
 Before }
 1300. } Oxford. Hall built for the Benedictines of Durham.

EDWARD II.

1314. Oxford. Foundation of Stapledon Hall, afterwards Exeter College.
 1324. „ „ S. Mary's House, afterwards Oriel College.
 Cambridge. „ Michael House.
 1326. „ „ University Hall, afterwards Clare House, or Clare Hall.

EDWARD III.

1337. Cambridge. Foundation of King's Hall.
 1338. „ University Hall refounded as Clare House.
 1340. „ Hostel bought for student-monks of Ely.
 1341. Oxford. Foundation of Queen's Hall, afterwards Queen's College.
 1347. Cambridge. „ Pembroke Hall.
 1348. „ „ Hall of the Annunciation, or Gonville Hall.
 1350. „ „ Trinity Hall.
 1352. „ „ House of Corpus Christi.
 1363. Oxford. House founded for the Benedictines of Canterbury.

RICHARD II.

1379. Oxford. Foundation of New College.
 1387. Winchester. First stone laid of Winchester College.

HENRY VI.

1427. Oxford. Foundation of Lincoln College.
 1428. Cambridge. House assigned to the Benedictines of Croyland, afterwards called Buckingham College.
 1435. Oxford. Foundation of S. Mary's College for Augustinians.
 1437. „ „ Bernard College for Cistercians.
 1438. „ „ All Souls College.
 1439. Cambridge. God's House assigned to Clare Hall.
 1440. Eton. First sketch of Eton College published by King Henry VI.

1441. Cambridge. Site of the old court of King's College conveyed to King Henry VI.
 1442. „ Foundation of God's House as a college.
 1443. Eton. Formal opening of Eton College.
 Cambridge. Scholars of Eton to be transferred to Cambridge. Definite scheme published by King Henry VI. for his colleges at Cambridge and Eton.
 1446. „ Foundation of the College of S. Bernard.
 1448. „ „ the Queen's College of S. Margaret and S. Bernard.
 Oxford. „ Magdalen Hall.
 1457. „ „ Magdalen College.

EDWARD IV.

1475. Cambridge. Foundation of S. Catharine's Hall.

HENRY VII.

1497. Cambridge. Foundation of Jesus College.
 1505. „ „ Christ's College.

HENRY VIII.

1511. Cambridge. Foundation of S. John's College.
 1512. Oxford. „ Brasenose College.
 1516. „ „ Corpus Christi College.
 1525. „ „ Cardinal College.
 1532. „ Cardinal College refounded as King Henry the Eighth's College.
 1542. Cambridge. Foundation of Magdalene College.
 1546. Oxford. King Henry the Eighth's College refounded as Christ Church.
 Cambridge. Foundation of Trinity College.

PHILIP AND MARY.

1555. Oxford. Foundation of Trinity College (formerly Durham College).
 „ „ S. John's College (formerly Bernard College).
 1557. Cambridge. Gonville Hall refounded as Gonville and Caius College.

ELIZABETH.

1559. Oxford. Gloucester House converted into S. John Baptist's Hall.
 1571. „ Foundation of Jesus College.
 1584. Cambridge. „ Emmanuel College.
 1594. „ „ Sidney Sussex College.

JAMES I.

1610. Oxford. Foundation of Wadham College.
 1624. „ „ Pembroke College.

WILLIAM III.

1698. Oxford. Conversion of Gloucester House into Worcester College.

GEORGE II.

1740. Oxford. Foundation of Hertford College.

GEORGE III.

1800. Cambridge. Foundation of Downing College.

VICTORIA.

1874. Oxford. Magdalen Hall refounded as Hertford College.

The persons for whose benefit these institutions were contrived and endowed were of several classes; the earlier foundations being much more simple than those which succeeded them. Thus the first benefactor, William of Durham, merely left a sum of money to be invested for the maintenance of ten or twelve Masters, who were to lodge where they pleased; and John de Balliol maintained scholars during their residence at the University, without restriction of place. Walter de Merton, as explained above, was the first to give a real form to the collegiate system, by contriving a well-ordered community, ruled by statutes, furnished with buildings, and provided with estates for its support.

[The gradual growth of collegiate buildings, and of the definite plan with which we are now familiar, will be discussed in the essay on "The Collegiate Plan"; but it is especially important at the outset of these investigations to remind our readers how small a number of inmates it was proposed to accommodate in each college in the first instance; for these scanty numbers rendered it possible to establish and maintain a college without any of the buildings which under present circumstances are indispensable. For instance, the Master and eight scholars of Michael House, with their necessary servants, could easily be accommodated in an ordinary dwelling-house; and the Master and fourteen scholars of Peterhouse in the Hostels which Hugh de Balsham had provided for them.]

The historical sketch which has just been given has shewn that the persons benefited are invariably called scholars (*scollares*), or fellows (*socii*), the terms being used indifferently. All the members of the community were on an equal footing, save that the juniors are enjoined to respect and obey the seniors. The scholars are not required, as a general rule, to be of any particular standing at the time of election, so that the community appears to have consisted of persons of every possible age and academical rank. The members had all an equal voice in elections, but important matters were committed to the seven, eight, ten, or thirteen seniors—the number varying in different foundations.

A year of probation after election was ordered by Merton¹, and most of the succeeding founders at Oxford, during which the newly elected scholar enjoyed all the privileges of the establishment, but had no voice in the management of it. If he did not prove worthy, he was rejected at the end of the year. By this arrangement, two classes of scholars existed simultaneously. William of Wykeham requires two years of probation, and desires that these probationary scholars shall be termed scholars and not fellows, and that the latter term shall be confined to those scholars who have been elected to be true and perpetual fellows after the years of probation. In this manner the terms scholars and fellows became separated, and applied to two different classes of students². [The way in which the scholars were lodged; two, three, or even four, occupying the same room, so that a large number could be accommodated in a small house, will be explained in the essay on "The Chambers and Studies."

In addition to the scholars, account must be taken of the sizars and subsizars, frequently called the poor scholars (*pauperes scholares*)³. They were boarded, lodged, and educated, free of expense, on condition of acting as servants to the fellows—each being usually definitely attached to some fellow at his entrance. A fellow's sizar shared his master's room, and slept

¹ [Commiss. Docts. (Oxford), Vol. i. Statutes of Merton College, p. 26.]

² [Ibid. Statutes of New College, p. 16.]

³ [The position of sizars is excellently explained in Mr Mullinger's second work, p. 399.]

on a truckle-bed (*lectus rotalis*), placed under the more permanent piece of furniture which the former occupied. We shall find that when building-operations were going forward, poor scholars were allowed to earn money by acting as day-labourers.

Each community was governed by an officer, elected by the scholars, and designated Master, President, Principal, Provost, Rector, Warden, etc. according to the special fancy of the founder. Implicit obedience was to be shewn to him, but in all other respects he shared the common life of the house. This primitive arrangement, with the changes which gradually supervened, will be explained in the essay on "The Master's Lodge."]

Statutes of colleges from the beginning contain rules for the admission of strangers into the establishment. These were of two classes: (1) temporary visitors receiving courteous hospitality; (2) persons not attached to the house, but residing in it as though it were a hostel, and enjoying the privileges and advantages of it, on condition of paying their expenses. With regard to the first of these two classes Walter de Merton (1274) strictly enjoins his scholars "not to introduce strangers or relatives so as to burden the society, disturb its peace, and give occasion for contention; but, remembering that they themselves owe their maintenance to benevolence, to be humbly content, each with his own share of the common provision¹." This rule, which appears to forbid the introduction of guests on any terms, was adopted at Cambridge in the statutes of Michael House, Peterhouse, and Corpus Christi College, but at Peterhouse it was so far relaxed that a scholar was allowed to invite his friends provided he paid for them; and this became the general rule. Even at Merton College the original Statute was relaxed by Archbishop Peckham (1284), who ordains: "Let no scholar dine in the town, or introduce guests, without the special permission of the master or his substitute²."

The second class of persons who sought the hospitality of colleges were at first termed "perendinants," and afterwards "commensals" and "pensioners." As the latter word is now used to designate young students who have not yet obtained a degree, it must be noted that in the middle ages it was restricted to its exact etymological meaning, and denoted a person

¹ [Statutes of Merton Coll. *ut supra*, § 12, p. 26.]

² [Ibid. p. 43.]

who, without being on the foundation of a given college, was admitted to reside in it on condition of paying rent (*pensio*) for his chamber; and further, that those who obtained this privilege were men of standing, former fellows, benefactors, dignitaries, and the like. For instance, it is stated by Dr Matthew Wren, in his History of the Masters of Pembroke College¹, that John Sudbury, Master from 1416 to 1428, continued to reside in college after he had resigned his office, upon which the author adds: "it was not unusual, at that period, for persons who were not fellows to pay an annual rent (*pensio*) for a chamber, whence arose the name pensioner (*pensionarius*)"; and he proceeds to cite from the college books the names of several persons who had been fellows and held benefices, but who had subsequently returned to reside in college. The same custom obtained at King's Hall, where, in 1411, Baret², who had been a fellow, pays 13s. 4d. for chamber-rent; and, in 1415, Wyltyley pays a similar sum.

The word *perendinant* (*perendinans*³) was originally applied to persons who availed themselves of the hospitality of religious houses, by making long visits, which were often extremely oppressive to the inhabitants, and must have been still more so to colleges. As we shall find the practice strictly limited in some colleges, and wholly forbidden in others, it is curious to notice that at University College, Oxford, it was specially suggested in the statutes of 1292, as a means of increasing the revenues of the house.

"Item since the aforesaid Scholars have not sufficiently to live handsomely alone by themselves, but that it is expedient that other honest Persons dwell with them; it is ordained, That every Fellow shall secretly enquire concerning the Manners of every one that desires to sojourn with them; and then, if they please, by common Consent, let him be received under this Condition, That before them he shall promise,

¹ MSS. Baker, ii. 215. MSS. Harl. Mus. Brit. 7029.

² Accounts of King's Hall, Vol. v. p. 328.

³ Ducange, s. v. *perendinare*, explains that it means to stay from day to day, to prolong a visit by continually postponing departure to the day after tomorrow (*perendie*). In 1316 the Gallican clergy petition Edward II. that the king and his courtiers should not oppress religious houses by claiming pensions, etc. and by making *perendinations* therein. The term, however, was not limited to such visits. Thus the Emperor Otho, in 981, is said to have built himself a palace in the country, and to have remained *perendinating* there all the summer.

whilst he lives with them, that he will honestly observe the Customs of the Fellows of the House, pay his Dues, not hurt any of the Things belonging to the House, either by himself, or those that belong to him¹."

In striking contradiction to this enactment, the founder of Queen's College, Oxford (1340), prohibits his scholars to grant to any perendinating stranger a chamber for life, an annual grant of food, pension, clothes, or other matter, or a title for Holy Orders (of course in reward for benefits received), but to satisfy every one for his services according to the value thereof². At Cambridge the first statutes of Peterhouse (1344) decree that the Master and Scholars are not to admit any one to perendinate within their walls for a longer period than a fortnight, unless they be certified of his character, and that he be willing and able to do them some notable service, and not to be burdensome to them³. Similar rules are to be found in the statutes of Clare Hall (1359)⁴, of Trinity Hall (1353)⁵, and of Queens' College (1475)⁶. William of Wykeham on the other hand sternly forbids the practice altogether:

"No stranger, whatever be his rank, degree, or condition, shall be lodged in college, or pass a single night there; and no scholar of the University shall be allowed to pass more than two days therein, or to pay for commons, or to make any payment in regard of commons, or in regard of prolonging his stay. Any member of the College, admitting a stranger to pass the night there, shall be deprived of commons, the first time for a week, the second time for a fortnight, the third time for a month; and, if he offend again, he shall be punished more severely, at the discretion of the Warden, and the other officers⁷."

The earliest statutable recognition of stranger-students at Oxford is at Magdalen College (1479) where the statute of Wykeham quoted above appears with the following addition:

"Nevertheless we allow not more than twenty of the sons of noble and worthy persons, friends of the college, to be admitted, at the discretion of the President, to commons and residence at their own expense, provided they be under the tutelage of guardians (*creditorum*) commonly called *creancers*⁸."

¹ The Annals of University College, by William Smith, p. 41.

² Commiss. Docts. (Oxford), Vol. i. Statutes of Queen's College, pp. 18, 33.

³ Commiss. Docts. ii. 27. In this very year strangers were in commons at King's Hall from a heading in the accounts: "Summa omnium Repastorum tam sociorum quam extraneorum."

⁴ Ibid. p. 136.

⁵ Ibid. p. 418.

⁶ Ibid. iii. 37.

⁷ Ibid. (Oxford), Vol. i. Statutes of New College, p. 43.

⁸ Ibid. (Oxford), Vol. ii. Statutes of Magdalen Coll. p. 60.

At Balliol College (1507) the statute simply decrees that every stranger admitted to dwell with the society shall bind himself to observe the statutes and customs, as if he were a fellow; and to study logic, philosophy, or theology, unless he be a dignitary (*dignitate constitutus*), or the son of a nobleman, devoted to civil or canon law, and other secular science¹. Waynflete's statute is copied at Corpus Christi College (1517), where the number of such students is limited to four, or six at the outside, and a person is named who is to be responsible for them, termed protector (*tutor*)². At Brasenose (1521) the number of scholars who are not fellows is to depend on the capacity of the chambers, and each student is to have a *tutor* who is to be responsible for his fines and payments³. At S. John's College (1555) the number is extended to twelve, or sixteen, but no *tutor* is mentioned⁴.

In the statutes of colleges at Cambridge after Queens' College the terms pensioner (*pensionarius*), and commoner (*commensalis*), are substituted for perendinant, and these persons are now required to study and to perform scholastic exercises. The word perendinant however sometimes keeps its place in the heading of statutes, as, for instance, at Jesus College, where the thirty-second statute is entitled: *De admissione commensalium sive perhendinantium*, and begins as follows:

"The master for the time being and the major part of the fellows may admit perendinants or commensals, provided they be of good morals, honest conversation, and disposed to study, in proportion to the number of vacant chambers; and the master may let to them those vacant chambers which the fellows decline to occupy, at the highest rent (*pensio*) he can obtain⁵."

Similar rules occur in the statutes of S. Catharine's Hall (as given by the Founder), Christ's College (1506), S. John's College (1530 and 1545), and Clare Hall (1551). In the latter code

¹ Commiss. Docts. (Oxford), Vol. i. Statutes of Balliol Coll. p. 20.

² Ibid. Vol. ii. Statutes of Corpus Christi Coll. p. 80.

³ Ibid. Statutes of Brasenose Coll. p. 12. The introduction of strangers is wholly forbidden, except in certain specified cases, and then only for two, or at most for three, nights.

⁴ Ibid. Vol. iii. Statutes of S. John's Coll. p. 75.

⁵ [Commiss. Docts. iii. 120.]

we meet for the first time at Cambridge with the term tutor, in the modern sense, namely, a fellow of the college who is to be responsible for his pupil's expenses, to explain to him what he has to do and to learn, and, in return, is to be treated by him with filial obedience and respect¹. This system, which subsequently became universal, was probably first introduced at King's Hall, where, as already shewn, the students were much younger than elsewhere. As early as 1436, one at least of the fellows pays for his pupils²; in 1438, the Master seems to be tutor to the Earl of Huntingdon's son, and also to one Halsale, for he pays for both³; and again, in 1494, some students are not entered under their own names, but only under that of their tutor, as, *pupillus* Sokborne⁴.

In all the codes of statutes at Cambridge subsequent to those of Clare Hall the provisions for the tutorial office are repeated, for the system of admitting students not on the foundation was by that time fully established. Twenty years later, if we may accept the account given by Dr Caius in 1574 as accurate—and he had exceptional opportunities for arriving at the truth—there were 778 pensioners studying in the University, a total which, if we exclude Trinity College, gives an average

¹ [Commiss. Docts. ii. 179. "*De Tutorum et Pupillorum Officio*. Pupilli Tutoribus pareant, honoremque paternum et reverentiam deferant. Tutores quæ docenda sunt sedulo doceant, quæque etiam agenda instruant atque admoneant [etc.]. Omnia Pupillorum expensa Tutores Collegio præsentent, et intra septem dies cujuscunque mensis finiti æs debitum pro suis mancipio aut seneschallo solvant." The statute *De Cohabitatione Extraneorum* in this later code (p. 164) should be compared with that in the ancient statutes. It now runs: "Volumus ut nemo Pensionarius moram faciat in dictâ domo nisi qui probatæ vitæ fuerit ac inviolatæ famæ, quique Sociis et Discipulis, moribus probis excolendis, atque Lectionibus et Artibus Scholasticis exercitandis, Divinis celebrandis, et correctionibus debite perferendis de conformaturum promiserit, atque expresso consensu Magistri et majoris partis sociorum ad habitandum in dicto Collegio admissus fuerit." The former statute (ibid. p. 136) had prescribed: "Item ad morandum in dictâ societate nullus extraneus admittatur, nisi ex causâ evidenti, utili, et honestâ; Et tunc talis qui moribus, vitæ, regulæ, et studio dictorum Sociorum se potuerit et voluerit conformare; nec aliquis extraneus ad habitandum cum Sociis dictæ Domus, absque expresso consensu Magistri et Sociorum, aut majoris partis eorundem, de cætero admittatur.]"

² Accounts of King's Hall, Vol. ix. p. 58: "Mem' quod M^r Johannes Paston satisfecit collegio pro se et pupillis."

³ Ibid. p. 246.

⁴ Ibid. Vol. xix. p. 33.

of rather more than forty-nine for each of the thirteen others. His list gives the following numbers:

Peterhouse.....	60	Queens' College.....	77
Clare Hall	60	S. Catharine's Hall	21
Pembroke College.....	36	Jesus College	90
Corpus Christi College...	54	Christ's College	51
Trinity Hall	33	S. John's College	89
Gonville Hall	33	Magdalene College	23
King's College	13	Trinity College	138

[At this time—as pointed out in the first chapter of this introduction—the Hostels had all ceased to have an independent existence, and only a few were retained by colleges as lodging-houses. The whole body of students, therefore, had to be accommodated in buildings which had been designed for a far smaller number of persons—with the obvious result of seriously overcrowding them. The necessity for removing this impediment to study fully explains the extensive building-operations which took place in so many colleges at the end of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth, century.]

CHAPTER III.

AUTHORITIES USED IN THE PRESENT WORK. COLLEGE ACCOUNTS. MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF BAKER AND COLE. PLANS AND VIEWS OF CAMBRIDGE.

[THE authorities for the present work must, in the next place, be briefly discussed. These separate themselves naturally into two divisions, the documentary and the pictorial, of which the former shall be taken first.

The plan which Professor Willis followed in his architectural histories of cathedrals was: “to bring together all the recorded evidence that belongs to the building, excluding historical matter that relates only to the see or district; to examine the building itself for the purpose of investigating the mode of its construction,

and the successive changes and additions that have been made to it; and, lastly, to compare the recorded evidence with the structural evidence as much as possible¹." This plan, as noted in the first chapter of this introduction, has been followed in the present work, though on a somewhat extended scale, for in each college the history of the buildings has been prefaced by that of the site.

The position of the site of any given college is usually mentioned in general terms in the royal letters patent authorising the foundation; but in most instances the site then acquired by the founder was gradually increased, either by the liberality of benefactors, or by purchase, as the funds in the possession of the Society enabled them to extend it. It will be readily understood that a detailed examination of these gradual additions is necessary for a thorough understanding of the position of the first buildings, and the additions made to them from time to time, for these were in many cases only rendered possible by the acquisition of the ground on which they were to be placed.

The muniment-room, or treasury, of each college, usually contains the conveyances of the different pieces of ground of which the site is composed; and by help of these, as explained in each history, the plan which illustrates it has been prepared. In documents of this kind the boundaries, or abutments, of the pieces conveyed, are usually stated with much minuteness, and defined by the addition of the points of the compass; but the dimensions are very rarely given, so that, in fact, the juxtaposition of the several pieces is all that can be derived from them. The dimensions, and the actual positions, must be inferred from the landmarks given by the existing portions of which the history is traceable; or from allusions to a street, or to some building, as for instance a church, the position of which has not been changed. If, however, the series of conveyances be fairly complete, the original arrangement of a given site can be laid down on paper without much difficulty.

It is a far harder task to trace the history of the buildings. Contracts and separate accounts, whether for the first buildings, or for those added subsequently, have rarely been preserved. Consequently their history must be derived from the accounts of

¹ [Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral, 8vo, Lond. 1846, p. 1.]

receipts and expenditure kept by the college bursar; and even of these it is rare to find an absolutely unbroken series. Those which do exist, however, contain a mass of the most valuable information, which well repays the labour of searching for it. It was the uniform practice, down to the end of the seventeenth century, to purchase the materials required for building-operations in large quantities, and to engage workmen at daily wages to make use of them. The history of each building, as, for instance, the chapel, the hall, the library, can therefore be traced from year to year; and, besides, as will be seen from the separate essays, the social side of collegiate life at different periods can be illustrated from them with far greater certainty than from any other source. On the other hand, however, these accounts are often obscure just where we should wish them to be most distinct. They were drawn up for the use of persons who were familiar with what was going on in the college, and all extraneous particulars are therefore omitted. For example, it is common to find the heading New Building (*nova edificacio*) continued for several years without any indication of the size, position, or destination of the structure that was being erected; and entries of expenditure for repairs are frequently much less explicit than we could wish. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, account-books must still be considered as authorities of first-rate importance for all departments of collegiate history; and the numerous extracts from them, both in the text and the notes, shew the extent to which they have been used in preparing the present work.

References to the Baker manuscripts and the Cole manuscripts will frequently occur. Of these two important collections the latter is by far the most valuable for our present purpose; but both must be briefly noticed in this introduction.

The Reverend Thomas Baker entered the University as a pensioner of S. John's College 13 June, 1674; proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1677, and to that of Master of Arts in 1681. In 1679 he was elected to a Fellowship which he held until 1716, when, in company with several others, he was ejected for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy as required by Act of Parliament. He continued, however, to reside in S. John's College; and when he died, 2 July, 1740, he had

been a member of the University for sixty-six years, during which period he had rarely quitted Cambridge. He had had therefore exceptional opportunities for recording contemporary events, had he had any taste for so doing; but neither in his History of S. John's College, nor in his general collections, does he ever obtrude either himself, or his personal recollections, upon the reader. Nor does he appear to have taken any interest in architecture. His forty-two manuscript folios, of which the first twenty-three are among the Harleian MSS. of the British Museum, and the remainder in the Library of the University of Cambridge, contain documents only, copied without notes, and, as a general rule, without giving authorities.

The Reverend William Cole was born in 1714 (3 August) at Little Abingdon in Cambridgeshire, was educated on the foundation at Eton College (where he stayed five years), and in 1733 (17 March), having run away from Eton, as he has himself recorded, was matriculated as a sizar at Clare Hall. In 1735, after the death of his father, he removed to King's College, where he proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1736 (29 October), and of Master of Arts in 1740. In 1753 he became Rector of Bletchley in Buckinghamshire; but at this point he shall speak for himself. The following piece of autobiography seems to have been written about 1780.

"About this time [29 December, 1752] being at the late Lord Montfort's at Horseth Hall, I quitted the University entirely, after having resided in it, with Pleasure and Satisfaction, just 20 years, being called up to London in an Hurry, and presented by my learned and honoured Friend, Browne Willis Esq., to the Rectory of Blecheley in Buckinghamshire; and towards the middle of February went to reside there, about St Matthias rather, 24, the Beginning of Lent, and cut my Name off the Boards, and quitted my Apartments in the New Building of King's College, the Ground Floor of the first Stair Case, nearest the Chapel, on the left Hand, in which I had happily lived 17 Years, at the Rent of 15^{li}. per annum.

I had altered my original College of Clare Hall, on my worthy and ever lamented Friend Thomas Western of Rivenhall in Essex, Esq. his quitting College; and having no good Rooms there, and my Half Brother, Dr Stephen Aphthorp, being then Fellow of Kings, but now Vice Provost of Eton College, and the Opportunity of such excellent Chambers, with many of my Friends and Schole Fellows at that Time of the College, determined me to change my Quarters, after having been Pensioner of Clare Hall 3 years or more, tho' my Father, to punish me and humble me, for running away from Eton, entered me

a Sizar, and let me continue so for a Month or 6 Weeks. I had no Objection to Clare Hall, where I had a Scholarship, and the Society composed of very worthy Men. But the Loss of Mr Western, who had just then married, and left his Rooms over the Arch, and Part of the Master's Lodge, which I inhabited when he was not there (and that was frequently the Case), gave me a Disgust to the gloomy Chambers I had of my own. Thus much I thought fit to declare about my changing of Societies. Clare Hall has still, and always had, my Affection as my first College'."

In 1767, having resigned his living, he took a house at Waterbeach, near Cambridge; and, in 1769, removed to the adjoining village of Milton, where he resided till his death, 16 December, 1782¹.

He bequeathed his manuscript collections, contained in ninety folio volumes, to the British Museum. They are an invaluable storehouse of information about the town, county, University, and colleges of Cambridge. Cole was an antiquary of a very different stamp from Baker. He took a lively interest in all that was passing around him, and the documents which he copied are interspersed with notes, comments, and descriptions, not to mention personal scandal, and political invective. He was fond of heraldry and architecture, and lived on terms of intimacy with Sir James Burrough, and Mr James Essex, who, as will be shewn in the essay on "The Style of Collegiate Buildings," were the architects successively employed during the last century to transform so many buildings from a mediæval to a classical style. Cole watched these changes carefully, and he has left numerous detailed descriptions of buildings, drawn up while they were in progress. These have been printed at length in the following Histories.]

In the next place we will examine the old plans of Cambridge, some of which will render valuable assistance in unravelling the arrangements of the buildings.

The earliest of these is that drawn by Richard Lyne in 1574, to illustrate the History of the University by Dr Caius, published in that year, in some copies of which it is inserted.

[This is a bird's-eye view, 15 inches high, by 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, including an ornamental border which encircles the whole plan. The

¹ [MSS. Cole, li. p. 131. Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 5852.]

² [History of the Parish of Milton, p. 30, Camb. Antiq. Soc. Octavo Publ. No. xi. 1869.]

spectator is supposed to be standing at the south end of the town. At the top, bottom and sides of the plan, the ornamental border is interrupted by a label, on which the points of the compass are written: SEPTENTRIO, MERIDIES, OCCIDENS, ORIENS; and at the top, separated by the word SEPTENTRIO, are two scrolls bearing respectively the words OPPIDVM and CANTEBRIGIÆ. In the right upper corner, occupying a space about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, including an ornamental border enriched with wreaths of fruit and flowers, is the following descriptive note on Cambridge:

"Cantebrigia vrbs celeberrima a Granta fluuio vicino Cairgrant a primo non tam vrbis quam Academiae conditore Cantabro, magni nominis Hispano, Cantebrigia, a Saxonibus Grauntecestre, et Grantebrige iam olim nuncupata est. Fluuius hodie antiquum nomen retinens, flexuosis riparum anfractibus ab austro in aquilonem mari tenus longissimo tractu protenditur. Vrbs uero conditoris nomen et memoriam sempiternam reddens etiam Academiae dignitatem multo quam olim fuit illustriorem conseruat. Muro fuisse cinctam historiae referunt sed eum Pictis Danicis et Saxonibus bellis (ut et veterem vrbis faciem) concidisse. Henricus tertius Anglie Rex circa annum Domini 1265 fossa et portis Cantebrigiam muniuit. Quo tempore ibidem contra exhæredatorum iniurias et excursions qui Eliensem Insulam occupabant se defendit. Muro etiam iam tum rursus cinxisset, nisi eo absente Londino a Gilberto Clarensi duce occupato nouæ calamitati prospicere fuisset coactus. Huic fossæ quæ ab eo tempore Regiæ nomen obtinuit vestigium quoddam in hac charta cernitur. Sed quæ ad vrbis ambitum et defensionem altissimis fuit et latissimis fossionibus primum apparata expurgandis platearum fecibus, eluendisque in Grantam fluuium sordibus non male nunc inseruit. Quod si Cantabrigienses coniunctis opibus efficerent vt qui est ad vadum Trumpingtoniæ amniculus fossam hanc allueret, non esset Cantebrigia vrbs vlla elegantior, tantique facti memoria non tam posteris grata quam ipsis iucunda et fructuosa existeret."

At a little distance to the left of this tablet are the royal arms, France and England quarterly, encircled by the garter, and surmounted by a crown. Beneath this are the arms of Archbishop Parker, separating the words MAT, CANT.

In the right lower corner is the following table:

"HOSPITIA ARCISTARUM

- A. Kinges Hall
- B. Michael howse
- C. Physwicke Ostell
- D. Gregorye Ostell
- E. Garett Ostell
- F. S^t Marie Ostell
- G. S^t Austines Ostell
- H. Bernarde Ostell
- I. S^t Thomas Ostell
- K. Buttolph Ostell

HOSPITIA JURISTARUM

- L. Ouins Inn
 - M. Paules Inn
 - N. Clemens Ostell
 - O. Trinitie Ostell
 - P. S^t Nicholas Ostell
 - Q. Burden Ostell
 - R. Domus Pythagoræ
 - S. D. S^o Bedæ
 - T. Crates ferrea¹ ubi olim pons
- Canteber a Cantebro, unde Cantebrigia"

¹ [This iron grating is shewn in the middle of the street leading to the Castle, a

These hostels, with the exceptions of King's Hall, Michael House, the School of Pythagoras, and the House of S. Bede, are included by Caius in his list of hostels. The hostels included in that list but omitted on the plan are: Rudd's, because the width of the map did not allow of its insertion; God's House, because included in Christ's College; Harleston's Inn, and S. Paul's Inn; and, lastly, S. Margaret's Hostel, S. Catharine's Hostel, and Tyled Hostel, because included in Trinity College.

Lastly, in the left lower corner are two shields, bearing respectively the arms of the University and Town, beneath which are the words:

"RIC^s LYNE SCVLPSIT A^o DNI. 1574."¹]

This plan is drawn without reference to scale, proportion, or relative position of buildings, and it therefore requires to be employed with great distrust and caution, as may easily be shewn by comparing King's College Chapel, S. Mary's Church, Queens' College, or any other of the buildings that have not been altered since it was drawn, with their real proportion and position.

The representations of buildings in plans of this description, at this early period, are never to be trusted as exhibiting either the exact proportions, or the exact portraits, of the structures. They are conventional figures, with a slight resemblance. The best mode of understanding them is to compare some of the figures with the actual remains. Thus, the flank of King's College Chapel between the turrets is drawn as high as it is long, whereas, actually, the length is to the height as three to one. Again, the height of the angle-turrets, as there drawn, is to their breadth as six to one, whereas it is in reality as eight to one. Moreover, ten windows are shewn instead of twelve. And yet this part of the plan evidently assumes to be more of a portrait than the rest. All the quadrangles of the colleges are drawn as perfectly rectangular, and the buildings that compose them have the windows dotted in in rows, in a "quincunx" order, with little gablets above, all alike, and with no indications of the large windows of hall or chapel, with the sole exceptions of Trinity College and King's College. Even the old quadrangle

little to the north of Magdalene College. For the bridge called Cambridge, and the water-course which it crossed, see History of Magdalene College (Vol. II. pp. 356, 357).]

¹ [The portion of Lyne's map here discussed, extending from King's College to S. John's College, and from High Street to the River Cam, has been reproduced in the History of Trinity College, Vol. II. p. 400.]

of King's College is square, and its north side extends behind the Schools as a range of chambers. In reality, however, this court was of an irregular figure, and the north side was occupied by a low hall and offices. Here and there a college gateway is indicated; as, for example, at Christ's College, Jesus College, and Trinity College. The stair-turret of Peterhouse is greatly exaggerated. Trinity College, from the straggling, unfinished positions of its ranges of chambers, has led to an attempt to shew their position more minutely, and also that of the chapel, but in a manner exceedingly perplexing. [The chapel is made to terminate in the same line as the eastern range of the quadrangle; and yet, as the date on the east end of the present chapel is 1564, the author of the plan had no excuse for his incorrectness.]

The parish churches are similarly all represented in a conventional form; and are all alike, except Great S. Mary's, which, being the principal church, is roughly portrayed. Moreover there is an attempt to give a circular form to the Round Church. Both colleges and churches, however, are drawn on a larger scale than that employed for the plan of the town; and thus occupy more space, and approach more closely together, than they do in reality. The outskirts of the town, on the other hand, are drawn on a contracted scale, for the sake of crowding in details.

[Notwithstanding these defects, however, this map is still a valuable record. It gives the ancient names of many streets and places, and their relations to each other; and, in the case of buildings, is occasionally useful as a witness of their existence, though it cannot be trusted for their extent or dimensions.

A similar plan is to be found in the second book of the collection of maps entitled *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, by George Braun, or Bruin, and Francis Hogenburg, first published at Cologne between 1572 and 1606¹. The plan is without date, but the description of Cambridge printed on the back, contained in a letter addressed to George Bruin by William Soon², is dated from Cologne, 20 May, 1575.

¹ [There is no date on the title-page, but the licence to print granted by the Emperor Maximilian II. is dated from Ratisbon, 24 August, 1576; and George Braun's own preface from Cologne, 1572.]

² [William Soon or Zoon was educated at Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A.

The plan occupies two folio pages. It is $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, by 18 inches wide. It is therefore nearly twice as large as Lyne's plan, but this difference, so far as the buildings are concerned, is apparent rather than real. They are of nearly the same size in the two plans, and the additional space is given to the environs of the town, on which sheep, oxen, and horses, are grazing. Like Lyne's plan, it is a bird's eye sketch; but the spectator is supposed to be standing on the west side of Cambridge; so that the buildings are drawn from a different point of view. There is, however, so close a general resemblance between the two plans, that it seems not unlikely that they may have been drawn by the same person; or, if this explanation be not admitted, the later plan has been copied from the earlier with much ingenuity. For instance, in both plans King's College Chapel has lofty gables instead of pinnacles at the top of its towers, of which there are two instead of four; and the old quadrangle of the college is shewn as extending beyond the north side of the Schools' Quadrangle. Braun, however, has shewn a quadrangle abutting against the east and west ends of the chapel on the north side, having evidently misunderstood the description in the Will of King Henry the Sixth, or perhaps having only heard a legend of its provisions. In the other colleges no new structures are introduced, but the buildings shewn by Lyne are turned round, and details, similar to his, are introduced into the façades which front the spectator from the altered point of view.

In the right upper corner, on a tablet enclosed in an elaborate border, Lyne's list of Hostels reappears, numbered 1—19, instead of being lettered A—T; and in the left upper corner, on a larger tablet, encircled with a more elaborate border, enriched with bunches of fruit and flowers, is the following description of Cambridge, which bears a close resemblance to that of Lyne, quoted above:

“Cantebrigia, opulentissimi Anglie Regni, vrbs celeberrimi nominis, ab Academie conditore Cantabro, cognominata: A Granta, fluuio vicino, Cairgrant; Saxonib' Grauntecestre, et Grantebrige, iam olim nuncupata.”

Above this tablet are the Royal arms, surmounted by the crown, and encircled by the garter, exactly copied, but on a larger scale, from those on Lyne's plan.

In the right lower corner a gentleman is conversing with a lady, and a second gentleman is advancing towards them.

This plan is copied, with the omission of these figures, in: *Illustriorum principumque Urbium Septentrionalium Europæ tabulæ; Amstelodami, ex officina Joannis Janssonii*, unfortunately without date. The description at the back of the plan is composed of that by Lyne quoted above, with the letter of William Soon appended to it. This is introduced by the following lines:

“Ut vero, mi Lector, accuratissima hujus Urbis et Academiæ descriptio te minime fallat, eam ex sequentibus Guilielmi (*sic*) Sooni doctissimi quondam scriptoris

1545, M.A. 1549. He was Professor of Civil Law 1561—63. Subsequently he settled at Cologne, where he acted as assistant to Abraham Ortelius, the famous geographer. See Cooper's *Athenæ*, i. 350.]

et professoris ad Georgium Bruinum datis litteris facili negotio haurire potes, quæ sic habent."

The plan of Cambridge which appears in "The Particular Description of England, with the Portratures of Certaine of the Cheiffest Citties and Townes, 1588¹," by William Smith, is merely a copy, on a reduced scale, of part of Lyne's plan.]

The first accurate and measured plan is that by John Hamond, of Clare Hall, dated 22 February, 1592. It is greatly to be regretted that only one copy is known to be in existence. This is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, but it is not mentioned by any antiquary, and indeed fell into my hands by chance, when I was inquiring for the original copy of Agas' plan of Oxford, which is of about the same size. It is known at Oxford as Agas' Cambridge. [It has lately been discovered that the two plans were included in the collections of Thomas Hearne, which came to the Library in 1755, among the other bequests of Richard Rawlinson, D.C.L. Hearne had received them from Baker in 1725, as shewn by the following entry in one of his Common-Place Books :

"On the 16th of March, 1725, I rec^d from Cambridge two old Maps (great Rarities and Curiosities) one of Oxford, the other of Cambridge, being both given me by my learned Friend the Reverend M^r Thomas Baker, Bach. of Div. of St John's College in Cambridge. They are in a shattered condition. That of Oxford was done by Ralph Agas²."

Hearne proceeds to make notes on the plan of Oxford, but says nothing more about that of Cambridge. The plan of Oxford is in bad condition, and that of Hamond has unfortunately suffered considerably from mildew in several places. Within the last few years, however, both have been mounted on canvas, and protected by a glazed frame. The two plans now hang opposite to each other, in the Selden Library, one on each side of the great west window. The plan of Cambridge is so interesting, and so valuable for our present purpose, that we will proceed to give a detailed description of it.

It is of large size, measuring 3 feet 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, by 2 feet 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth; and is lettered at the top, in large capitals,

¹ [MSS. Sloane, Mus. Brit. 2596, fo. 64. It has been printed in the publications of the New Shakespeare Society for 1878, Ser. VI. 5, "Shakespeare's England."]

² [This valuable extract was kindly communicated to me by my friend Falconer Madan, M.A., of Brasenose College, Oxford.]

surrounded by an ornamental border, CANTEBRIGIA. Below this inscription are the royal arms, France and England quarterly, encircled by the garter, and surmounted by the crown. These arms are flanked by those of King Sigebert, and of the Town of Cambridge. In the left upper corner is a list of the colleges, numbered in order of their dates of foundation, beginning with Peterhouse, and ending with Emmanuel. Brief particulars of the founders, and the dates of foundation, are appended; and the whole is surrounded with a border containing twenty-one coats of arms, with numbers above them corresponding to those of the list. This list, which we give below, so far as the names of the different foundations are concerned, is headed :

“*Collegia, Domus, sive Aulæ Scholarium fundis et redditibus dotata numero vnum et xx, secundum tempora suarum foundationum precise computata, licet hodie per foundationum confusionem ad xvj sint reducta.*”

1. Scholæ publicæ
2. Collegium siue domus S. Petri
3. Collegium siue domus S. Michaelis archangeli
4. Collegium siue aula Vniuersitatis
5. Collegium siue aula regis
6. Collegium siue aula de Clare
7. Collegium siue aula D. Mariæ de Valentia siue Pembrochie
8. Collegium Corporis Christi et beate Mariæ Virginis siue Sancti Benedicti
9. Collegium siue Aula Sancte Trinitatis
10. Collegium siue aula Gonevilli
11. Collegium domus Dei
12. Collegium beate Mariæ et sancti Nicholai nuncupatum regale
13. Collegium sancte Margarete et sancti Bernardi vulgariter dictum reginale
14. Collegium siue aula sancte Catherine
15. Collegium Jhesu et sancte Radegundis
16. Collegium Christi
17. Collegium sancti Johannis Evangeliste
18. Collegium beate Marie Magdalene siue Buckinghamie
19. Collegium sancte et individue Trinitatis
20. Collegium Gonevilli et Caii
21. Collegium Emanuelis

This list, with the arms, occupies a space 15 inches long, by 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep.

In the right upper corner, in a frame surrounded by an ornamental border, is the following description of the castle :

“*CASTRUM quod hodie ruinosum vestigia regalis munificentie expressa monstrat, haud dubie opus erat sub rege Gulielmo primo inceptum perfectumque. Legimus enim in libro vocato DOMESDAY priuatorum ædificia xxvij vt locus vacuus castri constructioni regalis fieret per ea tempora fuisse demolita.*”

Below this, surrounded by a similar label, is a short history of the Town of Cambridge; and in the right lower corner, on an ornamental tablet, flanked by columns, and surmounted by a pediment, is the following important inscription :

“Habes in hac charta (Spectator candide) nouam Cantebrigie descriptionem, quam per scalæ mensuram multo quam antehac accuratius examinatam ad veros situs reduximus. Tu vero qua est humanitate equi bonique consulas. Interim fruiere et bene vale. Cantebrigie ex aula Clarensi die 22 mensis februarii 1592. Johannes Hamond¹.”

A lower tablet contains the scale, divided into *Stadium*, *Perticæ*, *Passus*, *Vlnæ*, *Pedes*.

At the bottom of the plan, nearly in the centre, are the words: “Augustin Ryther et Petrus Muser sculpserunt”; and, lastly, in the left-hand corner, is a history of the University, of about the same length as that of the Town. It has suffered a good deal from damp, but to judge from what has been preserved, contains only the usual apocryphal particulars.

The map is washed over with a brown tint, with the exception of the streets and open spaces, which are usually left white, and the roofs, some of which are rudely coloured red. It was originally printed in nine separate pieces, each about fifteen inches wide by twelve inches high, numbered in the margin for the guidance of the person who was to mount them on canvas. The figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, can still be plainly distinguished; but 7 has perished. The pieces are numbered from left to right, beginning with the left upper corner, and proceeding round the outer margin, so that the central piece would have been the ninth. A careful examination has failed to discover any figure upon this piece; and it is possible that its position may have been thought to be as well indicated by leaving it blank as by marking it.]

The plan is engraved on copper, to the scale of 120 feet to the inch. The buildings are shewn in perspective, extremely well delineated after the manner of a bird's-eye view, the spectator being supposed to be placed on the south side of the town; and the ground upon which they stand is most carefully laid down to scale, due proportion being observed between the town and the environs. [The streets, colleges, and churches are lettered; and the houses in the town are laid down with the same detail as the colleges.

An exact facsimile having been made for my use by the kindness of the late H. O. Coxe, M.A., Bodley's Librarian, I have been enabled to give for each college, whenever it appeared necessary to do so, a copy of Hamond's delineation of its buildings. Readers will therefore be able to judge of the characteristics of his work without further description; but the following careful comparison, made by Professor Willis, of the site of Trinity College as laid down by Hamond, and as it really exists,

¹ [Nothing is known of the author. A John Hamond, of Clare Hall, proceeded B.A. 1575, M.A. 1579; but the identification of him with the author of the plan must of course remain uncertain.]

shews, as he says, that Hamond's plan "possesses a general accuracy, with some remarkable errors in detail."]

The dimensions of the site of Trinity College may be compared by means of four points that are fixed; namely, the north-west corner by S. John's College Bridge (A); the angle of the wall opposite to All Saints' Church, as it stood previously to the late change (B); the south-east corner at the junction of Trinity Lane and Trinity Street (C); and the south-west corner at the bakehouse (D); which is shewn on Loggan's plan as well as on Hamond's. The real distances of these points from each other, and the distances as given by Hamond, are as follows, in feet:

	Actual.	Hamond.
From A to B	500	495
" B to C	460	460
" C to D	660	655
" D to A	520	510

The distance from the last point named to the west end of Garret Hostel Lane is equally true, namely 170 feet; and the distance from the street to the front of the great gateway is 115 feet in Hamond, and about 110 feet in reality, but it is less now than it used to be.

The measurements of the buildings are by no means equally correct. It appears as if they had not been so freely accessible as the streets, and were probably laid down by sketching from the roofs, corrected by rough pacing. The western side of the great court of Trinity College is placed in a line which, if produced southward, would pass ten feet to the east of the corner of Garret Hostel Lane, instead of fifty feet to the west of it, which is its true position. This error, however, is to a great extent due to a large patch of mildew which has damaged and separated the pieces of paper on which the map is printed at this place; so that in mounting it on canvas the north end of Milne Street has been dragged considerably to the east of its true position.

A copy of this plan, on a very small scale, [of which we have met with only four copies,¹] has been attributed to Hollar, and is undoubtedly in his manner. It bears, however, internal evidence

¹ [One of these is in the Print Room of the British Museum, one in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, and the two others in the Gough collection in the Bodleian. One of these has in the lower margin: "Sould by John Ouerton at y^e white horse in litle Britain." Gough (*British Topography*, i. 209) mentions this map, but doubts whether it is rightly ascribed to Hollar.]

of having been copied from an earlier survey, for it does not contain Sidney College, founded in 1596, but shews Emmanuel College, founded in 1587. But, as Hollar was born in 1607, came to England in 1636, and died in 1677, it is clear that he could not have surveyed the town himself with this omission; and, in fact, when the plan attributed to him is compared with that by Hamond, it becomes evident that the one has been copied from the other. [The attribution of it to Hollar is, moreover, wholly erroneous, for we shall find that a portion of it reappears in the left-hand corner of Speed's map of Cambridgeshire, dated 1610, when, as shewn above, Hollar was only three years old.

This plan, lettered at the top, CAMBRIDGE, is an etching, 10 inches high, by 11 inches broad; but this space is diminished by a lateral border containing the coats of arms of the different colleges, and, further, by *The Prospect of Cambridge from London Road*, which extends from side to side at the top of the plan between the coats of arms, with a depth of $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Beneath this again, in a border $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, are seven shields, prefaced by the inscription: *The Armes of such Princes and Noblemen as have borne the titles of the Earldome of Cambridge*. Their names are given as follows:

“William brother to Ranulph E. of Chester
John of Henaud vncle to Phillip Q. to Edward 3
William Marques of Juliers
Edmund of Langle Duke of York
Edward Duke of York
Richard Earle of Cambridge
Richard Duke of York”

The space left for the plan is only 6 inches high by about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and this is further diminished by the introduction, in the left upper corner, of a very small plan of Cambridgeshire, 2 inches high, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. The names of the colleges, with their arms, are given in the following order:

St Peter's House	God's House Colledge
Pembroke Hall	Jesus Colledge
Trinitie Hall	Queenes Colledge
King's Colledge	S. Michael's Colledge
S. Catharine Hall	Clare Hall
Christ's Colledge	Corpus Christi Colledge
Magdalen Colledge	Gonvile and Caius Colledge
Emanuel Colledge	Queene's Colledge
University College	S. John's Colledge
Trinity Colledge	A blank shield.

As distinct evidence that this plan is a copy of that by Hamond, it may be remarked that Trinity College appears as he shews it, with ranges of building projecting into the area of the Great Court, which has no south or east side. Garret Hostel Green is still an island, and no walks are shewn on the west side of the river. The grounds of King's College on that side of the river, lettered *King's Colledge Backesides*, extend as far as Garret Hostel Bridge, and Clare Hall is in its ancient position, with its east front in a line with the east front of Trinity Hall. At Peterhouse a row of houses intervenes between the east range of the quadrangle and the street.

The small plan, engraved at the corner of Speed's map of Cambridgeshire, is a copy, without reduction, of so much of the plan we have just been describing as could be contained in a very limited space, with the addition of Sidney Sussex College.

Speed's map of the county, which occurs in his Atlas called: "The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine," is lettered:

"Cambridgeshire described with the deuision of the hundreds, the Townes situation, with the Armes of the Colleges of that famous Vniuersiti'. And also the Armes of all such Princes and noble-men as haue heertofore borne the honorable tytles and dignities of the Earldome of Cambridg."

At the left lower corner we read: *Performed by IOHN SPEEDE And are to be solde by Thomas Bassett and Richard Chiswell in St Pauls Church yard:* and in the right lower corner: *Cum Privilegio*, 1610.

The arms of the sixteen colleges form a border down each side of the map, which is returned along the bottom for a sufficient distance to allow of the insertion of a single shield on each side. The list begins with Peterhouse and ends with Emmanuel College, opposite to which there is a blank shield, left presumably for Sidney Sussex College, the arms of which the author had probably not been able to ascertain. At the bottom of the map are the seven shields of the Earls of Cambridge which we found in the plan attributed to Hollar, with their names, all copied exactly.

The plan of the town, lettered CAMBRIDGE, occupies a space at the left upper corner of the map, about $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. We have compared it carefully with the plan attributed to Hollar, and ascertained that it is, as stated above, a copy of so much of that plan as the space would admit, with this difference, that a complete quadrangle is shewn for Sidney Sussex College, where both Hamond and his first copyist shew only some detached buildings on the open site of the Grey Friars.

This map was repeated in subsequent editions of the work, but the arms of Sidney Sussex College were inscribed upon the shield which had been formerly left blank.

The plan annexed to Fuller's History, and lettered: "*Cantabrigia qualis extitit Anno Dni: 1634,*" is a bird's-eye view,

after the manner of Lyne, and bearing a general resemblance to his plan, but, as Professor Willis remarks, it "is, if possible, more carelessly drawn in respect of proportions and forms of buildings."

The plan of Cambridge which forms part of Loggan's *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, is lettered : NOVA ET ACCURATA CELEBR-
RIMÆ UNIVERSITATIS OPPIDIQUE CANTABRIGIENSIS ICHNO-
GRAPHIA. ANº. 1688. In the left lower corner are the words :
Dav. Loggan Delin. et Sculp. cum Privil. S.R.M. 1688. It is dedicated to Francis Turner, D.D., Master of St John's College (1670—79) and Bishop of Ely (1684—91), in an inscription which states that the plan had been begun when he was Vice-Chancellor, and finished when he was Bishop. As Dr Turner was Vice-Chancellor 1678—79, Loggan must have been engaged for ten years in the preparation of it. It is an original survey, 15½ inches high, by 20½ inches wide, on a scale of about 300 feet to one inch. Though the scale is small, it is so accurately drawn, and so clearly engraved, as to be of the greatest service in determining the changes which had been effected in the interval of nearly a century which had elapsed since Hamond's plan was drawn.

In 1798 there appeared : "A new plan of the University and Town of Cambridge to the present year, 1798. Surveyed by and Published for W^m Custance, Cambridge, May 21st, 1798." This plan is copied from that by Loggan, on the same scale, but the details have been carefully corrected to date.

We will next pass on to the principal collections of views of Cambridge. They differ considerably, both in artistic merit, and in accuracy; but, if judiciously used, they will all be found of great assistance to the architectural historian.

Among these the first place, in value as well as in time, must be given to the *Cantabrigia Illustrata* of David Loggan. Before saying any more about this, however, we will put together the few facts which we have been able to ascertain respecting the life of the artist.

David Loggan is said to have been born at Dantzic in 1630; to have learnt engraving in Denmark from Simon van de Passe; and to have completed his studies in Holland under Hendrik Hondius. From Holland he went to England, where the two

sons of Hondius were then living¹. The precise date of his arrival has not been recorded, but it must have been before 1653, to which year the earliest portrait engraved by him has been assigned². In this department of art he became famous, and is described as the best portrait-engraver of his time³.

His connection with the Universities began with Oxford, where he had a house in Holywell. In 1669 he was appointed engraver to the University⁴ with an annual salary of twenty shillings; and, in or about 1671, he married a daughter of Robert Jordan, Esq., of Kencote Hall in Oxfordshire, by whom he had at least one son, John Loggan, who was matriculated at Trinity College 20 August, 1688, being then sixteen years old⁵. He is described as "son of David Loggan of Oxford, gentleman (*generosus*)."

Loggan is said to have published his first work, a collection of eleven folio plates of the costumes then worn in the University, called, *Habitus Academicorum Oxoniensium a Doctore ad Servientem*, in 1672⁶; but neither date nor author's name appear on the title-page. The drawings are, however, so much in his manner that there is no reason for doubting that they are correctly ascribed to him. In the same year (5 July) he subscribed the Articles of Religion, and matriculated (9 July) as "David Loggan of Dantzic (*Gedanensis*), Engraver (*chalcographus*) to the University of Oxford," probably for the purpose of securing to himself the privileges of membership of the University.

¹ *De Levens en Werkens des Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kunstchilders*. By Christian Kraam. 8vo. Amsterdam, 1859.

² [Walpole, ed. Dallaway, v. 185.]

³ [Dictionary of Artists, by S. Redgrave, s. v. Loggan.]

⁴ [Register of Convocation, 7a, p. 257. "1669. Martii 30. Magister David Loggan, Artis Sculptoriæ apprime peritus in publicum Academiæ Sculptorem unanimi omnium Consensu nominatus et electus est. Insuper decrevit Senatus Academicus Stipendium viginti Solidorum annuatim ei Solvendum quam diu in Academiâ morari contigerit."]

⁵ [Register of Magd. Coll. Oxon. by J. R. Bloxam, Vol. 6, p. 75. He afterwards obtained a Demy-ship at Magdalen College, and proceeded B.A. 6 June, 1692; M.A. 30 April, 1695; and B.D. 27 January, 1707. He became Fellow, 1700; Senior Dean of Arts, 1707; Bursar, 1708; Dean of Divinity, 1711; and Rector of Hanwell in Oxfordshire, 1718.]

⁶ [Walpole, *ut supra*, p. 184. There is a copy of this work in the Bodleian Library.]

In the following year (17 March, 1672—73), he obtained a letter of protection from King Charles II. (prefixed to the *Oxonia Illustrata*), in which the following passage occurs :

“Whereas it hath been manifested unto Us, That Our Trusty and Wellbeloved David Loggan, Calcographer to Our University of Oxford, hath not only with great Art, but at the expence of much time and charge delineated described and accurately engraven in Copper the Library, Theater, Publick-Schools, Colleges and Halls, and other Prospects of Our said University : Which performance of his as it is to Our Great liking and satisfaction, so that We may expresse Our Approbation thereof, and giue him all due and ample encouragement for the future, We doe hereby signify Our Royal Pleasure, Granting unto the said David Loggan the sole Priviledge of Printing the foresaid Delineations and Descriptions * * *, and strictly charging prohibiting and forbidding all Our Subjects to copy or counterfeit any the Sculptures or Descriptions aforesaid either in great or small ; or to import buy, vend, utter, or distribute any Copies or Exemplars of the same reprinted beyond the Seas within the terme of fifteen Yeares next ensuing the date of this our Licence and Prohibition.”

The work appeared two years afterwards, with a dedication to the King, and the following title :

“*Oxonia Illustrata, sive Omnium Celeberrimæ istius Universitatis Collegiorum, Aularum, Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, Scholarum Publicarum, Theatri Sheldoniani : nec non Urbis Totius Scenographia. Delineavit et Sculpsit Dav : Loggan Univ. Oxon. Chalcographus. Oxoniæ, e Theatro Sheldoniano A^{no} Dⁿⁱ MDCLXXV.*”

The *Oxonia Illustrata* consists of forty plates, each extending over two folio pages. These plates include two general views of Oxford (occupying a single plate), a plan of the city, a plate of academical costumes, and 37 views of colleges, halls, and public buildings. The extraordinary amount of accurate detail which these views contain, implies an equally extraordinary expenditure of time in preparing for their publication. The words “expence of much time and charge” in the royal letter quoted above, are almost sufficient of themselves to shew that Loggan must have spent several years upon the work ; but, in the preface (which succeeds the dedication) he expressly says that it had been “long expected, and begun several years before.” Moreover, in the preface to his *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, he tells

¹ [This is the date on the title-page, but Mr Dallaway quotes an advertisement from the *Gazette*, 1674 : “*Oxonia Illustrata* by David Loggan. The Price 25 shillings.” Walpole, *ut supra*, p. 184, *note*.]

us that he had been engaged upon that work for twelve years. As it contains thirty plates, as against forty plates in the former work, it is evident that he must have devoted at least as much time to Oxford, and we may therefore assume that his connection with that University began in, or before, 1663. The *Oxonia Illustrata* appears to have been intended, at least to some extent, as a companion to the *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, by Anthony à Wood, which had been published in the previous year, for the Table of Contents gives, opposite to each plate, a reference to the page of that work where the history of the building represented is to be found. Ought we to conjecture that an acquaintance with Wood may have induced Loggan to come to Oxford, and to desert, to some extent, the drawing and engraving of portraits for architecture?

. In 1675 he became naturalised as an Englishman¹.

Soon after the publication of the *Oxonia Illustrata*, Loggan appears to have turned his attention to Cambridge, for in 1676 we find him at Trinity College, engraving Wren's design for the library². It is possible that Loggan may have been brought into connection with Wren at Oxford, where he had built the Sheldonian Theatre between 1664 and 1669 (of which two plates appear in the *Oxonia Illustrata*), and that he was recommended by him to Dr Barrow as the draughtsman whose skill was most likely to be successful in commending the proposed library to the public.

From this time until the publication of his next work, *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, he was more or less connected with Cambridge; but he did not reside there. At the very time that he was engaged at Trinity College he had a house in Leicester Fields, London³, and, as will appear from his own statement, he only visited Cambridge from time to time, in order to make the necessary drawings for the second series of views which he

¹ [Ninth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commiss. Appendix, p. 65. "Calendar of House of Lords, 1675, 9 June. Russell's Naturalisation Bill. Certificates that the following persons had received the Sacrament." Among these we find: "David Loggans, of Holywell, Oxford, 29 May."]

² [History of Trinity College, Vol. II. p. 533.]

³ [Walpole, *ut supra*, p. 185, note.]

had made up his mind to produce. The pains which he bestowed on their production shall be told in his own words, translated from the preface:

"The difficult task I have undertaken, I have now brought to a conclusion, by the blessing of God, after having been employed upon it for a space of nearly twelve years, during which time I have been neither sluggish nor dilatory, though others, according to their wont, have been in the habit of compelling me to use dispatch in completing their trifles. Was it likely that I should be negligent in discharging the honourable duty of delineating the University of Cambridge, a duty which I undertook at the instance of persons of great influence and importance? Nay rather, I considered that I ought to use my best efforts in discharging it. But to pay repeated visits to the University, and when there, to submit everything to the closest examination of the mind, as well as of the eye; to observe the limitations imposed by Optics as well as by Geometry; to examine, from some distant point, the roofs of all the buildings which came within my field of vision, all the objects which the subtle and varied art of architecture brought under my notice in the different materials which it employs; to draw them first on paper, then to engrave them on copper, and, lastly, to print them properly—are tasks which few know how to perform, and I must confess that I learnt by experience. I discovered that they are far beyond the capacity of a servant, nay more, that they cannot be wholly entrusted to any hired assistant, however skilful. For this reason I have either worked out everything as accurately as I possibly could with my own hand; or, I have felt bound to delay my work until I could find artists sufficiently capable, to relieve me to a certain extent of my labour."

The work is entitled :

"CANTABRIGIA ILLUSTRATA, sive Omnium Celeberrimæ istius Universitatis Collegiorum, Aularum, Bibliothecæ Academicæ, Scholarum Publicarum, Sacelli Coll: Regalis, nec non Totius Oppidi Ichnographia, Deliniatore et Sculptore Dav: Loggan Utriusque Academiæ Callographo.

Quam Proprijs Sumptibus Typis Mandavit et Impressit Cantabrigiæ."

It contains :

1. Portrait of Charles, Duke of Somerset, Chancellor of the University, painted by J. Riley, engraved by I. Smith.

The inscription beneath the portrait ends with these words: "cujus Effigiem hanc, tanquam pulcherrimum Academiæ Ornamentum, hortante eadem, Operi suo præfixit D. Loggan."

2. Engraved title-page.

3. Dedication to William and Mary.

4. Preface, addressed: "Lectori candido et Spectatori Ingenuo."

5. Table of contents.
6. A plate containing two general views of Cambridge, the one from the east, the other from the west.
7. Plan of Cambridge, dated 1688.
8. A plate of University costumes.
9. Twenty-seven views, in the following order :

Prospectus Scholarum Publicarum et Bibliothecæ
 Ecclesia B. Mariæ Virginis, Academia propria
 Prospectus Australis Collegii Regalis Capellæ
 Capellæ Collegii Regalis Prospectus Occidentalis
 Interior Prospectus ejusdem Capellæ ab Occidente
 Collegium D. Petri
 Collegium sive Aula de Clare
 Ejusdem Aulæ Prospectus Interior ad Boream
 Collegium sive Aula Pembrochiana
 Collegium Corporis Christi
 Aula S.S. Trinitatis
 Collegium de Gonville et Cajus
 Collegium Regale
 Collegium Regale de Etona prope Windsor
 Collegium Reginale
 Aula D. Catharinæ
 Collegium Iesu
 Collegium Christi
 Frontispicium Collegii D. Iohannis Evangelistæ
 Prospectus ejusdem Collegii Australis
 Collegium B. Mariæ Magdalenæ
 Collegium S.S. Trinitatis
 Area Neviliana una cum Bibliotheca ejusdem Collegii
 Hospitium Episcopale Collegij ejusdem
 Collegium Emmanuelis
 Sacellum ejusdem Collegii
 Collegium Sidney Sussex

The earliest plate in the series appears to be the view of S. Catharine's Hall, for the inscription at the foot of the plate commemorates John Lightfoot, D.D., Master 1650—75, as "very lately Master" (*nuperrimè magister*). It was therefore probably drawn early in 1676. The view of Queens' College, on the other hand, was not taken until the beginning of 1685, when the Bursar's book records: "Wine for M^r Logan who took y^e draught of y^e Coll. oo. 2. oo"; and in 1687 he was entertained there at supper :

"For Wine when M ^r Loggan supped in y ^e Coll.	o. 7. oo
Tobacco at y ^e same time.....	o. 1. 3."

No date appears on the title-page, and the year usually assigned as that of publication, namely 1688, is inscribed on the plan of Cambridge only. It can, however, be conclusively shewn that the work could not have been published in that year, and that, in fact, it did not appear until 1690. In the first place, William and Mary, to whom it is dedicated, did not assume the style of King and Queen of England until 13 February, 1688—89; secondly, the Duke of Somerset was not elected Chancellor of the University until 8 March, 1688—89; thirdly, the title, engraver to the University, was not conferred upon Loggan by Grace of the Senate until 5 March, 1690¹; and lastly, Gabriel Quadring, who in the inscription at the foot of the view of Magdalene College is commemorated as Master, was not elected until that year. On the other hand, we can prove that the publication must have taken place in 1690 from the following entry in the Mundum Book of King's College, for Midsummer Term (*Termino Baptistæ*), 1690:

"Elar' Davidi Loggins ex consensu Magistri Prepositi et Seniorum pro Ichnographia totius Vniuersitatis et Oppidi Cantabr' ab illo Collegio dono dat' 10. 15. 0."

Similar evidence is supplied from the accounts of Trinity College, for the same year:

"Presented M^r. Loggan for his Booke of Cutts of Cambridge...
10 . 15 . 00²."

No particulars respecting Loggan's life subsequent to the publication of the *Cantabrigia Illustrata* have been ascertained. To what was said above should be added that in 1690 (1 May) the University of Cambridge presented him with a donation of £50³, after which year his name does not recur in the University records. He is said to have died in London in 1693 or 1700⁴.

¹ [Grace Book Θ, p. 330. "Placeat Vobis ut David Loggan sit Calcographus hujus Academiæ, et ut super hâc concessione vestrà Literas vestras habeat patentes sigillo vestro communi sigillatas."]

² [Sen. Burs. Accounts, Year ending at Michaelmas 1690, *Extraordinaries*.]

³ [Ibid. "Cum Calcographus vester David Loggan nil habet ab Academiâ pro stipendio annuali, Placeat vobis ut quinquaginta libræ ex Cistâ communi per Dominum Procancellarium ei numerentur." Univ. Audit-Book, 1689—90. "To M^r David Loggan, 50. 0. 0."]

⁴ [This is stated, on the authority of Vertue, by Walpole, *ut supra*, p. 185.]

The conscientious accuracy, as well as the artistic ability, with which Loggan's views are drawn, render them an invaluable guide. As Professor Willis said in one of his lectures, Loggan enables one to walk into the quadrangles of the colleges, and discover their style of architecture. Every detail of the buildings, the courts, and the gardens, is carefully noted, so that they present not merely a record of the architecture, but of the life of the period. Most of them have been reproduced on a smaller scale in the histories of the colleges which they illustrate; so that it will be unnecessary to say more about them in this place.

Towards the middle of the following century Peter Spendlowe Lamborn published the following six views. They are of small size, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, by $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide; and are chiefly valuable as shewing the arrangement of the grounds of King's College.

1. Part of Barnwell.
2. Part of Chesterton.
3. Clare Hall from Queens' Grove.

Copied in the History of King's College, Fig. 59.

4. King's College New Building, from the Grove.

Interesting and valuable, as shewing the avenue and the bridge, with the gates thereon.

5. Trinity Library and St Mary's, from St John's back Gate.

A view of St John's College walks, with the stream separating St John's College from Trinity College in the foreground. Through the trunks of the trees a distant view is obtained of the west front of Trinity College Library and the tower of Great S. Mary's Church.

6. King's College Chapel and Clare Hall; from Erasmus's Walk.

In 1769¹ the same artist published four large views, which are much more valuable for our present purpose, as being views of buildings and not of gardens. Each is about 13 inches high, by 20 inches wide.

1. A View of the West front of Clare Hall, King's College Chapel, etc.

Shews the west front of Clare Hall, as completed; in the foreground is a walk along the river, bordered with a row of trees on each side, clipped into an arcade of pointed arches.

¹ [This date is given on the authority of Gough, *British Topography*, Vol. i. p. 210. The views themselves are not dated.]

2. A View of King's College, and part of Clare Hall.

The spectator is looking towards the south front of Clare Hall: the Fellows' Building, and the west end of the chapel of King's College, are seen in perspective.

3. A View of the Public Library, the Senate House, and St Mary's Church, in the University of Cambridge.

Described below, Vol. III. p. 72.

4. A View of Trinity College Bridge and Library, and part of St John's College.

The Bridge occupies the foreground; on the right the west front of the Library, with part of St John's College beyond; on the left the walks of Trinity College; those of St John's College in the background.

In 1797 Richard Harraden¹, an artist in water-colours, commenced the publication of "Six Large Views of Cambridge," which were ultimately extended to seven. They are about 15 inches high, by 22 inches wide.

1. Great St Mary's Church.

2. King's College Chapel and Clare Hall. Publish'd October 12, 1797.

The spectator is supposed to stand on the west side of the River Cam. The foreground is occupied by the old bridge, much foreshortened; and beyond is the west front of the Fellows' Building and the Chapel, with part of the Provost's Lodge between them. On the left are the west and south sides of Clare Hall, with the south side of the old Court, and the Tower of Great S. Mary's Church.

3. The Library and Bridge of Trinity College, with part of St John's College and Bridge. Published November 5, 1797.

The spectator stands on the west side of the River Cam, looking towards the west front of the Library. On the right is the bridge, with the avenue leading to the Library, and passing beyond its south end. On the left are the trees in St John's College walks, with part of the parapet and the crowns of the arches of the bridge.

4. The Senate House, Public Library, and the East End of King's College Chapel. Published March 26, 1798.

The spectator faces the west front of the Library, with the wall prolonging it to the north. On the right is the Senate House; on the left the north side and east end of King's College Chapel, with the Provost's Lodge between it and the street. In the foreground is Senate House Yard, with the iron railings.

¹ [Richard Harraden, son of a physician whose family came from Flintshire, and formerly bore the name of Hawarden, was born in London in 1756. In early life he spent some time in Paris; but left on the taking of the Bastille. On returning to England he continued to work as an artist in London until 1798, when he removed to Cambridge, and there continued his profession of artist and print-seller. In old age he removed to Trumpington, where he died, 2 June, 1838, aged 82.]

5. Jesus College. Published April 18, 1798.

The spectator is standing in Jesus College Grove, or Close, looking east. The interior of the court is shewn; but it is too far off to be of much value.

6. View of Cambridge from the Castle Hill. Published June 12, 1798.

A general view, too distant to be of use for the study of particular buildings.

7. Queens' College. Published June 16, 1798.

The spectator is looking towards the south-west angle of the building completed by Essex in 1760. In the foreground is the mill-pool, with the old wooden bridge, and the causeway leading to it.

During the same period there appeared a similar series, "drawn and engraved by T. Malton." They are picturesque general views, of about the same size as Harraden's, and often represent the same subject.

1. King's College Chapel, the Public Library, and East End of the Senate House. Published June 25, 1798, by D. Hood, Printseller, Cambridge.

The spectator is standing in front of the Senate-House, and looking down Trumpington Street. An interesting view, as shewing the old Provost's Lodge of King's College. This has been reproduced in the History of King's College, Vol. 1. p. 548.

2. Emanuel College. Published July 12, 1798.

The west front, looking north.

3. Jesus College, from the Close. Published April 20, 1799.

Taken from the same point of view as Harraden's No. 5, which it closely resembles. In the foreground are trees, horses, and cattle, with figures.

4. Queens' College.

Taken from the same point of view as Harraden's No. 7.

5. King's College, the Chapel, and Clare Hall.

The spectator is standing at the south-west corner of the lawn in front of the Fellows' Building. The west front of that building, the west end of the chapel, and the south and west fronts of Clare Hall are shewn. In the foreground is the lawn, with figures.

6. The South Front of the Senate House, and West End of St Mary's Church.

The spectator is standing with his back to the Library, looking towards the west front of Great S. Mary's Church. On the left the south front of the Senate House, and part of the west end.

7. The Great Court and Chapel of Trinity College.

The spectator is looking towards the north-east corner of the Great Court. The view contains the west front of the great gate, the south front of the chapel and King Edward's gate; the fountain occupies the right-hand corner.

8. The East Front of the Library of Trinity College.

This title is erroneous. The view really represents the west front of the library looking south, with the avenue and bridge. The river occupies the foreground.

In 1800 Richard Harraden published twenty-four smaller views of the University and Town (including one of Ely Cathedral). These are bound in an oblong volume, prefaced by ten pages of descriptive letter-press¹; but their merit is so inferior to that of the former series, that they need not be described or enumerated. This was succeeded, in 1811², by a work in quarto, published in conjunction with his son, Richard Bankes Harraden, called :

"*Cantabrigia Depicta*. A series of engravings, representing the most Picturesque and Interesting Edifices in the University of Cambridge, with an Historical and Descriptive account of each. From Drawings by R. B. Harraden, Jun^r. Published by Harraden and Son, Cambridge, 1809."

This work contains twenty-eight views of collegiate and university buildings³, of no great artistic merit, but valuable as representing the condition of the buildings at the time they were drawn. The letter-press which accompanies them is a compilation from obvious sources of information, but it is interspersed with contemporary notes on the buildings which are often of considerable value. The artist who made the

¹ [Harraden's *Picturesque Views of Cambridge*. The University and Town of Cambridge, represented in Six Large Views and a Frontispiece, with twenty four smaller Views from original Drawings. by Richard Harraden, Proprietor and Publisher of the Views of Cambridge and Oxford, and the Print of the Statue of Sir Isaac Newton, by Roubiliac, in the Chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge. Dedicated to his Majesty. Cambridge, Printed by John Burges, Printer to the University, and published, May 21, 1800, by R. Harraden, Great St Mary's, Cambridge.]

² [The-title page is dated 1809, but, as the dedication to the Duke of Gloucester, which follows it, is dated 7 January, 1811, the work was evidently not published until the latter year.]

³ [This enumeration excludes the views of Parish Churches, and other engravings which do not come within the scope of the present work. The total number of engraved plates is thirty-eight.]

drawings, R. B. Harraden, published, in 1830, an oblong volume, called :

"Illustrations of the University of Cambridge, etc., represented in a series of engravings of architectural and picturesque Views. From drawings by R. B. Harraden, Cambridge.

Views of all the Colleges, New Buildings, Walks, and Costume of the University,—also Views of Ely Cathedral. Published by R. B. Harraden, opposite King's College, Cambridge, 1830."

This work contains fifty-eight views, of which twenty-four had already appeared in the work published 1809—11¹. The thirty-four new plates represent, for the most part, the buildings which had been erected since its appearance. As works of art, they are more skilfully executed than those of the former series². In the following list, which includes the views given in both works, those belonging to the first are distinguished by an asterisk.

PETERHOUSE.

East front, looking north, from the opposite side of Trumpington Street.

- *Principal quadrangle, looking towards the north-east corner.
- Interior of the Gisborne Court, looking north.

CLARE HALL.

- *West front, from the garden.
- Bridge, from the Fellows' garden.

PEMBROKE COLLEGE.

- *West front, with part of the north side, next Pembroke Street.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE.

- *Caius court, with the Gate of Honour.

Beyond are the Senate House, and the north side of the Library, before the erection of Cockerell's building.

TRINITY HALL.

- *Principal quadrangle, looking west.

¹ [The four which were not reprinted are : The old court of Corpus Christi College; the ground-plan of King's College; the interior of the quadrangle of Magdalene College; the bridge at Trinity College.]

² [The younger Harraden was a member of the Society of British Artists from 1824 to 1849. He died at Cambridge 17 November, 1862, aged 84.]

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

- *Old quadrangle, looking west.
- West front, from Trumpington Street, looking north.
- Interior of the quadrangle, looking to the south-east.
- ” ” ” ” ” north-west.

KING'S COLLEGE.

- *Ground-plan of King's College, as intended by King Henry VI.
- East side of the principal entrance, with part of the screen.
- East front of the college, looking north, from the opposite side of King's Parade.
- The Hall, with the chambers east and west of it.
- North side of the Chapel, with the corner of Old Court.
- *Interior of the Chapel, looking east.
- ” ” ante-chapel, ”
- *West front of the Fellows' Building, with the Chapel, and part of Clare Hall.
- The front of Old Court is seen between the two last buildings.
- North front of the Provost's Lodge.
- West front of Old Court, looking south.
- West front of the gate of Old Court.
- West front of the Chapel, as seen from the opposite side of the river.
- The Chapel and part of Clare Hall, from a similar point of view.
- The grounds, as seen from Clare Hall Piece, with the new bridge, and the Provost's Lodge.

QUEENS' COLLEGE.

- East front, with the old buildings opposite, and part of the south front.
- *West front, towards the river, from the Small Bridge, with part of the south side.

CATHARINE HALL.

- *General view, looking west, with the grove and railings in the foreground.

JESUS COLLEGE.

- *South front of the gate of entrance, with the Master's Lodge, and the tower of the Chapel.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE.

- *West front, looking north.
- The second court, looking south-east.

S. JOHN'S COLLEGE.

- * East front, looking north.
- * Second court, looking towards the north-west corner.
- * The bridge, and the west front of the college, from the walks.
- South front of the New Building, with the new Bridge, and part of the river-front, from the old bridge.
- West front of the New Building, the south front seen in perspective.
- The new Bridge, from the river, looking north.
- Distant view of the New Buildings, from the river opposite Trinity College.
- The gates leading to the high road beyond the college.

MAGDALENE COLLEGE.

- * Principal court, looking towards the north-east corner.
- West front, from the opposite side of Bridge Street, looking south.
- West front of the Library, looking north.

TRINITY COLLEGE.

- * East front of the great gate, from Trinity Street.
- * Great court, looking towards the north-east corner.
- * Nevile's court, from the Tribunal, looking west.
- * The south side of the cycloidal bridge.
- The King's Court, or New Court, looking towards the north-east corner.
- West side of the same court, from the walks, looking north.
- West side of the Library and new buildings, looking south.
- West front of the gate of the New Court, with the avenue, from the bridge.

EMMANUEL COLLEGE.

- * West front, looking north.
- Principal Quadrangle, shewing the west front of the Chapel.
- North-west corner of the college, from the opposite side of the street, shewing the new buildings begun 1828.

SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE.

- * West front, previous to the alterations by Jeffry Wyatt, from the street, looking south.

DOWNING COLLEGE.

- * Principal entrance, as designed by Wilkins.
- * Master's Lodge, from the north-west corner.

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS.

- * The Senate House, and Library, with the west end, and part of the north side, of King's College Chapel.
- * Interior of the Senate House.

*West end of Great S. Mary's Church.

The Observatory, south front.

The Pitt Press, from the north-east¹.

The next work we have to notice is:

"A History of the University of Cambridge, its Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings. In two volumes. London: Printed for R. Ackermann, 101, Strand. 1815."

These volumes are in quarto, and the illustrations, which in most copies are coloured, measure about nine inches by eleven inches. They are therefore on a sufficiently large scale to shew details clearly. The artists employed to execute them were all men of distinction as architectural draftsmen. Of the fifty-nine views, twenty are by F. Mackenzie, nineteen by A. Pugin, nineteen by W. Westall, and one by W. H. Pyne. Their value is very great; not only are they, for the most part, charming as pictures, but they preserve the aspect of numerous buildings which have since been either removed, or completely altered. We would draw special attention to the following: the interior of the chapels of Peterhouse, Gonville and Caius College, Jesus College, and Magdalene College; the interior of the old chapel of Corpus Christi College, destroyed by Wilkins, the only record, we believe, of that building; the interior of the old chapel of S. John's College, a singularly beautiful and valuable picture; the Hall of Queens' College, before its latest alterations; and, lastly, the front of Trinity Hall, destroyed by fire in 1852, with the old buildings of King's College. We append a list of these views, with the names of the artists:

PETERHOUSE.

Part of the south front, from the garden.

W. Westall.

Principal court, looking to the north-east corner.

F. Mackenzie.

Interior of the chapel, looking east.

A. Pugin.

East front of the college, looking north.

do.

CLARE HALL.

West front, and part of south front, with the bridge,
from King's College grounds.

do.

Interior of the Chapel, looking west.

F. Mackenzie.

Entrance to the avenue, from Clare Hall Piece, with

King's College Fellows' Buildings, Bridge, etc.

W. Westall.

¹ [Four views, published 1811, were omitted 1830. They are: (1) Old quadrangle, Corpus Christi College; (2) Ground-plan, King's College; (3) Principal Court, Magdalene College; (4) Bridge, Trinity College. Their enumeration here raises the total to 62.]

PEMBROKE COLLEGE.

- Bird's-eye view of the west front, and adjoining buildings, looking north; from a window in Peterhouse. *F. Mackenzie.*
 West front, looking south, with general view of Trumpington Street. *A. Pugin.*

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE.

- Caius Court, looking to the south-east corner, with the Gate of Virtue, and the Gate of Honour. *A. Pugin.*
 Interior of the Chapel, looking east. *F. Mackenzie.*

TRINITY HALL.

- East front, looking south, with the buildings of the Old Court of King's College. *A. Pugin.*

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

- Interior of the Old Chapel, looking west. *W. Westall.*
 Reproduced in the History of Corpus Christi College, Vol. 1., p. 292.

KING'S COLLEGE.

- Section and details of the roof of the Chapel. *F. Mackenzie.*
 Principal court, looking to the north-west corner. *do.*
 Interior of the Chapel, looking east. *do.*
 West door of the Chapel. *do.*
 South porch of the Chapel. *A. Pugin.*
 Interior of the Ante-Chapel, looking east. *do.*
 West end of the Chapel. *F. Mackenzie.*
 Interior of Old Court, looking to the south-west corner. *do.*

QUEENS' COLLEGE.

- General view, from the walk on the west side of the River Cam, looking south. *W. Westall.*
 General view, from the mill-pool, looking north. *do.*
 Interior of the Hall, as altered by Essex and Burrough, looking north. *A. Pugin.*

S. CATHARINE'S HALL.

- Interior of the Chapel, looking east. *F. Mackenzie.*

JESUS COLLEGE.

- General view, from the Close. *W. Westall.*
 Interior of the Chapel, shewing the north transept, the tower piers, and the entrance to the choir. *F. Mackenzie.*

CHRIST'S COLLEGE.

- West front, looking south. *W. Westall.*
 Interior of the Chapel, looking east. *A. Pugin.*

S. JOHN'S COLLEGE.

Second Court, looking towards the south-west corner.	<i>W. Westall.</i>
River front, from Fisher's Lane.	<i>do.</i>
Interior of the old Chapel, looking east.	<i>F. Mackenzie.</i>
Interior of the Library, looking west.	<i>W. Westall.</i>
Bridge and part of river-front, from the walks, looking south.	<i>F. Mackenzie.</i>

MAGDALENE COLLEGE.

Interior of the Chapel, looking east.	<i>do.</i>
West front of the Pepysian Library, looking south.	<i>W. Westall.</i>

TRINITY COLLEGE.

East front of the Great Gate.	<i>do.</i>
Interior of the Hall, from the dais.	<i>A. Pugin.</i>
Great Court, looking to the north-east corner.	<i>W. Westall.</i>
Interior of the Chapel, looking east.	<i>F. Mackenzie.</i>
Interior of the Kitchen.	<i>W. H. Pyne.</i>
Interior of the Library, looking south.	<i>A. Pugin.</i>
Bridge and Walks, looking north.	<i>W. Westall.</i>
West front of the Library.	<i>do.</i>
Cloister under the Library, looking north.	<i>do.</i>

EMMANUEL COLLEGE.

Principal court, looking east.	<i>F. Mackenzie.</i>
West front, looking north.	<i>A. Pugin.</i>
Interior of the Chapel, looking west.	<i>do.</i>
Interior of the Hall, from the dais.	<i>do.</i>

SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE.

Interior of the Hall, from the dais.	<i>do.</i>
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DOWNING COLLEGE.

General View of the site, with the Master's Lodge completed, from the south.	<i>W. Westall.</i>
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UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS.

Interior of the Law School.	<i>F. Mackenzie.</i>
Lecture Room in the old Anatomical School.	<i>A. Pugin.</i>
East front of Library, and south front of Senate House.	<i>F. Mackenzie.</i>
Interior of the east room of the Library, looking south.	<i>do.</i>
Interior of the Senate House.	<i>A. Pugin.</i>
Great S. Mary's Church, from the south-west.	<i>do.</i>
Interior, looking east, with the throne, pulpit, etc.	<i>W. Westall.</i>
Botanic Garden.	<i>do.</i>

Ackermann's work was succeeded by the different publications of James Storer and Henry Sargent Storer. The latter was son to the former, and both were artists resident in Cambridge. Their general publications appeared in the following order :

1. "Dedicated, by permission, to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Being a series of Picturesque Views, representing the Colleges, Halls, and other public buildings, of the University, etc. Each part contains four engravings executed in the line manner by Messrs Storer, from their original drawings. Cambridge: published by W. Mason."

[First Series, 1827—1829, completed in October, 1829¹.]

2. "Second Series. Dedicated [as before]. ILLUSTRATIONS of Cambridge. Being a Series of [forty] Views, (Interior as well as Exterior) of the public Buildings of the University and Town, engraved in the line manner by Messrs Storer, from their original drawings." [1829—1832.]

3. "CANTABRIGIA ILLUSTRATA; a series of forty-four Views of the principal buildings in the University and Town of Cambridge, with brief historical and descriptive notices. Cambridge, 1835."

The forty-four views here announced are the forty of the Second Series, with the addition of four new ones, namely: the Chapel of S. Catharine's Hall; the West front of Sidney Sussex College; the Pitt Press; and the West front of Addenbrooke's Hospital. These last had been published as No. XI. of the Second Series, 24 October, 1834.

4. "COLLEGIORUM PORTÆ apud CANTABRIGIAM. À J. et H. S. Storer delineatæ et insculptæ."

A collection of nineteen views, by no means confined to the illustration of the subjects indicated in the title. There is no date on the title-page, but the work was probably published before 1837, from the following passage in a letter² dated 24 October, 1838, which James Storer wrote to a friend, with a copy of the

¹ [This series was issued in eight parts. When complete, it was republished with the following title: "Illustrations of the University of Cambridge, by J. and H. S. Storer, comprising thirty-two views: dedicated, by permission, to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Chancellor of the University. Cambridge: published by W. Styles, Brunswick Place, Maids' Causeway." A subsequent edition is called: "Illustrations of the University of Cambridge. By J. and H. S. Storer. First Series, comprising thirty two Views, dedicated [as above];" with a new Table of Contents, in which the Views of each college are grouped together. The date of publication of the First and Second Series, neither of which are dated, can be fixed by an advertisement in the Cambridge Chronicle for October 30, 1829, which announces the completion of the First Series, and the commencement of the Second Series, "early in November next."]

² [This letter is in a copy of the Collegiorum Portæ belonging to Robert Bowes, Esq., Trinity Street, Cambridge.]

Collegiorum Portæ. "Will you add to my satisfaction by accepting of the little volume? It is the last work completed by me and my eldest son: we were finally separated, as to present things, nearly two years ago. I have not attended to my profession since that time; my graver has lost its point; never to be renewed!" Henry Sargant Storer died 8 January, 1837.

In the following enumeration of the views, the numbers denote the series to which they belong¹:

PETERHOUSE.

- East front, looking north (1).
- Interior of the Chapel, looking towards the east (2).
- West front of the Chapel with part of the cloister (4).
- Interior of the Gisborne Court, looking towards south-east corner (1).
- South front of the same Court, from the Grove (2).

CLARE HALL.

- General view of the south and west fronts, from the grounds of King's College. The river in the foreground (1).
- West front, from the garden on the west side of the river (2).
- East front, with gate of entrance, and two bays on each side (4).
- Interior of the quadrangle, looking towards the south-east corner (2).
- Interior of the Chapel, looking east (2).

PEMBROKE COLLEGE.

- General view of the west front, looking south (1).
- West front of principal entrance.
- Interior of the quadrangle, looking towards the south-east corner (2).
- Interior of the Chapel, looking west (2).

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE.

- Caius Court, looking towards the south (1).
- Gate of Honour, looking towards the Senate House (2).
- North elevation of the same gate (4).
- East end of the Chapel, etc. from the Fellows' Garden (2).

TRINITY HALL.

- East front, shewing the central pediments and gate of entrance (4).
- Interior of the principal court, looking west (1).
- Interior of the second court (2).

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

- West front, looking north, with S. Botolph's Church (1).
- West front of gate of entrance, with part of range on each side (4).
- Interior of the principal quadrangle, looking north-east (1).
- Interior of the new Chapel, looking east (2).

¹ [The following list enumerates 90 views. This total is arrived at by the omission of 5 which do not concern our present purpose.]

KING'S COLLEGE.

- East front of the gate of entrance (1).
- The same view, with the iron railings (4).
- Interior of the quadrangle, looking to the south-east (1).
- South front of the Chapel (2).
- West front of the Fellows' Building, looking south (1).
- East front of the same Building, the Chapel in the distance (4).
- North front of the Provost's Lodge, looking west (1).
- Interior of the Hall, from the dais (2).
- The bridge, from the river, looking north (2).
- Distant view of the Chapel and Fellows' Building, from Clare Hall Piece (1).
- West front of Old Court, looking south (1).
- Interior of Old Court, looking south-west (2).
- " " " " north-west (2).

QUEENS' COLLEGE.

- West front of gate of entrance, with part of range on each side (4).
- Interior of the principal court, looking north-west (1).
- Exterior of north side of the same court, from the Walnut Tree Court, looking west (2).
- West front of the building in the Walnut-Tree Court (1).

S. CATHARINE'S HALL.

- Queens' Lane, looking south, with west front of S. Catharine's Hall, and east front of Queens' College (1).
- East front of Gate of Entrance, with two bays on each side of it (4).
- Interior of the Chapel, looking east (3).

JESUS COLLEGE.

- South front, from the Fellows' garden (1).
- General view, from the Close (1).
- South front of gate of entrance, with part of the range on each side (4).
- Interior of the principal court, looking to the gate of entrance (2).
- Interior of the Chapel, looking east. The plaster ceiling is supposed to be removed (2).

CHRIST'S COLLEGE.

- West front of gate of entrance, with part of range on each side (4).
- West front, looking south (1).
- Interior of the principal court, looking north-east (2).
- Second Court, looking to the south-east (1).

S. JOHN'S COLLEGE.

- East front, looking north (1).
- Gate of entrance, part of the last illustration (4).

Interior of the Second Court, looking north-west (1).
 General view of the New Buildings, from the old bridge (1).
 General view of the same, shewing south and west fronts (1).
 The same, shewing north and west fronts (2).
 South front of the gate of entrance to the New Buildings (2).
 Interior of the court of the new buildings, looking north-west (2).
 Cloister of new buildings, from the interior, looking north-west (2).

MAGDALENE COLLEGE.

West front, shewing door to old Master's Lodge, looking south (1).
 General view, from the Close, looking south-west (2).
 South-west corner of the court, with the gate of entrance (4).

TRINITY COLLEGE.

West front of gate of entrance (4).
 The great Court, looking north-west (1).
 Neville's Court, looking towards the Hall (2).
 The south Cloister, looking west, with the Library (2).
 The King's Court, looking south-west (1).
 West front of the King's Court, looking south (1).
 Interior of the Hall, looking towards the dais (2).
 Interior of the Chapel, looking east (2).
 West front of the Library (2).
 Interior of the Library, looking south (2).

EMMANUEL COLLEGE.

West front, looking south (1).
 West front of the Chapel, with part of the cloister (4).
 The New Buildings (begun 1828) from corner of Emmanuel Lane (2).

SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE.

West front, shewing gate removed 1831, looking south (1).
 West front, shewing changes by Wyatt, 1831, looking south (3).
 West front of Wyatt's gate (4).
 East front, looking north, shewing changes carried out 1821-22 (1).
 Interior of the Hall from the dais (2).

DOWNING COLLEGE.

Interior of the Hall, from the dais (2).
 West portico of the Master's Lodge (4).

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS.

Senate House Passage, looking east, with the north wall of the Old Court of King's College and the top of the wall prolonging the façade of the Library northwards (4).
 Interior of the Senate House (2).
 The Pitt Press, from the north-east corner (3).
 The Observatory, from the south-west (2).
 Interior of Great S. Mary's Church, looking west (2).

The Messrs Storer had not the artistic skill of the artists employed by Ackermann, and, moreover, their drawings are generally on a very small scale. On the other hand, the general accuracy of their representations of existing buildings induces us to conclude that those which have been destroyed were delineated with equal accuracy.

Besides these general collections, the same artists published, without date, two separate monographs :

“Delineations of the Chapel of King’s College, Cambridge. By J. and H. S. Storer. Published by W. Styles, Brunswick Place, Cambridge.”

There are five engravings, with descriptive letterpress :

South side of the Chapel.
The ante-chapel, looking east.
The choir, looking east.
„ „ looking west.
View taken between the two roofs.

“Delineations of Trinity College, Cambridge. By J. and H. S. Storer. Published by W. Styles, Brunswick Place, Maids’ Causeway, Cambridge.”

There are eleven engravings, with descriptive letterpress :

The Great Court, looking north-east, with the Great Gate, Fountain, and Nevile’s Gate.

The Hall, looking towards the dais.

The Chapel, looking east, shewing the alterations introduced 1831—32. (These are described below, Vol. II. p. 586.)

East front of the Library, and Nevile’s Court, from the Tribunal.

The Cloisters, from the north-west corner.

The New Court, looking to the north-west; shewing the gate leading to the walks, and the communication with Nevile’s Court.

The Avenue, Bridge, and West front of the gate of the New Court.

West front of the Library, looking south, with the Bridge; the river in the foreground.

Interior of the Library, looking south.

East front of the Great Gate (vignette).

The Avenue, looking west (vignette).

These illustrations are on a larger scale, measuring about six inches by eight inches, and are drawn in a more artistic style.

The last illustrated work which claims our notice is:

“Memorials of Cambridge: a series of views of the Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings, engraved by J. Le Keux¹; with Historical and Descriptive Accounts by Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge; and the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, M.A., F.S.A., late Fellow of Magdalene College. In two volumes. London, David Bogue, Fleet Street. 1841—42.”

Published in parts between 1837 and 1842. The first volume was issued as soon as a sufficient number of parts had appeared.

This work is extremely valuable, both for the letterpress and the numerous illustrations. The latter, whether woodcuts or engravings, are all careful and accurate; and the engravings, the subjects for which were drawn by I. A. Bell, and F. Mackenzie, are especially admirable, both for their artistic feeling and their execution. It has not, however, been thought necessary to give a list of these illustrations, partly because the work in which they were originally published is by no means uncommon, and partly because they have been reproduced in the new edition of the “Memorials,” completed by Charles Henry Cooper, F.S.A., between 1860 and 1866.

In order to make the list of views of Cambridge as complete as possible, we will, in conclusion, enumerate those which appeared at the top of the University Almanack from its first publication in 1801 to 1855, when the proprietors began to republish the views which had been drawn in previous years:

1801. “Trinity College Library.” *J. K. Baldrey².*

The West front, looking towards S. John’s College, the river in the foreground.

1802. “The west front of King’s College, King’s Chapel, and Clare Hall.” *J. K. Baldrey.*

Taken from the west side of the river; on the right is the old bridge of King’s College.

¹ [John Le Keux, an eminent architectural engraver, was born in London, 4 June, 1783, and studied under the celebrated James Baire. He died 2 April, 1846. Some of the plates in the Memorials were engraved by Henry Le Keux, his brother; others by John Henry Le Keux, his son.]

² [Joshua Kirby Baldrey was born at Ipswich in or about 1752. He died in 1828, æt. 76, and was buried at Hatfield in Hertfordshire. During a portion at least of his life he resided at Cambridge, where, in 1809, he published an engraving of the east window of King’s College Chapel.]

1803. "S. John's College Bridge." *J. K. Baldrey.*
 Taken from the river looking towards Trinity College. The bridge faces the spectator, with part of the river-front on the left.
1804. "Queens' College." *J. K. Baldrey.*
 Taken from the mill-pool, looking towards the south-west corner of the college. The point of view is the same as that of Harraden's large print, No. 7, p. cxvi.
1805. "Jesus College." *J. K. Baldrey.*
 General view of the chapel and college, looking north-west, from the road leading to Barnwell.
1806. "Emmanuel College." *J. K. Baldrey.*
 West front, looking north.
1807. "Pembroke Hall." *J. K. Baldrey.*
 West front, looking north, with part of the south side of the chapel.
1808. "Trinity Hall." *J. K. Baldrey.*
 West side of the college, from the river.
1809. "Sidney Sussex College." *J. K. Baldrey.*
 North side of the college, and part of the east front, from the Fellows' Garden. A very valuable view, shewing the college before Wyatt's alterations.
1810. "Christ's College." *J. K. Baldrey.*
 General view, from the Close, shewing the north end of the Fellows' Building, the east end of the chapel, and part of the east side of the college.
1811. "Caius College." *H. A. Barker.*
 Caius Court, looking south-east, shewing the west side of the Gate of Virtue, the Gate of Honour, and beyond, the Senate House, and north end of the University Library, with the wall prolonging the east front northwards.
1812. "Downing College." *H. A. Barker.*
 Master's Lodge, from the south-west.
1813. "St Peter's College." *J. Burford.*
 East front, looking north.
1814. "Catherine Hall." *J. Burford.*
 Interior of the court, looking north-west. A coarsely drawn view of little value.
1815. "Corpus Christi or Bene't College." *J. Burford.*
 Interior of the old court, looking south-east. A poor, coarse view.

1816. "Magdalen College." *J. Burford.*
West front of the Pepysian Library.
1817. "Senate House, and University Library." *R. Burford.*
General view, from the south corner of Great S. Mary's Churchyard : poor.
1818. "Trinity College." *R. Burford.*
The Great Court, looking north-west, shewing the Master's Lodge with the sash-windows introduced by Bentley.
1819. "St John's College." *J. Burford.*
The second court, looking north-west.
1820. "Magdalene College." *J. Burford.*
The first court, looking north-west.
1821. "Emmanuel College." *J. Burford.*
Principal court, looking north-east, shewing the west front of the chapel, and part of the cloister.
1822. "King's College Old Building." *J. Burford.*
The south and west fronts of the old building, as seen from the south-west corner. A view of the greatest interest and value. Reproduced in the History of King's College, Vol. 1. p. 324.
1823. "Jesus College." *J. Burford.*
The entrance court, from the close. The spectator is looking to the south-east corner.
1824. "Queens' College." *J. Burford.*
The river front, looking south, with the bridge, behind which part of the town bridge is seen.
1825. "The Observatory." *R. B. Harraden.*
The principal façade.
1826. "Corpus Christi College." *No artist's name.*
West front, looking south.
1827. "The King's Court, Trinity College." *G. Hollis.*
The spectator is looking to the north-west corner. The view shews the gate leading to the walks, and the arcade communicating with Nevile's Court.
1828. "Gisborne Court, St Peter's College." *W. Bartlett.*
Interior of the court, looking south-east.
1829. "King's College, New Buildings and Chapel." *T. Kearnan.*
East front, looking north.

1830. "St John's College, New Buildings." *T. Kearnan.*
 South front, from the south-west corner.
1831. "The Library and West Front, King's Court, Trinity College." *T. Kearnan.*
 Taken from the west bank of the river, looking towards St John's College.
1832. "Christ's College New Buildings." *H. S. Storer.*
 Interior of the second court, looking towards the Hall. The new buildings (built 1823) are seen in perspective, on the left.
1833. "A View between the Roofs of King's College Chapel." *R. Backhouse.*
 Intended to shew the construction of the stone and the wooden roofs.
1834. "The Pitt Press." *R. Backhouse.*
 Taken from the north-east corner, so as to shew the east front and north end, with Silver Street seen in perspective.
1835. "Sidney Sussex College, taken from an elevated position." *R. Backhouse.*
 West front, from the houses on the opposite side of the street, looking north. A well-drawn and striking view.
1836. "King's College Chapel." *E. Challis.*
 Taken from the south-west corner, so as to shew the west end, and the south front of the Chapel. On the left part of the Old Court and of Clare Hall are seen.
1837. "St John's College, New Bridge, etc." *E. Challis.*
 River front, looking north, as seen from the old bridge, with the new bridge, and part of the new building.
1838. "The Fitzwilliam Museum, now being erected in Cambridge." *Geo. Basevi, Archt.*
 The east front, from the north-east corner.
1839. "The New University Library." *C. R. Cockerell, Archt.*
 The spectator is looking down on the new building from the west. It is seen in section, so as to exhibit its construction, and the proposed arrangement of the fittings. On the right, part of the south front is shewn in perspective, with the west side of the old Schools' Quadrangle, etc.
1840. "Cambridge from the top of St John's College new buildings." *G. Dodgson.*
 In the foreground is the old bridge, with the buildings erected

1671. Beyond, a general view of Trinity College (slightly inaccurate), the new building for the Library, and King's College Chapel.

1841. "Clare Hall, from the Bridge."

G. Dodgson.

The west front directly faces the spectator. The bridge, with figures crossing it, occupies the foreground.

1842. "The Entrance Hall and Statue Gallery of the Fitzwilliam Museum."

G. Dodgson.

A very interesting view, as shewing Mr Basevi's plan for the completion of the hall and its galleries. The ascent to the latter is by two lateral staircases, and the roof is pierced by three domes. These arrangements were changed by Mr Cockerell (Vol. III. p. 217).

1843. "The Interior of the Hall of Trinity College."

G. Dodgson.

Interior, looking towards the dais.

1844. "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge."

B. Rudge.

General view of the exterior from the west.

1845. "The Gate of Honour, Caius College, The Senate House, and New University Library."

G. Dodgson.

North front of the gate, with part of Cockerell's Building, Senate House, etc., beyond.

1846. "Trinity College Great Court."

G. Dodgson.

Interior of the court, looking north-west, to shew the front of the Master's Lodge, as altered by Salvin, 1842. (History of Trinity College, Vol. II. p. 626.)

1847. "The Interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Cambridge."

G. Dodgson.

Interior of the circular portion of the Church.

1848. "Interior of the Senate House, Cambridge."

B. Rudge.

Interior looking towards the dais. The east gallery is supposed to be removed.

1849. "The Senate House, and Great St Mary's Church."

B. Rudge.

The Senate House Quadrangle, looking north-east.

1850. "View of the Choir of Jesus College Chapel, taken from the Nave."

B. Rudge.

1851. "St John's College Entrance Gateway."

B. Rudge.

East front, as seen from All Saints Church, looking north.

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1852. "Interior of Trinity College Library." *B. Rudge.*
Interior, looking south.
1853. "View of Cambridge, from the Castle Hill." *B. Rudge.*
A general view, too distant to be valuable.
1854. "The new building of Trinity Hall." *B. Rudge.*
East front, looking north.
1855. "Trinity College Library, and St John's College
New Buildings." *B. Rudge.*
West front of the Library, looking north, St John's College
new buildings in the distance.

It will be readily understood that these views, extending over more than half a century, and executed by artists of by no means equal excellence, differ greatly in value. Some, as the view of Sidney Sussex College (1809), and the view of King's College old buildings (1822), are most interesting and important, while others are either wholly trivial, or represent new buildings which were thought beautiful when they were put up, but are now no longer admired. These, however, should the buildings some day be destroyed, will in turn become valuable as a record, and it has therefore been thought desirable to enumerate the entire series.]

PART II.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

OF THE

Colleges and University Buildings.

VOLUME I. Colleges.

- I. PETERHOUSE.
- II. CLARE HALL.
- III. PEMBROKE COLLEGE.
- IV. GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE.
- V. TRINITY HALL.
- VI. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.
- VII. KING'S COLLEGE AND ETON COLLEGE.

VOLUME II. Colleges.

- VIII. QUEENS' COLLEGE.
- IX. S. CATHARINE'S HALL.
- X. JESUS COLLEGE.
- XI. CHRIST'S COLLEGE.
- XII. S. JOHN'S COLLEGE.
- XIII. MAGDALENE COLLEGE.
- XIV. TRINITY COLLEGE.
- XV. EMMANUEL COLLEGE.
- XVI. SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE.
- XVII. DOWNING COLLEGE.

VOLUME III. University Buildings.

- I. SCHOOLS, LIBRARY, SENATE-HOUSE.
- II. PRINTING-HOUSE, MUSEUMS AND LECTURE ROOMS
FOR NATURAL SCIENCE, OBSERVATORY, FITZWILLIAM
MUSEUM, SELWYN DIVINITY SCHOOL.

ERRATA IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

P.	line	9.	for	fig. 2	read	fig. 3
32	"	9	"	fig. 2	"	fig. 3
90	"	6	"	163 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	1636—37
162	"	33	"	Buttecourt	"	Buttetourte
175	note	2	"	Lane	"	Passage
186	line	18	"	1617	"	1617—18
186	note	3	"	1618	"	1618—19
187	line	2	"	1619	"	1618—19
189	note	2	"	1715	"	1730
193	line	17	"	Master	"	President
220	note	2	"	also in	"	is also appended to
239	line	34	"	Mason	"	Monson
251	note	2	"	1538—39	"	1358—59
260	line	9	"	1575	"	1515
263	"	27	"	1523—74	"	1523—44
293	"	1	"	south	"	north
301	"	16	"	1738	"	1757
301	"	16	"	Hering	"	Herring
320	"	31	"	1396	"	1369
334	note	2	"	name	"	words
337	line	28	"	founded in	"	commenced about
360	note	1	"	described	"	defined
377	line	5	"	52	"	53
380	"	6	"	Duchie	"	Duchie [of Lancaster]
390	note	1	"	tabularum	"	tablar'
414	line	4	"	1468—69	"	1459—60 (p. 405, note)
414	note	4	"	emendant	"	emendant'
421	line	35	"	erected	"	completed
422	"	20	"	west	"	east
428	"	19	"	west	"	east
440	"	6	"	if	"	had it been
463	"	1	"	1694	"	1691 (p. 421)
491	note	2	"	Appendix II.	"	in the Appendix
522	line	23	"	487	"	486
543	"	9	"	1542—43	"	1541—42
543	"	16	"	In 1560—62	"	Between 1561 and 1564
543	note	4	"	1562—63	"	1563—64
569	line	11	"	1790	"	1769
591		25	"	p. 527	"	p. 530

I.

Peterhouse.

CHAPTER I.

[HISTORY OF THE SITE¹.

THE site of Peterhouse is bounded on the east by Trumpington Street; on the south by an estate bequeathed to Caius College by the Lady Ann Scroope, called Lammas Leys; on the west by Coe Fen; on the north by the churchyard of S. Mary the Less, anciently S. Peter, and by some dwelling-houses.

The southern portion of this extensive ground, anciently called "Volye Croft," and afterwards "English Croft," and "The New Gardens," originally belonged to the White Canons of S. Edmund of Sempringham, whose house, called "Chanons Close," was directly opposite to it on the east side of Trumpington Street². Volye Croft was purchased by Peterhouse in the reign of Elizabeth, at which time it was laid out as a garden, and let on lease, the College reserving the right of entrance for recreation or exercise, and the tenant engaging to keep the walks "fair and passable and well graviled." In 1795 the eastern two-thirds were let on a building lease, as at present.

¹ [The accompanying map (fig. 1) has been drawn to illustrate this.]

² [Fuller, pp. 57, 67. The position of Chanons Close is shewn on the map of Ric. Lyne, 1574, for which see the History of Corpus Christi College below. The S. wall of the site of the Fitzwilliam Museum would fall nearly in a line with the N. wall of the Close, which has now become the site of Addenbrooke's Hospital.]

The rest of the site was originally included within the stone wall which still exists entire along the western boundary, and along the southern also, as far as the piece sold to the University in 1823 as a site for the Fitzwilliam Museum. Before that sale it probably extended to Trumpington Street (fig. 1), in which position a wall is shewn in the maps of Hammond (fig. 3) and of Loggan. The history of the ground within it, including that on which the College buildings stand, must now be investigated.

The materials for this are to be found in the original conveyances, which have been preserved in Peterhouse Treasury. From these it is tolerably easy to make out the relative positions of several of the parcels of ground described in them: but certain intermediate ones have been lost, so that it is impossible to draw up as complete a map of the site as can be done for some other Colleges¹. A few particulars of interest may however be gleaned respecting it.

When the Founder, Bishop Hugh de Balsham, removed his scholars from the Hospital of S. John, he placed them in two hostels hard by the church of S. Peter without Trumpington gates². The precise position of these edifices cannot now be determined, although they appear, from the College accounts, to have existed in name at least down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, when "the little ostle" was destroyed to

¹ [These documents had never been seen by Professor Willis. He had studied only the four that are to be found in the Old Register of Peterhouse, pp. 57, 8, out of which some earlier leaves, which doubtless contained the others, have unfortunately been torn. His history of the site was therefore of necessity most imperfect. I have in consequence cancelled the short account that he had drawn up, and substituted one which I have written after a careful study of the whole evidence. By the kindness of my friend the Rev. James Porter, the present Master, I have had every facility for examining these documents and also the Bursars' Rolls. Richard Parker, *History*, etc., p. 38, mentions a tradition that the archives of this house were destroyed by fire before 1420, which may account for the absence of some of the conveyances. Professor Willis remarks that Parker "never quotes authorities, but in this instance probably copied a note from an Ely Register."]

² [The date of the Bishop's acquisition of the Hostels is unknown, but the scholars were moved into them in the beginning of the year 1284, and the Royal charter, confirming the Bishop's acts, is dated May 28, 13 Edward I. (1285). Old Register of Peterhouse, p. 25. Commiss. Doc^u. ii. 1. For the facts relating to the foundation see Historical Introduction.]

make way for the chapel. Hammond's map (fig. 3) shews a narrow range of building close to the street along the east side of the entrance court and projecting beyond the present Library to the south. As most of the houses on this part of the site consisted of small messuages abutting on the street, with large gardens behind them extending to the fen ("usque ad mariscum"), it is quite possible that this range of building may represent, in part at least, the original hostels. Some quaint old houses next to the Library (fig. 4), which may be regarded as representing the southern end of the range, were not pulled down until 1841¹.

When the Bishop was on his death-bed, he bequeathed to his scholars 300 marks, "with which they bought a certain area to the south of the Church, and built thereon a handsome Hall²." As he died on June 16, 1286, the date of this acquisition can be fixed within a few years: and as the present Hall will be shewn to be substantially the same as the original one, we can define the extent of the ground towards the south, for the court would of course be made as large as possible. Nothing is recorded to tell us how far the ground extended towards the west, but the sum was a large one, and we may safely assume that the scholars would be able to purchase with it enough land to reach as far as the common pasture.

At the north-east corner of the site, as thus augmented, we find in the 27th Edward I. (1298—9) mention made of "a messuage with buildings, gardens, courts, yards, and other appurtenances," which must have been of some extent, as it had a house 56 feet long by 21 feet broad next the street at its south-east corner. It abutted on the north upon the churchyard, on the south upon the property "of the scholars of the Bishop of Ely," and on the west upon a tenement belonging to the said scholars³. This

¹ [College Order, May 27.]

² "Predictus Episcopus viz¹ Hugo de Balsham . . . in extremis laborans . . . scolari-bus ad edificia de novo construenda trecentas Marcas legavit de quibus quandam aream ex parte australi dictæ ecclesiæ comparaverunt, et in eadem quandam aulam perpulcram de novo construxerunt; libros etiam plures theologicæ [sic] et quosdam aliarum scientiarum legavit . . ." Ex Historia Eliensi, MSS. Harl. 258, fol. 86 b. [Bentham's Ely, ed. 1812, p. 151.]

³ [College Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 9. Sabina, widow of John de Aylsham, conveys to Richard Conyton and Herbert de Shepereth "totum meum mesuagium integrum cum omnibus suis edificiis gardinis curiis curtilagiis . . . in parochia Sancti

shews that their site at that time extended from Trumpington Street on the east to a considerable distance westward, and that part of the western piece extended northward as far as the

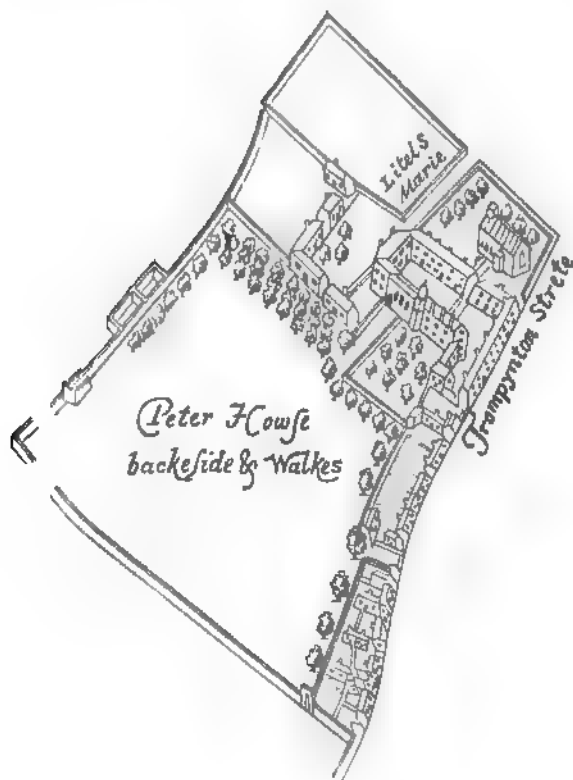


Fig. 3. Peterhouse, reduced from Hammond's Map of Cambridge, 1592.

Petri extra portas de trumpitone inter Cymiterium predicte ecclesie ex una parte et mesuagium Scolarum Domini Episcopi Elyensis ex altera. Et abutbat in uno capite contra regalem viam, et in alio capite contra tenementum predictorum scolarium. Excepta una domo quam perquisivi de hugone le Rede que est situata ex parte australi predicti mesuagii. Et continet predicta domus in longitudine quinquaginta sex pedes, et in latitudine viginti unum pedem." This house she sold to the same persons, 6 May, 28 Edw. I. (1300). Ibid. B. 11. The last deed concerning it is dated 26 Edw. III. (1352-3), when the whole property is sold by Thomas de Wormenhall to three persons. Ibid. C. 4. The dimensions of the house at the S.E. corner being given, (which was evidently only a small portion of the property,) I have

churchyard. I have not been able to discover when this messuage became the property of the College, but certainly not before 1352—3, the date of its last conveyance.

The first recorded addition to the site after it had reached these dimensions was in 1307, when the scholars obtained the manse, or dwelling-place, with the whole of the buildings, be-



Fig. 4. Houses adjoining Peterhouse, from Storer's "Illustrations of the University of Cambridge."

longing to the Brethren of the Penance, or Penitence, of Jesus Christ, otherwise called "Friars of the Sack¹." We have now therefore to inquire into the extent and situation of this.

laid down the frontage of the messuage twice as wide as that of the house: and the depth as extending along half the S. boundary of the Churchyard. Bp Hugh de Balsham's hostels would then occupy the site of the Library, and part of the site of the Chapel.]

¹ [The deed headed "Relaxatio fratrum de pœnientia facta Collegio de toto manso eorundem Fratrum," and dated "lennie (Lynn), die dominica proxima ante festum omnium Sanctorum, A°. Dⁿⁱ. 1307," releases to the College "totum ius nostrum . . . in toto loco nostro cum omnibus suis edificis in villa Cantebrie in Parochia Sancti

We learn from one of the Barnwell Registers that the Brethren purchased the messuage of John le Rus, opposite to the Chapel of S. Edmund, and there got together many excellent scholars and increased in numbers exceedingly¹. In the letters patent of Henry the Third sanctioning the foundation, the names of the original occupiers of the different pieces of ground bought for the site are given. This deed was issued 25 June, 52 Hen. III. (1268), which fixes the date of the completion of the site².

The principal piece was no doubt the stone house (*mesuagium lapideum*) of John le Rus³, the grounds of which extended from the street to the common pasture. It appears to have been a considerable edifice, large enough to contain the brethren, who erected in one of its courts a Chapel in honour of S. Lucy⁴. North of this was "a messuage with a croft," acquired in 1271 from Walter le Brasur, i.e. Brewer, of Little Shelford, and Audrey his wife⁵. Like the former, it extended from the street to the common pasture. North of this again were two messuages close to the street, acquired from Arnold de Trumpington. One had belonged to Robert Cheshill, a tanner; the other to Robert de Horningsherthe, described as warden (*custos*) of the Chapel of S. Edmund⁶. Behind these was "a selion of arable land," extending to the common pasture like the other pieces. It was sold to John le Rus by William de Madingley, a carpenter, but when the brethren obtained it I have not been able to find out⁷. These houses and land were both bounded on the north by land belonging to the Chapel of S. Edmund, which fell eventually into the hands of the brethren, as it is mentioned in the letters patent above referred to; but when, is not known. The house of

Petri extra Trumpeton gates. . . Old Register, 59. See also Dugdale, Mon. Angl. vi. 1607; and Archaeologia, iii. 125.]

¹ Ieland, "Collectanea," ed. Hearne, i. 443.

² [College Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 11. Appendix N° 1.]

³ [College Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 2.]

⁴ [The license for this, dated 1245, *ibid.* F. 1, speaks of "capellam in curia iohannis rufi grantebrugie extra portam de trumpinton in honore beate lucie erectam." The words of the conveyance are: "ecclesiam in dicto tenemento in honore Jesu Xⁱ, et sue dilectissime matris."]

⁵ [*Ibid.* A. 12.]

⁶ [*Ibid.* A. 18. The conveyances of Cheshill and Horningsherthe are A. 16 and A. 18.]

⁷ [*Ibid.* A. 1.]

John le Rus had at its south-east angle a small tenement belonging to Stephen Barker¹; and along the rest of its southern boundary was the land of Eustace Seled. Barker's house abutted on the south upon that of Hoel and Thomas Barton²; beyond which again lived Stephen the cooper. These several pieces, probably of no great extent, even when united, indicate a row of houses next the street, with gardens and pastures behind them³.

This is all that can now be ascertained respecting the history of the site of the Friary. As regards its position, it is stated in one of the deeds of surrender⁴, 2 Edward II. (1308—9), to lie between the land of Robert de Wynwick on the south, and the messuage of Richard de Aylsham on the north, and to extend from the street to the pasture.

There are four deeds relating to Wynwick's property. They describe a messuage, and an acre of arable land. The former lies between the cemetery of the brethren on the north, and the property of Adam Thurston, John Rikeling, and Bernard de Sawtre on the south, abutting on the street to the east and on Wynwick's croft to the west. The croft is described as an acre of arable land in Trumpington Street, between the croft of the Prior of S. Edmund and the land that formerly belonged to the Brethren of the Penitence⁵. The Prior's croft is clearly Volye Crofte, before described, and we therefore know the southern boundary of this property. Unfortunately we do not know the extent of the messuages abutting on the street, but

¹ [Ibid. A. 7.]

² [Ibid. A. 4. Before this could be taken possession of, the brethren were obliged to obtain permission from the Hospital of S. John. Robert de Huntingdon, the then Master, gave them leave "*ampliare locum suum in parochia sancti petri quoad duo mesuagia Symonis karettarii et Stephani Bercarii.*" Ibid. A. 19.]

³ [One of the conveyances (Ibid. A. 17) gives the dimensions of the house to which it refers as 22 feet wide, with a "croft behind" it, and the next house as 44 feet wide. I cannot find out to what house this refers, but it is valuable as indicating the dimensions we ought to assign to most of these pieces.]

⁴ [Ibid. B. 15, 18, 20. It is described as "*in suburbio Cantebrigie*" . . . "*cum edificiis desuper existentibus, curiis, vivariis, et aliis pertinenciis.*"]

⁵ [Ibid. B. 12, 13, 19, 25. The acre of land was bought of John Aylsham and Sabina his wife (B. 19) to whom it had been sold by Eustace Seled (A. 23). This property has been already mentioned as lying to the south of the western portion of the Friary.]

assuming them to resemble those near them and to be of small depth, we can lay down an acre of ground west of them, and determine the southern boundary of the Friary with tolerable accuracy. We cannot be equally certain about the northern boundary, as we know, from the letters patent of Henry the Third, that there are some pieces of ground unaccounted for, and the deeds of Richard de Aylsham's property have been lost.

On the whole, however, we may say that the southern third of the site within the stone wall before mentioned was occupied by Wynwick's land, answering to about half the present "Grove" and two-thirds of the site of the Fitzwilliam Museum. We do not know when it became the property of Peterhouse. Two persons of the name of Robert de Wynwick are mentioned in the deeds, of whom the younger (nephew to the elder) was afterwards Master of the College (1330—38). It is therefore not improbable that he conveyed the land in question to his College during this period; but the deed has unfortunately disappeared.

North of this was the Friary, bounded by the street on the east, by Coe Fen on the west, and extending northwards perhaps as far as the Hostels and the ground of the scholars. The history of the ground occupied by the College buildings has been already discussed.]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE BUILDINGS DERIVED FROM THE BURSARS' ROLLS.

[IN the record of the uses to which the legacy of Hugh de Balsham was put, mention has been made of the construction of a Hall (*Aula*.)] By this word I understand Refectory and not College, for the latter, as we shall see below, was not advanced for many years afterwards; and we find the scholars in 1395 setting forth in their petition to Bishop Fordham for

the appropriation of the church of Hinton that the College was not yet sufficiently endowed, nor their buildings finished, or sufficiently furnished with the offices required, and that the revenues were so very lean and small as not to suffice for the maintenance of a master and fourteen scholars required by the ordinances of his predecessors¹.

The principal materials for tracing the architectural history of the College are a valuable collection of Bursars' rolls of accounts², of which the earliest are for 1374—5, 1388—9³ and 1396—7. For the fifteenth century there remains a broken series of thirty-one, and those for the subsequent centuries are nearly complete. From these we obtain most authentic information concerning the building operations, although, as usual in this class of documents, it is often difficult to ascertain to what part of the edifice the operations of each year belong, and the loss of the rolls of intermediate years necessarily obscures the history. However, the roll of 1374—5 contains an account for the mere ordinary repairs of the House⁴, viz. for tiling the Hall and other chambers; for "powntyng" the chambers;

¹ Bishop Fordham, in his charter of appropriation of Hinton, dated March 20, 1395—6, rehearses the petition. "*quodque dicte nostre domus seu Collegii fructus redditus et prouentus adeo sunt tenues modici et exiles quod ad sustentacionem unius Magistri seu Custodis ac quatuordecim Scholarium qui in dicta domo seu Collegio secundum ordinationes predecessorum nostrorum . . . esse deberent . . . non sufficiunt hiis diebus.*" [Hinton, commonly called Cherry-Hinton, is 3 miles S.E. of Cambridge. The vicarage was formally appropriated to the College by Simon Langham, Bishop of Ely (1362—1376), but as no appropriation can take effect until a vacancy happens, and as this did not occur in the lifetime of the Bishop, his successors defeated the College by instituting Vicars of their own before the College could assert their rights. Bishop Fordham, however, put the College effectually into possession, and they presented their first vicar on 18 Jan. 1401. The appropriation was confirmed by a Bull of Pope Gregory XII. dated May, 1408. See the Old Register, page 67 seq.]

² [The first two of these extend from Michaelmas in one year to Michaelmas in the next: the third from All Saints Day 1396 to Easter 1397. The following rolls have been preserved for the fifteenth century. They all extend from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. 1403—4. 1411—12. 1414—16. 1417—18. 1424—6. 1430—1. 1438—9. 1441—2 (mutilated). 1445—6. 1447—8. 1450? 1455—59. 1460—65. 1466—7. 1469—71. 1472—3. 1474—5. 1488—9. 1491—2. 1493—4. 1499—1500. Total 31.]

³ [This Roll has been copied, with a translation, by Mr Riley, First Report of Historical MSS. Commission, 79.]

⁴ The heading of this part of the account is "*In reparacione Domorum, viz. aule, et aliarum camerarum tegulatione ix li. iiij sol. iiij d.*" among which payments we find

and so on, which shews at least that they had a Hall and chambers at this time.

[From the roll for 1403—4, we learn the existence of a "capella," probably a private oratory, annexed to the Master's Chamber¹. In the next, that for 1411—12, we find the roofing of the kitchen recorded, and the building of a wall called "le Newwall" outside the College, probably on the west side². In the next three, those for 1414—15, 1415—16, 1417—18, repairs only are set down.] There is then an interval until 1424—5, when we find ourselves in the midst of a new building, to which a separate heading is allotted—"Expense nove fabrice in collegio hoc anno." This heading is continued in the roll for the next year 1425—6, and in that for 1430—1; but the items are only payments to masons, slaters and smiths for daywork; for carriage of stone, timber from Thakstead, mantelpieces, windows, and the like, with no indication of the purpose of the edifice, which was probably a range of chambers³.

In 1431, an indenture occurs between the College and John Wassyngle, of Hinton, a mason whose name occurs repeatedly in these accounts, for building a Library. This indenture, dated Feb. 12, 9 Hen. VI. (1431), is between John Holbrook Master of the College and the fellows of the same on the one part, and John Wassyngle of Hynton of the other part. The said John Wassyngle engages to build in the ground and above the ground the walls, doors, and windows of a

"*It^m. Sclaters pro powntyng de aula xij s^o liij d. ob.*" The heading of the Roll is "*Comptum Magistri Willelmi Irby incipiendo a festo Sancti Michaelis Anno Domini M^oCCC^oLXXXIII^o. usque ad annum revolutum de bonis omnibus domus sancti petri medio tempore receptis.*"

¹ [*"Et in stipendio Carpentarii emendantis tectum Capelle annexe Camere magistri."*]

² [The mention of wooden poles, "*pali*," clay and straw shews that it was of mud, supported on a wooden frame. The labourers sometimes slept in College, "*Et pro lectis conductis eisdem operariis per diversas noctes per tempus operum predictorum ijs. jd.*"]

³ In the roll for 1425—6 a payment of twopence is made to poor scholars (*sizars*) for carrying wood. "*De ijd. solutis pauperibus scholaribus portantibus lignum.*" [A similar entry in the accounts of Queens' College for 1495—6 is quoted by Mr Searle (*History*, 127), "*Item duobus pauperibus scholaribus laborantibus circa pontem, ijd.*"] The entire cost of the work was £110. 2s. 3½d. in the first year, and £24. 12s. 7½d. in the second.

certain Library within the aforesaid College, as follows: before the last day of the succeeding April he shall have ready all the doors necessary for the said work, and ten windows (counting two small ones as one) of good hard stone from the lower bed of the quarry of Philip Grove, completely prepared for setting; the walls shall be commenced before the same day of April, and raised to the height of ten feet above the ground before the next following feast of S. Peter ad Vincula (Aug. 1). All other windows whatever necessary for the said work shall be wrought and ready for setting before the second Easter after the date of these presents (Ap. 20, 1432), and the walls completely built to the same height as the other walls of the new buildings of the College before the Feast of S. Michael the Archangel next following. He is bound in forty pounds to the fulfilment of his contract, and the payments he is to receive are thus enumerated. For the great door, 5*s.* 6*d.*: for every small door, 3*s.*: for every large window, 5*s.*: for every small window, 2*s.* 6*d.*, including the shaping and setting: for every complete week during which he himself shall labour within the College on this work he is to receive 3*s.* 4*d.*, and for every incomplete week at the same rate according to the number of days: also a gown if he behave well¹.

No dimensions are given, but the specification that the walls are to be completely built to the same height as the other walls of the new buildings of the College, shews that the Library was part of a set of new buildings then in progress. Its position is known to have been on the west side of the quadrangle, where its roof and stone staircase may still be traced.

In the roll for 1438—9, the next that has been preserved, we find the heading "*Expense librarie et noue fabrice.*" [The walls had been built in the intervening years, and they were now making the roof and windows, and laying the floors.] Carpenters are working at "*plancheryng*" and "*schulderying de le gystes*," that is, cutting the shoulders of the joists: [and a number of trees had been felled in the College garden to provide planks for the floor]. Ten shillings are paid to Reginald

¹ [This curious document, copied from the original in the Treasury of Peterhouse, "*Collegium*" A. 11, is printed in the Appendix, No. 11.]

Ely the stonemason for making the staircase. The mention of a payment for "bryke" is valuable because the walls of the existing chambers next the Churchyard are partly constructed of brick¹.

[The rolls for the next two years have unfortunately perished, and that for 1441—2 is imperfect. Then there is a break in the series till 1445—6, when a single line suffices for the work done to the Library: a carpenter is employed for fifteen days.] In 1447—8² the fittings in woodwork and windows are going on. [Carpenters were sent for from Ely to contract for making the desks: the ironwork for the windows was ordered, and the doorway set. In 1450 the desks of the old Library were broken up, and sixteen locks and two keys were ordered; which marks the period of the transfer of the books from the old to the new apartment³. Each lock no doubt required the presence of two officials of the College to open it, as at Trinity Hall and elsewhere.]

In the roll for 1450 the new work of the kitchen, and the making of the upper chamber over the buttery, together with the partition wall between the buttery and pantry, was going on⁴.

Then follows a continuous series of rolls from 1455 to 1465 (wanting only 1459—60) in every one of which the heading "Expense nove fabrice" has its place. The work consists of

¹ "Et de x^s solutis Reginaldo Ely lathamo pro factura gradus nove librerie. Et de xv^s. viij d. solutis pro mille et ccc^l et di [350] tabulis serratis de arboribus succisis in orto collegii. Et de xx^s. solutis pro m^o de Bryke "

² 1447—8. ["Et de viij d. solutis carpentariis venientibus de Ely ad paciscendum pro factura descorum librerie. Et de vii. ijs. iij d. solutis carpentariis pro fabrica descorum librerie in grosso. Et de viij d. in uno lapide pro volta ostu librerie. Et de viij d. solutis lathamo aptanti dictum ostium. Et de xxij d. in xv hamis ferreis pro fenestris orientalibus. Et de xvij s. x d. in vitriacione duarum fenestrarum librerie et alterius parve fenestre super gradus librerie. Et de viij d. in hamis ferreis pro fenestris occidentalibus librerie. Et de ijs. vd. in quingentis de broddis ferreis pro descis librerie"]

³ 1450. ["Et de vjd. in resolutione descorum librerie antique. Et de vijs. iij d. in xvj seris pro descis librerie et iij^{ss} clavibus."]

⁴ "Et de xlijs. iij d. Wilhelmo Herward pro factura solarii super promptuarium cum pariete dividente botlariam et pantleriam in grosso." In 1449 Magister T. Lane gave £3 to the work of the new fabric and of the kitchen. Bishop Wren's extracts from the Register of Peterhouse, MSS. Baker, xlii. 197.

masonry for walling, window jambs and monials, iron work, &c. In 1460 the Master's chamber was begun, for the heading "Expense fabrice camere Magistri" occurs for the first time in that year, and the whole sum spent under it is £21. 4s. 2½d.

In 1461, £25. 17s. 3½d. were spent, and in 1462, £28. 5s. 7d., but in these two years there is no specific indication of the nature of the building¹. In 1463, a carpenter, John Bacon of Halsted, is employed as well as the masons.

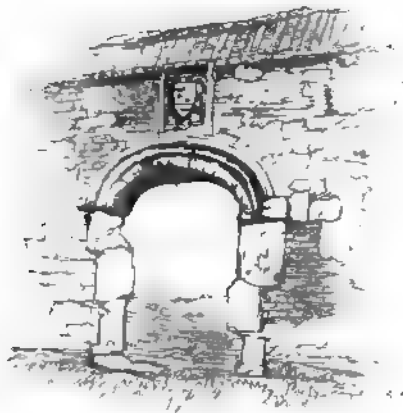


Fig. 5. Doorway in ancient boundary wall, from the outside.

In 1464—5, amongst other mason work, mantel-pieces for the parlour and the room over it² are mentioned: also windows, timber, tylpyns, "rofetye," and the placing of them.

In 1466—7, the "Expense nove fabrice" include various cart-loads of clunch sent to the College, together with foundations

¹ [It is called simply "novum opus." The two poor scholars are again employed "ad cariandam terram."]

² [{"Et de iijs. in iiij lapidibus pro le mantils caminorum in parieto (parletorio?) et camera superiori." That this was a rebuilding, and not a new work, is proved by the following entry in the roll for 1464—5. "Et de x^d. solut ... pro reparacione antiquorum ferramentorum que erant in fenestris veterum fenestrarum camere magistri."}]

of new chambers, and of the "Parleyre" and a room called "the inner chamber¹."

After this year there remains a broken series of rolls beginning with that for 1469—70 which I have carefully searched as far as 1520, without finding any notice of buildings with the exception of small repairs, so that the College was completed for the time about 1467.

[In 1491—2, the Hall was repaired, and it was tiled on the north side², a work which was still going on in 1501—2³, in which year it was also paved, and in 1502—3 the making of "ly harth" is recorded, which is interesting as shewing that an open fire of some sort was then in use⁴. In 1501—2 a stone wall was erected near the water (*juxta aquam*) at a cost of £23. 12s. 2d. This can be no other than the wall mentioned in Chapter I., to defray part of the expenses of which John Warkworth (Master, 1473—1500) gave one hundred shillings to the College⁵. It is built of large blocks of clunch, with a few blocks of stone added in some places, especially at its northern extremity. It has been a good deal patched with brick, and a coping of red brick has been added along a portion of it, as shewn in fig. 5, which represents an ancient doorway (C, fig. 1), which gave access to the fen, and is evidently part of the original construction. Over this door on the outside are the arms of John Hotham, Bishop of Ely (1316—1337), and on the inside those of John Alcock, Bishop of the same see (1486—1500).]

¹ ["Pro opera fundi parleyrie et camere interioris, et pro positione lapidum in fundo omnium camerarum dicti operis," i.e. the "novum opus."]

² The following item in the roll for 1469 is curious for the latinization of the technical word "pointing." "Item iijli. ix s. iiij d. solut' cuidam tectori pro reparacione et punctuatione lij. polorum, precium le pole xvjd."

³ ["Et de x^s. pro posicione tegularum in Aula, et de iij s. iiij d. pro factura ly synk in Aula, et de xvjs. pro pavyng ... in Aula."]

⁴ [1502—3. "Et de viij d. pro factura ly harth in aula."]

⁵ ["Item dedit 100 solidos monete Anglie ad novum murum lapideum ex parte occidentali collegii." Old Register, 99.]

CHAPTER III.

COMPARISON OF THE EXISTING BUILDINGS OF THE COLLEGE
WITH THE ACCOUNTS. LIBRARY, KITCHEN, HALL, AND
BUTTERY. COMBINATION ROOM. MASTER'S CHAMBER.
NORTH RANGE. OTHER BUILDINGS.

THE information conveyed by this valuable series of building rolls can only be summed up by comparing it with the buildings themselves, assisted by the annexed map and plan (figs. 1, 2), assuming for the moment the dates of some of the modern buildings whose history will be given below.

The present College consists of a principal quadrangle measuring 86 feet from north to south, by 148 feet from east to west¹; and of an entrance court next to the street rather broader than the quadrangle, and of a mean length of 80 feet, the north side being much shorter than the south. The chapel, built in 1628, stands in the midst of it, its gable forming part of the east side of the great quadrangle, the remaining portions of which side are made up by two cloisters, originally forming part of the design of the chapel. The south side of the entrance court is bounded by the College Library built about 1590, and the north side by a range of chambers erected in 1738, so that the whole of this entrance court is now of post-Reformation work.

The great quadrangle appears within to be entirely modern, but is substantially the mediæval College to which our account rolls of the fifteenth century belong, as its venerable outer surfaces in the churchyard on the north, and in the gardens and kitchen court on the south, abundantly attest. The outer wall to the west is unfortunately masked by a white brick facing to bring it into harmony with the modern Gisborne

¹ [Like most mediæval courts and structures it is asymmetrical, the south side being 3 feet longer than the north.]

buildings, with the exception of a small portion at its northern extremity.

We may now compare more particularly the separate parts of the buildings with the accounts. These have shewn us that a Hall and some chambers existed before 1374, and that in 1424 extensive building-works were going on, probably a range of chambers, whose position is not indicated. We then come to the Library, concerning which the rolls have shewn us that the contract for building it was drawn up in 1431, that in 1438—9 the staircase was constructed by Reginald Ely, and that in 1447—8 the carpenters were at work upon the desks.

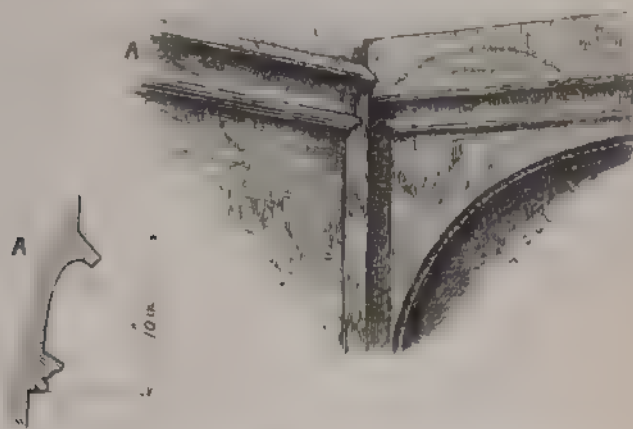


Fig 6. Details of roof of Old Library A. Wall-plate and profile of same.

This Library remained in use until it was superseded by the present one at the end of the sixteenth century. It occupied part of the western side of the quadrangle, where it may easily be traced at present by its large staircase and its roof. The incongruous ashlar and sash windows of Burrough applied to its eastern face in 1754, and the white brick facing with which its western face was equally disguised in 1825, have completely destroyed its ancient exterior, and its interior was divided into chambers after the new Library was built. The staircase, however, of Reginald Ely, a handsome stone vice or spiral staircase, nine feet in diameter, still gives access to its floor (A, fig. 2), and the

lower part of a half principal (fig. 6) at the north end of its roof may be seen by ascending the old wooden staircase at the north-west external corner of the quadrangle (B, fig. 2)¹. [There is a similar principal at the south end, at the head of the stone vice mentioned above.] The rest of the roof is concealed by the ceilings of the chambers into which it is now divided. Enough however remains to shew that the library must have been about forty-five feet² long, and twenty feet broad. [Three of the old windows have been preserved; the one at the north end of the apartment, assuming it to have extended as far as the north wall of the College, and the two northernmost in the western wall. The last are plain two-light windows, pointed, without cusps, and set in a square head. The northern one is of three lights.]

The new kitchen comes next in order in 1450. This is at the extreme end of the southern range of building. Its wall (DE, fig. 2), as seen in the kitchen court, is of rough uncoursed rubble work, very different from that of the older buttery and hall, of which it is the continuation. The junction of the two works is marked by a buttress (D, fig. 2) represented in figure 7. The kitchen has a small vestibule divided from it, at the angle of which next to the court is a stone vice (C, fig. 2), which gives access to the chambers above the kitchen and buttery³. The chamber over the latter is recorded



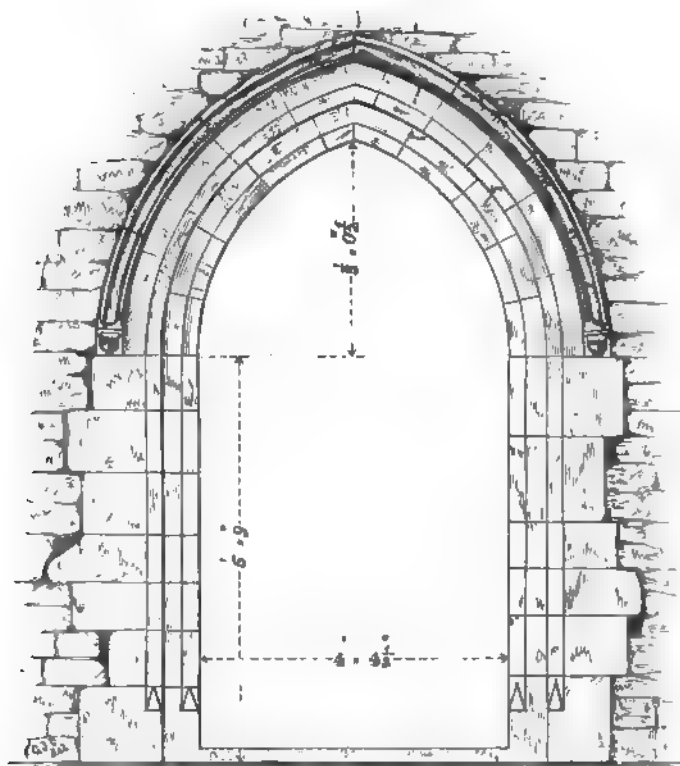
Fig. 7. Buttress at junction of Hall and Kitchen.

¹ [This stair and the garrets above are termed in the College "Noah's Ark."]

² [I do not understand why Professor Willis assigns so short a length to this room. There appears to be no reason why it should not have extended as far as the north wall: or at any rate up to the southern face of the north range, which would give it a length of 60 feet. The Catalogue in the Old Register, made in 1418, shews that even then the College possessed an extensive collection of books, which had probably grown too large for the *libraria antiqua* mentioned above (p. 12, note), and this new room was built to accommodate them.]

³ [The original doorway at the foot of this stair was discovered and opened out

to have been reconstructed at the same time with the kitchen ; when also the buttery was divided by a wall which still remains.



Elevation of Hall Door: (South)

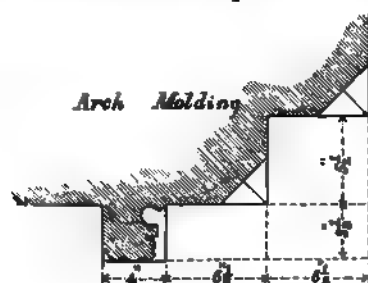


Fig. 2. Door at South End of Hall-passage.

in the course of the work done to the south side of the court in 1870. The present Treasury is on the first floor at the head of this stair: and a door from it opens gallery of the Hall.]

The south wall of the hall is now curiously patched with successive repairs, but was originally carefully built of small squared clunch, much more neatly jointed than any of the other clunch walls in the College. A plain pointed doorway at the south end of the passage behind the hall screen (F, fig. 2) is the oldest piece of masonry remaining in the College buildings. It has sometimes been called Early English, and at any rate appears to be earlier than 1307. [It is represented, with its moldings, in figure 8, and a ground-plan of that at the opposite end of the passage, which is much richer, in figure 9; a third door, still richer, gives access to the Hall from the vestibule at I (fig. 2).]

There are no traces of buttresses to the hall, and the present windows have been patched into the wall in such a manner as to make it impossible to trace accurately the original state of it. The eastern extremity is of rougher work as if rebuilt, and the parapet of the whole is all of subsequent work. The squared clunch work extends to the buttress in the kitchen yard and includes the buttery, thus marking a first portion of the work, namely the hall as first erected. There can be little doubt that it is substantially the same as that erected with the Bishop's legacy shortly after 1286. [The only notices of it that occur in the Bursars' Rolls are for repairs and fittings. Wooden door-jambs and doors were made in 1563—4; and in 1589—90 it was wainscotted, apparently for the first time, as much as £12. 10s. being spent upon the work. It had previously been hung with tapestry, probably over the dais, which was repaired in this year¹.]

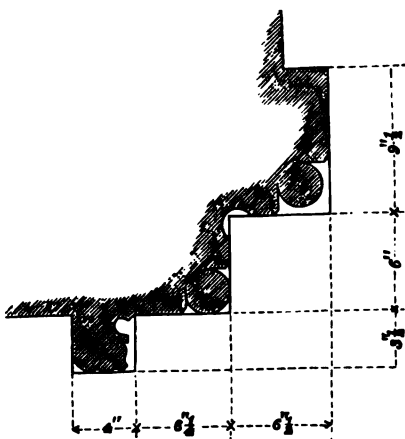


Fig. 9. Ground-plan of door at North End of Hall-passage.

There can be little doubt that it is substantially the same as that erected with the Bishop's legacy shortly after 1286. [The only notices of it that occur in the Bursars' Rolls are for repairs and fittings. Wooden door-jambs and doors were made in 1563—4; and in 1589—90 it was wainscotted, apparently for the first time, as much as £12. 10s. being spent upon the work. It had previously been hung with tapestry, probably over the dais, which was repaired in this year¹.]

¹ [Bursar's Roll, 1589—90, "xxiijs. vjd. Gilberto Thorn reficienti le Cloth of Arras in aula."]

From the east end of the hall a series of chambers in two stories extends to the present library. The first floor is known to have been the Master's lodge. The ancient statutes of 1344 give the Master two chambers, of course placed in the ancient buildings nearer the street, but the later statutes which belong to the beginning of the sixteenth century assign to the Master "all the eastern portion of the house which adjoins the hall, except the common chamber, which we desire to be open to the scholars in winter¹."

This common chamber or College parlour has also been time out of mind placed on the ground floor at the east end of the hall, and the mantels of its chimney-piece appear to be mentioned in 1464. But on the other hand the foundation of a parlour in connexion with other chambers occurs in 1466, after which date there is a break in the rolls, and the position of these chambers cannot be fixed. [The parlour is frequently alluded to in the rolls, usually for repairs only. In 1550—1 the fireplace was painted in colours, and in 1589—90 the floor was paved with tiles².]

At the junction of the hall and Master's upper room a tower staircase is placed (G, fig. 2), as at Pembroke, S. John's, Christ's, and Queens', by which he could descend to the garden and to the hall and combination room³. The patched state of the wall in this part is partly due to a fire which consumed the Master's chambers in 1639, and occasioned a repair of them and of the tower which is recorded in the rolls⁴. [The woodcut

[Commss. Doc^o ii. pp. 6—56 The seventh Statute, *De assignatione camerarum*, ordains "Magister unam cameram pro se eligat quam voluerit, et aliam de consilio Decanorum." In the later code, Statute 35, the words are "Magister eam totam (excepto communi Conclavi, quod Scholaribus tempore hyemali patere volumus) Domus partem sibi habeat, quæ ab orientali parte ejusdem Aulae est contigua."]

¹ ['Et de hij' Homes pro sexcentis le paving tyle pro conclavi "]

² [On one of Professor Willis' papers I find the following description of this part which seems worth preserving, "Examining the south wall from the east end of the Hall, we first observe an external brick turret with a vice, and then a piece of brick walling much patched and altered by the insertion of sash windows and repairs. This extends as far as the beginning of the Library." These windows, with the curious wooden louver which at that time capped the turret, are well shewn in a view by Westall, Ackermann i. 2. See below, Chap. VIII.]

³ 1638. "Edificationem novorum graduum a conclavi superioris in hortum magistris descendendum

1639. Materials, etc. "ad restauranda cubacula et hortum perfecti 7 li 12s. 0d

(fig. 10) shews the present appearance of this tower. The battlements were added, it is believed, during a general repair of the College in 1848, but no record has been preserved of the manner in which it was terminated originally. The door giving access to the garden is original. Over that which opens into the Master's chamber on the first floor is a molding which seems to indicate a roof. Possibly the staircase was originally of wood, and rose no higher than this door.]



Fig 10. Tower-staircase

The order of description has now led us from the old Library on the west side of the quadrangle, to the Master's lodge and chambers at the end of the south range. But as the previous rolls from 1424 to 1429 relate to chambers, and the indenture for the Library in 1431 alludes to these new buildings of the College, we can only suppose part of the north range to be

pro turriculæ fabrica et materie, etc. pro fabrica collegii et cubiculi præfecti igne consumpti, cum horto Præfecti" etc. total, 132 li. 7s.

1640. " pro materia et opera plumbaria circa turriculam 11li. xiijs. 3d."

Bursars' Rolls.

The previous existence of the tower is proved by Lyne's plan in 1574. else it might have been imagined, from these items, that it was built in 1638.

meant, which consists wholly of chambers and may now be described.

It must be previously remarked that the outer wall of the north end of the western range is built of roughly squared clunch in courses, not of the same period as the neatly finished work of the hall, and totally different from the uncoursed rubble of the kitchen. At this corner is a pointed doorway, originally belonging to a thoroughfare passage into the quadrangle (B, fig. 2). This was blocked up when the walls received their Italian dress, and a new passage was cut through the centre of the west side to reduce the court to classical symmetry. This new passage at its other end now enters the modern Gisborne court with mediæval asymmetry at one of its corners.

On the north side of the principal court, opposite to the Hall door, there was originally a second thoroughfare passage leading into the churchyard (H, fig. 2), of which the two parallel walls still remain on the ground floor within a set of chambers; and the archway of the north side, now bricked up, is to be seen in the churchyard. The inner arch, with a sundial over it, which opened into the quadrangle, is shewn in Loggan's view, but is now masked by an Italian window, the fourth in order from the N.W. corner. A stone vice like those on the other sides of the quadrangle leads to the upper chambers at the east end of the north range (P, fig. 2).

It will be remembered that the parish Church was used as a College Chapel until after the Reformation, as was the practice at Corpus Christi College; and, as at that College, the north side of this quadrangle is connected with the Church by a gallery leading from the upper floor, and bridging over the space between the vestry and the College¹. From this gallery a flight of stone steps leads down to the choir door. The space under this bridge, as the remains of the walls shew, was once vaulted over, and had open arches on the east and west sides for the parishioners' road into the churchyard, which had been on the south side of the Church, as the porch was, until 1737, when the new building next the street was planned. A College order was made on March 3 of that year:

¹ [A ground plan of the parts of the Church and College here described, on a scale of 16 feet to 1 inch, is given in figure 18.]

"That the new Building to be erected be set from the chapel as far as the vestry, and a church-way be made for the parishioners on the north side of the church; provided the consent of the Parish and Ordinary be obtained for that purpose."

The vaulted passage had also a gateway arch on the south side leading into the College (A, fig. 18), of which the western jamb (ibid. B) still remains, and a door on the north side into the vestry (ibid. H). The new building obtrudes itself into the area of this passage, and the vault and two of the arches were pulled



Fig. 11. Western face of Gallery and Vestry. From a photograph

down to make way for it. The gallery is now carried upon a wooden floor, and only the western wall and arch remain, with a few traces to bear testimony to its ancient form¹.

This wall next the churchyard shews that the vestry and archway were planned when the Church was built in 1350, for

¹ The passage from the College to the Church was not destroyed in 1737, for an order in 1750 (May 9) directs "that a Porter's lodge be fitted up in the passage from the Cloyster to Little S. Maries' Church."

the lower story of the vestry is in continuity with the walls of the Church, and like that has its plinth of hard stone with clunch masonry above. [This is well seen along the west wall CD, and the wall of the Church, DE.] The north jamb of the archway (*ibid.* F) is carried up as part of the same structure to a height of four or five feet; but the south jamb of the archway, the arch itself, and the walls of the gallery and upper story of the vestry are a totally subsequent work, added apparently after a considerable interval, and wholly built of red brick. [A view of the gallery, and adjoining structures, is given in fig. 11; it is also indicated in Hammond's plan (fig. 3).] The north wall of the chambers against which the gallery abuts is part of the same brick structure, extending forty-eight feet to the west; at which point (L, fig. 2), at the end of a set of chambers, an abrupt change of work occurs, and the remainder of the wall to the corner (*ibid.* R) is of clunch. The clunch on this side is very much decayed, and the whole wall presents a mass of patchwork, alterations, and inserted chimneys and windows. [One of the original windows is here shewn (fig. 12). Those that were inserted subsequently, except the obviously modern ones, are shallow square-headed double lights.] The lower part of the wall is of brick for a few feet above the ground, which may however be a facing added to the decayed clunch by way of under-pinning it¹.

The most probable time for the completion of the gallery appears to be the middle of the fifteenth century, when the choir of the Church was refitted, altars consecrated, and chantries founded; and this was also the period when the new quadrangle was in building, according to the rolls already quoted.

The rough construction of the building, the unfortunately perishable clunch which was so largely employed, and the desire for larger windows, led to several thorough repairs, by which the original architectural appearance of the College was destroyed, long before it assumed its Italian disguise.

¹ [It should be noticed that the wall of the Church at the foot of the stairs (G, fig. 18) is very much corroded, as though by exposure to weather. This, coupled with the fact noticed by Prof. Willis above, that the lower part of the wall CD is of clunch, while the upper part is of brick, makes me think that the gallery was built long subsequent to the staircase. It had been planned before, but the design had been abandoned for some now unknown reason.]

[The following notices of extensive repairs during the first half of the sixteenth century occur in the rolls.



Fig. 12. Early Window in North Wall.

In 1523—4 Thomas White was paid twenty-two shillings "pro ly poyntyng" of eleven "rods" of the Library¹. In 1526—7 John Morley "pointed the whole northern side of the house next to the Church" at a cost of twenty shillings: and in 1538—9 workmen were employed for twenty-two days upon the same

¹ [A "rod" is 272½ square feet in Cambridgeshire.]

part, and upon the Library, Hall, Master's chamber, walls of the grove, and other places in the College. This cost £3. 8s. 3d. In 1544 a quantity of plate, apparently belonging to the Chapel, was sold to pay for a new pavement to the court¹. In 1545—6 the west side of the College was repaired over an extent of seven stadia and two ells; also the south side of the kitchen and the chamber of Mr Cycell over an extent of three stadia and a half: and the outside of the College on the north over an extent of thirteen stadia. The whole sum spent in repairs this year was £7. 10s. 11½d.²

The existence of the following buildings in or near the College is proved by the references to them in the accounts; but, unfortunately, in most instances it is impossible to fix their position. They are interesting, however, as illustrating the domestic requirements of an ancient College.

A bakehouse (*pistrinum*) is mentioned in most of the rolls of the fifteenth century; also a place to keep salt provisions in (*domus salsamentorum*³): "le fish loft⁴," intended probably for salt fish; and "le fish house in le Coe Fen⁵," probably a vivarium. There was a storehouse for coal (*domus qua carbones exponuntur*⁶), and a lime-house (*domus qua calx ponitur*)⁷. Besides these there were a granary (*granarium*)⁸, a "haye house⁹," a "wheate loft⁹," a dove-cote¹⁰, and a hen-house¹¹ (*domus gallinaria*). We know from Loggan where the tennis-court (*sphæristerium*) was. I have not, however, been able to discover when it was built. It is first mentioned in the roll for 1571—2, after which time the name occurs very frequently down to 1605—6, the last year in which

¹ "Rad. Aynsworth, M.A. M^r. et Socii, omnes ac singuli 12, vendiderunt crucem et calicem argentea deaurata, et alia Jocalia, ut pavimentum plateæ conficere possent, 1544." Register of Bishop Wren, MSS. Baker, xlij. 188. There is an amusing entry in 1547—8, "vjd. pro reparatione muri in promptuario a furibus perfossi."

² In 1545 the Commissioners of Henry VIII report that three fellowships had been vacant for several months by reason of the great expenses in repairs during the last year. Commiss. Doc^{ts}. i. 112.

³ Roll for 1559—60.

⁴ Ibid. 1591—2.

⁵ Ibid. 1587—8.

⁶ This took three years to build (1568—71).

⁷ Ibid. 1564—5.

⁸ Ibid. 1588—9.

⁹ Ibid. 1587—8.

¹⁰ [Ibid. 1545—6. It was let on lease in 1675, and again in 1682, at a yearly rent of 20s.]

¹¹ Ibid. 1545—6.

any allusion is made to it¹. There was also a treasury (*domus thesaurorum*), and a chapter-house (*domus capitularis*)².

A building is described at some length in the roll for 1544—5, the very name of which it is difficult to understand. It is called "spectaculum or New-work." It was built of freestone, was of some height, as it required a scaffold, and was paved³. It was repaired in 1589—90 and other years, but the use to which it was put is never so much as alluded to. There is a small building with battlemented walls shewn upon Hammond's map (fig. 2) abutting on the west wall of the College, and overlooking the fen. If the conjecture that this is the "spectaculum" be accepted, it would then signify "look-out." In confirmation of this view it may be mentioned that in Loggan's print of Queens' College, reproduced in the History of that College, a similar structure is shewn, built over a doorway⁴ in the garden-wall next to the river, and of such a height that the floor is level with the top of the wall. It has battlements, and is approached by a flight of broad external stairs.]

¹ [It was let on lease in 1667, and again in 1677 at a yearly rent of 12*d.*, the College reserving the use of it for the Fellows free of charge, and, "Provided also that the Scholars...shall freely play with their owne Balls and Rackets from eleven of y^e clock untill one, paying nothing for the same; and at other times when y^e Mr or Deans...shall allow them."]

² Ibid. 1589—90. "Et de xiv d. Greene pro iron barres et staples pro domo capitulari, et de xxij d. pro sera et claue pro eadem ut patet in billa præfecti."

³ "Et de ijs. vjd. persone aurige pro vehendis decem bigatis lapidum vocat' ly fre ad reficiendum murum spectaculi vocati ly newwarke. ... Et de vd. pro funiculis ad colligandum ly scafowolde apud ly newarke. Et de iij s. Magistro Sherwood pro bigata lapidum ly fre pavyngestone pro ly newarke. Et de vj s. viij d. Magistro collegii pro duobus bigatis et dimidio eiusdem generis lapidum ad sternendum ly newarke."

⁴ [This was the position of the structure at Peterhouse, from a payment made 1590—91 "ix d. Greene reficienti seram ostii sub le Newarke."]

CHAPTER IV.

BUILDINGS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. DR PERNE'S LIBRARY. WORKS OF DR MATTHEW WREN.

IN addition to the old chambers and buildings of the great quadrangle, there were others extending to the street, whose position can only be understood by following the history of the present buildings of the entrance court, the earliest of which is the Library on the south side, due to Dr Andrew Perne (Master 1553—1589), as appears from the following singular passage in his last will¹ :—

“The Colledge Librairie of Peterhouse...I doe wishe to be newe builded at the east end of the Masters Lodginge longewayes towardes the Strete by some good Benefactor or Benefactors that I have spoken toe and wiche have promised to helpe to the buildinge of the same. That is M^r Customer Smithe, M^r Machell of Hackney, and M^r Thomas Sutton of Newyngton principallie, and if noe other man will contribute to the buildinge of the sayed Librairie wⁱⁿ one yeare after my discease, then I will soe muche of my plate to be solde and other of my goodes and moveables, as will build the same three score foote in length and the breadth and heighthe to be as the rest of the Colledge is, w^t loftes and chimnies; and all the foresayed newe librarie to be newe builded as is aforesaide, wⁱⁿ three or foure yeares at the furthest after my dicease. I will all my bookes bequeathed in this my testament to be layed and chayned in the old Librarie of the Colledge and the foresayed Masters or Presidents² to preserve all the Bookes that I have

¹ It was signed 25 Feb. 1588, and probate taken May, 1589. [The following extract is taken from a copy in the Diocesan Registry at Peterborough. I have not been able to discover the original. His private library had become famous, for when the French Ambassador visited Cambridge on Aug. 30, 1571, “he went to Peter Howse to see Dr Pearne's Studdie or Librarie, supposed to be the worthiest in all England.” MSS. Baker, xxiv. 250, Cooper's Annals, ii. 278.]

² [The Masters of Peterhouse, S. John's and Queens', or the Presidents thereof, had been mentioned in a previous clause of the will.]

given in this my will to the sayed Librarie as appeareth afterwarde, the which I will to be written in three severall Register Bookes indented, the on to remayne in the Custodie of the M^r of Peterhouse for the time beinge and his Successors, the second in the Colledge comen Chistes, the third in the handes of the keeper of ye Colledge Librarie of Peterhouse, the w^{ch} keeper I will to be bound w^t twoe Suerties in three hundreth pounds for the safe keepinge of all the sayed bookes and the makinge goode of them at the saied accompt in the said librarie yearlie to bee made before the Vice chauncellor the Master of the said Colledge of Peterhouse and the Master of S^t Johns or in their absence before their Presidents, after the drinkinge in the Parlor the which shall be immediatlie after the sermon is ended¹; and that the sayed keeper suffer none of the sayed bookes to be lent to anie person out of the sayed Librairie; but he to see all my bookes that I shall give to the Librarie to be bound w^t chaines at my coaste And the names of the bookes that be sett in euerie stall to be written in the end thereof, w^t my name in euerie of y^e said Bookes; and that the senior Bursar be bounde at ye takinge of his office for the makinge at that time before the said persons a trewe accompte of all other thinges that I doe give to the Colledge....And I will that the sayed² Scholler and keeper of the said Librarie shall have a chamber under the said Librarie, and he to be in the sayed Librarie dayely two houres at the least, except it be holie daye or except he have licence of the Master of the Colledge being called thither and to goe thither when he shall be required by anie of the Fellowes of Peterhouse aforesayed...."

[Accordingly in the Bursar's Roll for 1590—1 material in wood and stone is bought; and the work must have proceeded rapidly at first, for in the following year the door leading to the Library from the Master's chamber was made, shewing that the ground floor must have been complete or nearly so. During the next year no work is recorded: but in 1593—4 the greatest activity prevailed. The floor was laid, casements were fitted to the windows and glazed, hinges and bolts to the doors, the walls were plastered and the beams coloured. The work must have been finished in this year, for not only do we find a charge for making the "half-pace" or raised stage on which the bookcases were to stand, but "platts" for the shelves are bought; and lastly the books were moved in, for one Crofts was employed to take

¹ [He had previously directed that this sermon is "to be made for me yearlie in the parish Church of litel S^t Maries on the Sundaye in the afternoone next ensueinge that daye in the which it shall please God to take mee out of this presente life to his mercie."]

² [It had been previously directed that the Librarian should be a scholar, and receive 5 marks annually.]

the chains off (probably from those in the old Library), and ten shillings were distributed among the scholars for writing the catalogue¹.

In this same year (1593—4) the room over the Library, called in the accounts "le gallery," was built, with windows in its north and south walls, and a triple window at the end (towards the street). Access to this was originally obtained only by the turret stair (G, fig. 2); for that by which it is now approached from the landing close to the Library door at the head of the stair leading up from the cloister (M, fig. 2) is modern, and was doubtless made when it was divided into chambers. This gallery was assigned to the Master before it was built, as the following order shews, which was probably made at the time of the completion of the basement.

"Oct. 25, 1591. It is ordered by me which in the vacancy of the Bishopric of Ely am your Colledge visitor that the whole upper Roome over Dr Perne's new Library and halfe of the Roome under the said Library in Peterhouse shall be part of the M^rs Lodging.

JO. CANTUAR.²"

The entire work was not completed until 1594—5, when a quantity of oak board, and casements, both double and single, were bought, at an expense of £50. 8s. 1½d.]

The Library was built as directed at the east end of the Master's lodging, stretching from that towards the street, but its south wall next to the garden shews that it consists of two portions built at successive periods. The first part next to the old lodge is exactly sixty feet long, as Dr Perne's will directs (NO, fig. 2), and this is constructed of rubble interspersed with large stones. The point of junction with the Lodge (N) can be easily seen, the rubble of the south wall of the Lodge being composed of much smaller stones. The second part, which elongates it by thirty-six feet, so as to reach the street, is of brick, and has a brick gable with an oriel window in the street bearing the date 1633, above, in brickwork.

¹ [The account for this year under the head "Fundatio Doctoris Pearne" is transcribed entire in the appendix, No. 111. It is an excellent specimen of the Bursars' Rolls of Peterhouse, shewing the curious mixture of Latin, French and English in the language, and the method of setting down each expense in the order in which it was incurred, without any attempt at classification.]

² Old Register, 86.

[We now come to a period of great activity in improving and increasing the College buildings, due mainly to the architectural taste of Dr Matthew Wren, of whom we read in the *Parentalia* :

"In 1625 he was rather call'd than preferr'd to the Mastership of St Peters College in Cambridge; where he exercis'd such Prudence and Moderation in his Government that he reduced all the Fellows to one sacred Bond of Unity and Concord, and excited the Scholars to Constancy and Diligence in their Studies. Moreover, he built great Part of the College from the Ground, rescued their Writings and ancient Records from Dust and Worms, and by indefatigable Industry digested them into a good Method and Order.

But seeing the publick Offices of Religion less decently perform'd, and the Service of God depending upon the Courtesy of others, for want of a convenient Oratory within the Walls of the College; what then he could not do at his own Charge, he compass'd by his Interest in well dispos'd Persons abroad, and procur'd such considerable Sums of Money, that he built and beautified a complete Chapel, which he dedicated March 17, 1632¹."

Passing over for the present the building of the Chapel (1628—1632) which shall be told at length in a separate chapter, we come to the first change made in the court after the building of the western portion of the present Library in 1590. This work was undertaken in consequence of unexpected legacies bequeathed to the College, as is set forth in a College order, dated April 9, 1632, of which the substance is as follows²:

"Whereas Dr John Richardson, formerly Master of this College [1609—15], and afterwards of Trinity College [1615—25], has bequeathed £100 to build a brick wall next the street to the east, and other benefactors enumerated have left money for founding four Scholarships; we, the master and fellows of Peterhouse, after due deliberation, decree: that the ancient and ruinous range of chambers extending from Dr Derham's chamber to the gate of the churchyard, and from the latter to a point opposite the Library, be forthwith pulled down, provided however that the materials, as far as possible, be used up again, and fitted to the new building: and that from Dr Derham's chamber a range of chambers in three stories be built for the reception of fellows and students like those in the other parts of the College, and that from these to a point opposite the Library there shall be

¹ [*Parentalia*: or *Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens*, fol. London 1750, p. 9. Dr Wren's Catalogue of the College Documents is still in use.]

² [The original is a verbose composition in Latin.]

constructed a brick wall with a large and handsome door in the middle¹."

Lyne's plan of Cambridge (1574), and that of Hammond (1592), were taken before Perne's Library was built; the former shews a range of buildings next the street, and a few houses between them and the street; but the latter, which is the more precise, shews a wall at the east end of the court running from the end of the Master's lodge northwards to the opposite range, and separating off a narrow court next to the street (fig. 2). This court has buildings on the north and east sides, and extends slightly more to the south than the principal quadrangle. No entrance is shewn from the street, and it is probable that up to this time the College had its principal entrance from the churchyard, through the vaulted porch under the gallery. It is evident that the eastern range stood clear of the site of the Chapel, which was completed by March 17, 1632, while the order for pulling down the chambers is dated April 9, 1632. Dr Derham's chamber was at the east end of the north range², and we have seen that the churchyard street-gate was at that time at the south-east corner of the churchyard (fig. 1). We learn therefore that old chambers occupied the north and east sides of the entrance-court, and extended beyond Perne's Library. Some of these chambers were probably older than those of which we have followed the building from the account rolls, and are those which were repaired in 1374. Part of them may also have been included in the works of the fourteenth century.

The new chambers which were built in consequence of the order of 1632 on the north side of this court are shewn in Loggan's view (fig. 14), which also represents two doors into the street instead of one. This must have been the result of a change

¹ The holders of the above mentioned four scholarships are to be paid their stipends out of the rents of the new chambers. On Oct. 21, 1663, it was ordered that the six chambers lately constructed or fitted up on the border of the churchyard be appropriated in future to the Fellows of Mr Park's and Mr Ramsay's foundation. This must apply to the north range ordered to be built in 1632, and shews how College work lingers.

² The Chapel Account book shews that in 1629, when the Chapel was begun, they took down "the wall between the Master's lodging and Dr Darnam his chamber," to clear the ground. Therefore the Doctor's chamber was opposite to the Master's on the other side of the court.

of plan during the execution of the work, for the style of their ornament corresponds to the date. By the date, 1633, on the brick gable of the Library we see that its elongation to the street followed immediately upon the demolition of the old chambers. The date probably belongs to the beginning of the work rather than to the completion, for it was not till 1641—2, that a payment of £30 to joiners (*scriniarii*) for making three new cases for the Library shews that the additional space was being fitted up¹.

The Bursar's Roll for 1637—8 shews a total expenditure of more than £200 upon a "Restauratio extraordinaria" of the College, which includes £97 for workmanship upon the decayed and corroded windows and outer doors in both courts, besides stone, brick and other materials for the same². To procure additional funds for these works a letter soliciting subscriptions had been issued in 1636, in which the Master and Fellows state that they have built a Chapel which still remains insufficiently ornamented, and unfinished, that they have rebuilt

¹ Mich^a. 1641 to Mich^a. 1642.

"Pro purganda Bibliotheca post fabros scriniarios	0 . 11 . 11
Pro libris emptis	11 .
Pro fabris cæmentariis et latomis	7 . 4
Pro fabris scriniariis pro extruendis tribus novis thechis	30 . 0 . 0"

[Some new fittings however had been put in previously; for in 1633—4 we find "xiiij li Ashley pro novis sedilibus in Bibliothecâ." The work done in 1641—2 was clearly the beginning of the fitting up, for in the following year 1642—3 three more cases were made at the same price; and in 1643—4 apparently two, at a cost of £19. In 1644—5, £11 . 5 . 0 is paid "pro theca nova et tabula;" and in 1645—6, £12 . 0 . 0 for the same, together with £10 . 0 . 0 "pro fenestra orientali." In 1647—8, £11 . 17 . 0 is paid "pro thecis novis et tabulis;" and in 1655—6 the vestibule is fitted up, as appears by the following :

"Scriniario pro fabrica novi vestibuli et scriniorum	17 . 6 . 8
Carpentario pro opera circa fabricam novi vestibuli	0 . 9 . 6
Fabro ferrario pro ferramentis circa novum vestibulum et scrinia	3 . 5 . 10"

The "tabula" may perhaps be the frame to contain the catalogues, though the word usually meant a shelf in the 17th century. These bookcases will be figured and described in the chapter on College Libraries.]

² "Pro lapide cæso, Lateribus coctis, Calce viva, Arena, Lignis, etc. ad Restaurationem extraordinariam Collegii in ædificandis, removendis, atque in ordinem redigendis omnibus fenestris infra aream ejusdem Collegii tam novam quam antiquam ... et exterioribus ostiis tabe et carie prius consumptis."

and repaired the ruinous chambers, and are now endeavouring to increase the Library, and put in order the Hall and the Court¹.

In 1638—9, ten pounds was paid to John Westley, for repairing and restoring the roof of the west side of the College². Thus the court was brought to the aspect it presents in Loggan's print.

CHAPTER V.

WORKS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

[THE idea of completing the College by a second court towards the east had been entertained by Dr Perne, in whose will the following clause occurs :

"Item I doe give towards the buildinge of the east ende of the Colledge of Peterhouse aforesaid like to the rest of the Colledge havinge a fayer gate house in the midst of it like to St Johns gate house twentie powndes to the said Colledge of Peterhouse ; to be payed out of my goodes by mine Executor within three yeares after my decease, to be reserved in the Colledge chest to that purpose only. I truste that the Master and Fellowes of Peterhouse for the time beinge will be earnest and dayly sutors for the buildinge of the same goodlie worke with the helpe of my Lord of Caunterburies grace that nowe is Archbishop Whitgifte, M^r Customer Smythe, M^r Sutton of Ashton, Sir Wuliston Dixie, and Sir Thomas Ramsie, all w^{ch} have promised to contribute towards the buildinge of the same"

Whether the complete realisation of this plan, so as to include an east front, was ever seriously considered we do not know. Nothing however was done in this part of the College after the civil war, until] Dr Richardson's range of chambers on the north side of the entrance court was doomed to destruction on March 30, 1732, when it was

"Agreed . . . y^t y^e Building on y^e North side of y^e Chappel be taken down wth all convenient speed and rebuilt in a decent and strong manner wth y^e College dead-stock³."

¹ [The letter is printed in the Appendix, No. IV.]

² "Pro reparando et restaurando tecto Collegii a parte occidentali Johanni Westley, xlii."

³ College Order, March 30, 1732.

This resolution however was not carried out for several years afterwards. Mr Burrough of Caius College prepared a design, for which he received a piece of plate of the value of ten pounds "in consideration of the Trouble he has been at on the College Account¹:" and four years afterwards a copper-plate engraving was ordered "representing in Perspective the Chapel, with the New Building now erecting on the Northside, and another design'd to be erected on the South²." Engravings of proposed buildings were usually made at this period and circulated to assist in obtaining subscriptions. The south building, however, was never carried out. The north building is a handsome and substantial Italian pile of chambers in three stories, of brick, faced with Ketton stone on the south and east sides³.

[It was directed to be commenced at the end of the year 1736, by the following order :

"July 21, 1736, Agreed . . . that the Order made in the year 1732 to take down the Building on the North Side of the Chapel be put in Execution at or before Mich^s. next, And that an Estimate be taken of

¹ College Order, Feb. 6, 1735—6.

² [College Order, Aug^t. 11, 1739. This plate, drawn by R. West, and engraved by P. Fourdrinier, shews a building on the south exactly similar to that on the north; and between each of them and the Chapel a building of the same height and design, supported on a cloister of three arches in rustic work, like the arch that now gives access to the northern building.]

³ [Outside the easternmost window of the second floor on the north side are two iron bars on brackets, with a third attached to them, just far enough from the wall to allow a man's body to pass. Tradition assigns this window to the rooms of the poet Gray, who had these bars put up to secure his escape in case of fire by means of a rope. One night some malicious wags shouted "Fire!" The poet descended; not, however, on to the ground, but into a tub of water placed under his window. This is said to have been the real cause of his leaving Peterhouse for Pembroke. A month before he left he writes to Dr Wharton: "I beg you to bespeak me a rope-ladder (for my neighbours every day make a great progress in drunkenness, which gives me cause to look about me). It must be full 36 feet long, or a little more, but as light and manageable as may be, easy to unroll, and not likely to entangle. I never saw one, but I suppose it must have strong hooks, or something equivalent at top, to throw over an iron bar, to be fixed in the side of my window." In the first letter from Pembroke to the same, March 25, 1756, he evades his real reason for removal: "I left my lodgings because the rooms were noisy and the people of the house uncivil." He had been disturbed, says Mason, by "two or three young men of Fortune." Their names are given by Moultrie in his edition of Mitford's *Life of Gray*. Dr Law, Master of Peterhouse, called the affair "a boyish frolic" and refused redress. See Gray's Works by Mason, Moultrie, and in the Aldine Edition, 1853.]

the Incomes, in order to allow them to the several Persons to whom they belong :”

but the next order, made in April, 1738, shews that the work had been again deferred, and that the old range of chambers was still standing ; also, that some other material than stone had at first been decided on ; for it was then

“Agreed that the new Building be cas’d with Stone towards the Chapel and the Street, and that the Stone for this purpose be provided immediately ; and that the Building be taken down as far as the Cloyster.”

The question of position had been considered from the first, for on April 6, 1734, it was agreed :

“That in consideration of the Parish’s giving their consent for the taking in seventy-five feet in length and nineteen feet in breadth of the Churchyard for the erecting a new building, the College do pay to the said Parish an Acknowledgment of five shillings per annum, and make a pav’d walk on the North side of the Church ten feet in breadth, together with a large Door five feet in breadth, and a small Door into the Chancel with Porches for each Door. And likewise that a new Gate be made to the Churchyard, the trees on the North side cut down, and the large Pew by the North Door removed.”]

By this means additional breadth was given both to the entrance court and to the chambers. [The delay above mentioned was very likely due to some hesitation on the part of the Parish, for it was not until March 23rd, 1737—8, that it was

“Agreed that the new Building to be erected be set from the Chapel as far as the Vestry, and a Church-way be made for the Parishioners on the north side of the Church, provided the consent of the Parish and Ordinary be obtain’d for that Purpose.”

The work was sufficiently advanced by the beginning of 1741¹ for an agreement to be made “that the Ceilings in the new Buildings be performed, viz., to be floated and finished in the best and workmanlike manner, including whitening at 1 shilling and 3d. per yard :”—and in June of the same year the rooms were painted². They were not ready for occupation apparently until the beginning of 1742, when their rents were

¹ May 5, 1741.

² College Order, June 12, 1741.

settled by a College Order¹:] and in the following year it was agreed :

“That the Bursar give Mr Burrough fifty Pounds in Consideration of his Designing and overseeing the Execution of the new Building².”

He was at this time therefore acting as a professional architect.

Finally, on Nov. 13, 1744, it was

“Agreed . . . that the Bursar be empowered to place a Fence of Rails, and put Bars into the Lower Windows of the new Building towards the Church Yard and likewise to pave the Area before the said Building.”

In 1751³ the new gates toward the street which are still employed were erected in lieu of those which were set up in 1632. [Up to 1848 the College was bounded on this side by a high brick wall with a stone coping nearly as high as the architraves of the stone gateways, except for the short interval between the north gate and Burrough's building, where a low wall and iron railing, such as now extends along the whole street front, seems to have existed from the beginning (fig. 4)⁴. In 1848 considerable repairs were executed, in the course of which the present wall and railing was set up, and the gateways enriched with a half pilaster set against their sides⁵.]

In 1754 it was determined to modernize the great quadrangle, which had now, in consequence of the gradual rebuilding of the entrance court, acquired the name of the Old Court. I subjoin a series of successive and contradictory resolutions all passed in this year, which afford an amusing illustration of the manner in which Burrough, now Sir James, and Master of Caius College, persuaded the College to change the stucco and small sash-

¹ [April 30, 1742. There had evidently been some unusual difficulty in getting the work completed, for on July 26, 1740, it was agreed “that the workmen employed about the new Building be paid no more money by the Bursar on Acc^t till they bring in a measurement of the whole.”]

² College Order, March 15, 1743—4.

³ [College Order, April 15, 1751.]

⁴ [This is shewn in the plate at the head of the University Almanack for 1813: in Storer's Illustrations and in *Le Keux*, i. 233.]

⁵ [College Order, May 20, 1848, “for new roofing, repairing, and improving parts of the College.”]

windows at first projected, for the full Italian dress which was finally imposed upon the old walls¹.

March 4, 1754. "At a Meeting of the Master and Fellows it was agreed that the old Court be new stuccoed, that the two walks be laid with new freestone and the remainder be paved with pebbles, that the window and door Cases be repaired, and the grass plats new laid. This work to be immediately undertaken and conducted at the direction of the Master, Deans, and Bursar, who shall likewise determine what alterations shall be made in the Sheep court.

May 2, 1754. Agreed...to make new sash windows in the old court.

May 23, 1754. At a meeting of the Locum tenens and Fellows it was agreed that instead of stuccoing the old court according to an order of the Master and Fellows bearing date March 4th, 1754, it be cas'd with Ketton Stone, the Front of the North side to be finish'd this year. The window and doorcases instead of being repair'd to be fitted up with stone of the same kind. That instead of the sashes meant in the order dated May 2^d, 1754, modern sashes be put in, and as this may occasion some expense in the fitting up that part of the inside of the rooms adjoining to the windows the charge which may from hence arise shall be borne by the College. This work to be conducted at the direction of the Master, Deans, and Bursar and the price of stone and workmanship to be settled by the Master of Caius College.

Sep. 17, 1754. At a meeting of the Locum tenens and Fellows it was agreed that instead of the Battlements a Parapet Wall be erected, adorned with a Dentil Cornice, and that the old materials be made use of as far as they will go. Agreed also that the Price of the Workmanship employed in the Cornice shall be three shillings p^r foot according to the Proposal made by M^r Elsdon.

Dec. 19, 1754. Agreed...that the West and South Sides of the College Court be cas'd with Stone in the same Manner and on the same Directions as mention'd in the order dated May 23, 1754.

Jan. 6, 1755. Agreed...y^e an Arch be made thro' y^e middle of y^e west end of y^e Court and y^e Mr Markland and Mr Pemberton have satisfaction made for any Damage to their chambers occasion'd by y^e alteration above.

June 28, 1755. Agreed...that the order of March 4, 1754, relating to the Area of the Court be cancelled and that there be made in it only one large grass plat without any walks of freestone.

Feb. 26, 1756. Agreed that the Money formerly paid for Musick at Christmas be applied to the supplying the Lamp att the new Building, and four new Lamps which are to be placed at the four corners of the new Grass Plot².

¹ [For more details respecting this architect, see the History of the Schools and Senate-House. He was elected Master of Caius College, Feb. 27, 1754.]

² [The two on the east side are shewn in Ackermann's view of the court. They are lofty stone obelisks. The present iron lamp-posts were put up in 1830. College Order, Dec. 22, 1830.]

[In 1774 the west side of the College was new roofed, at an expense of £300; and in 1783 a sum of £400 bequeathed by the Bishop of Waterford was ordered to be applied to a similar work on the north and south sides¹.]

In 1791, the wall of the chambers and library on the south side of the entrance court was plastered, which, to judge from the condition of the wall of the same building next to the garden, was the only thing to be done for the sake of neatness short of ashlaring or rebuilding. Thus the ancient College was brought to its present aspect. [The rooms under the Library were converted into a Porter's Lodge, a Lecture Room, etc., in 1821².]

Two wings containing chambers were built to the west of the quadrangle by the munificence of the Rev. Francis Gisborne, a former fellow, in 1825³. The first stone of these was laid on the 30th of August in that year. [The south wing was first built, and the northern decided on a few months later. The whole was completed at the end of 1826⁴.] These wings extend ninety feet westward, and are at the same distance apart, so as to form, in conjunction with the west wall of the old College chambers, a square court to which the founder's name has been attached. They are erected in the modern Gothic style, of white brick, from a design by William M'Intosh Brooks, Architect, who designed the castellated Town Gaol on Parker's Piece⁵. [The builder was M^r Thomas Tomson of Cambridge.]

¹ [College Orders, April 3, 1773, March 26, 1774, April 19, 1783.]

² [College Order, March 30, 1821.]

³ He presented £20,000 to the College in 1817.

⁴ [College Orders, May 30 and October 21, 1825, June 16, 1826, and Feb. 12, 1827. The last payment to the contractor was made on May 12, 1828.]

⁵ [This was erected soon after June 23, 1827, on which day the royal assent was given to an Act for Building a new Gaol for the Town. Cooper's Annals, iv. 554.]

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE CHAPEL.

THE construction of the existing Chapel in lieu of the parochial chancel was begun in 1628: for although an Oratory¹ is mentioned in previous records, yet the positive assertion of the act of consecration of the Chapel on March 17, 1632, that "from the first foundation of the College to the present time it had no sacellum within its walls," is sufficient to shew that that was not a regular Chapel, but only a licensed room for private devotions; and did not supersede the performance of the greater services in the parish Church².

¹ On Oct. 12, 1388, John de Fordham, Bishop of Ely, gave license, to last for his own good pleasure, to the Master and fellows and all persons residing with them to hear divine service in a chapel within the said house, and to perform other divine offices therein. Fordham's Register, MSS. Baker, xxxi. 208. [See also above, p. 10.]

² [The words of the Master's speech to the Bishop at the time of Consecration are as follows ... "cum intra muros Collegii Sacellum non habuerint, coacti sunt extra portas Collegii in vicinum Templum exire quotidie; idque tempore brumali horis antelucanis et postlucanis, quod in non raram opportunitatem maleferiatis Tenebrionibus cessit ulterius evagandi. Porro cum idem Templum ad oppidanos quoque jure parochiali pertineret, neque horae canonicae Petrensibus vacabant Sacrae Eucharistiae in Festis Principalibus aliisque Dominicis celebrandae neque quotidiana sacra iis ritibus atque apparatu obire poterant quos ex SS. Matris Ecclesiae Canone puriorisque Seculi exemplo observare par erat, praeter alia quoque incommoda, quae versiculis aliquot fusius comprehensa ... schedulae huic annexentur..." Old Register, p. 480, copied, MSS. Baker, v. 245. To this Baker appends the following note. "The verses spoken of in the beginning of this service are Crashaw's *Votiva Domus Petrensis pro Domo Dei*, printed then in a single sheet, and after among his Poems. And begin thus *Ut magis in mundi votis*." A short quotation from this now forgotten work may be interesting. After comparing the rising hopes of the members of Peterhouse to the dawn of day, he exclaims,

"Quando

Quando erit, ut tremulae flos heu tener ille diei,
Qui velut ex oriente novo jam altaria circum
Lambit, et ambiguo nobis procul annuit astro
Plenis se pandat foliis, et lampade totâ
Laetus ut e medio cum sol micat aureus axe,
Attonitam penetrare domum bene possit adulto

This Chapel, 64 feet long, by 26 feet broad, was erected in the Mastership of Dr Matthew Wren [Master 1625—34]. It was set in an isolated position, halfway between the Library on the south, and the range of chambers on the north. It is connected at its west end to the buildings on either side by a gallery with an open arcade below offering a very picturesque and characteristic specimen of the architecture of that period¹.

The clearing of the ground for the foundations was begun in May 1628, by taking down the "litle Ostle," and "the wall betweene the M^rs lodgeing, and D^r Derham his chamb^r ²." The foundation was laid on June 30, 1628. George Thompson was the freemason, but there is no record of the person who made the design. The work seems to have gone on continuously, but slowly, [no work being done in the winter, from November to April, during which months the walls were covered up ³.] The masonry of the windows was paid for in Nov. 1629, and they were glazed in 1632⁴. The roof dates from April 1629, to September 1631. [The floor was paved with glazed tiles from Ely. The seats and altar furniture were provided in 1632, in which year the consecration took place,

Sidere, nec dubio pia moenia mulceat ore?
Quando erit ut convexa suo quoque pulchra sereno
Florescant, roseoque tremant laquearia risu
Quae nimium informis tanquam sibi conscia frontis
Perpetuis jam se lustrant lachrymantia guttis?
Quando erit ut claris meliori luce fenestris
Plurima per vitreos vivat pia pagina vultus?
Quando erit ut sacrum nobis celebrantibus hymnum
Organicos facili et nunquam fallente susurro
Nobile murmur agat nervos; pulmonis iniqui
Fistula nec monitus faciat male fida sinistros?"

Complete Works of Richard Crashaw, ed. A. B. Grosart, 2 vols, 1873.]

¹ [Professor Willis calls it in a note a "curious specimen of Jacobean Gothic."]

² [The small size of "the little ostle" may be inferred from the facts that the whole cost of pulling down was only £1. 14s. 10d.; and that no more than 3 men were ever employed upon the job at one time.]

³ [Chapel Accounts. "About y^e couering of the walls when the workemen left of the first winter after it was begun." "Item for uncouering the walls in Aprill next after 0. 5. 0."]

⁴ [These windows, as soon as set up, were protected by wirework, as appears from "The wyerworkers Bill" preserved among a number of small accounts discharged by D^r Cosin. The whole cost including "tenters, spikes, nayles and wyer to fasten it" was £15. 17s. 10d.]

at eight o'clock in the morning of March 17th. Thus the whole work occupied nearly four years¹.]

It appears from the Bursars' accounts that the subscriptions amounted to £2365, including £300 from Leonard Mawe, Master (1617—1625), and Bishop of Bath and Wells², and £300 from Dr Cosin, afterwards Master.

From the following document, which is not dated, but which must have been drawn up soon after the consecration, we gather that the Chapel was erected on the sensible plan of fitting it for use as rapidly as possible, leaving such decorations as were not absolutely required to be provided by subsequent benefactors, or as funds accumulated. Thus the side walls and the east end were constructed of rough brickwork³; and the desiderata for the interior are enumerated, as a marble "frontispiece" for the Altar, a silk pallium, the painted glass of seven windows, the ornamental case of the organ, and the historical paintings of part of the walls.

"Sacellum Collegii Sancti Petri in Academia Cantabrigiensi a fundamentis nuper exstructum et consecratum Mar. 17, A.D. 1632.

		£
Expense.	Prima et nuda structura	1000
	Chori subsellia	130
	Vasa et Ornatus Altaris Locique circum-	
	jacentis	260
	Pavimentum Marmore polito stratum	180
	Ornatus Fornicis	186
	Fenestrarum sacris Historiis depic-	
	tarum	118
	parietum Fenestris interpositarum ..	180

¹ A Bursar's account book is preserved, which was exclusively kept for the building of the Chapel, and to it I am indebted for the particulars above given. Everything is minutely recorded even to "June 7, 1628. pack thread to measure out the ground for the wall, 13d.;" and "June 21. to Pattison in regard of spoiling his boots in standing in the water to dig. 0.0.6."

² [This was a bequest "pro tecto plumbeo."]

³ [The building accounts of the Chapel include charges for clunch and bricks, but not for stone, except "for water-table 284 foote and for coines 156 foot"—"for 10 windowes at 8th. a preece"—"for 598 foote of splayes"—"for corben table over y^e 9 windowes." "Item for 290 foote of freestone Quines for y^e batterys at 10^d. y^e foote—£12.1.8." These entries shew that the brickwork was supplemented by a certain amount of stonework. The four sides of the Chapel, together with the cloisters, before the east side of their northern division was lengthened to meet the building of 1742, measure exactly 284 feet.]

	£
Vestimenta et stragula Phrygia	50
Sacristia, Capsulæ, et Organile	60
Organum pneumaticum.....	140
Libri chorales.....	40
Porticus et nova Facies Sacelli de sectis lapidibus	140
Summa	2484

Expense (pro quibus Collegium nunc in Ære alieno) superant
summam receptam £119.

Et desunt adhuc

Frontispicium Altaris de marmore polito
Pallium cum frontalibus holosericis
Septem Fenestræ sacris Historiis depingendæ
Ornatus Organi pneumatici
Structura lapidea ad orientalem sacelli faciem quæ nunc
 Lateritia est et invenusta
Utrumque Sacelli Latus similiter restaurandum cum Acroteriis.
Ornatus interiorum Parietum nondum depictorum Historiis."

The exterior facings of the Chapel were entirely built at the expense of Dr Cosin, who succeeded Bishop Wren as Master of the College in 1635. He was ejected at the rebellion in 1644, and restored to the Mastership in 1660, but being immediately made Bishop of Durham, was succeeded in the former office by Dr Hale. The pavement was due to the munificence of his wife, Mrs Frances Cosin¹. His affection for his College did not however cease when he left Cambridge, for the Order Book records (2 Feb: 1665)

"Sixty pounds being now received w^{ch} my L^d of Duresme sent to y^e College as one Moitie of the Sum w^{ch} his L^p was pleased to promise for y^e building of y^e East end of our Chapel with freestone; the said £60 were this day layd up in y^e Chest in y^e Treasury, sealed in a Purse. . . . The Mony is to ly there till it be taken out to pay y^e Workmen."

His will, dated Dec. 11, 1671, contains this clause:

"I give and bequeath two hundred pounds towards the reedifying of the north and south sides of S^t Peter's Colledge Chappell in Cambridge, with hewn stone-worke answerable to the east and west ends of the sayd Chappell allready by mee sett up and finished²."

¹ [Benefactors' List, Blomefield, 156.]

² [A previous passage in the will records the donation of £120 for the east end of the Chapel: and a memorandum, bearing the same date, states that the

The west end and its porch¹, which had been built before the summary printed above was drawn up, are carefully represented in Loggan's print (fig. 14), and a comparison of that with the existing building shews that its general appearance has suffered very little from the meddling of modern restoration.

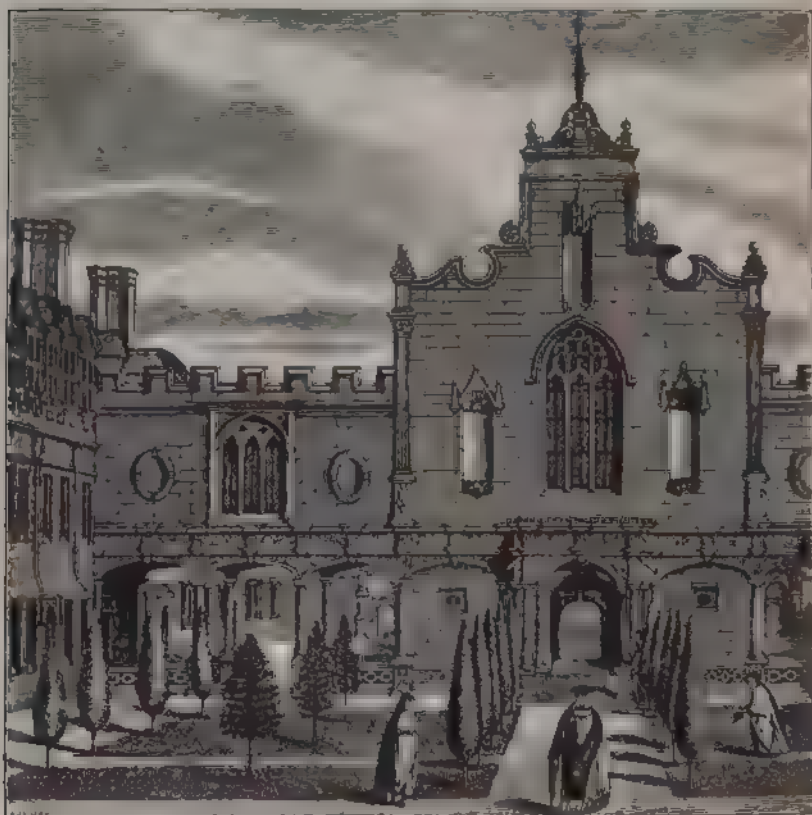


Fig. 14. West front of the Chapel and North Cloister. From Loggan.

£100 had been paid "for the facing the south and north sides thereof with hewen stone and new canted buttresses." The will is printed in the Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D. Ed. Surtees Socy. 1871, ii. 291.]

¹ [This porch had been the object of special donations.

"Rev' Pat' Matthaens Wren D' Ep' Norw', ex p'is Donationibus ad Structuram Porticus assignavit £30. Petrus de Laune, S. T. P. ex hoc Coll' £25 Joh' Cosin S. T. P. Magr' Coll' £10 Socii £11." Benefactors' List, in Blomefield, 155.]

The porch was taken down in 1755, and "the materials applied to y^e Repair of y^e Court" The foliage has been cut out of the window, and the carving of foliage, etc., in the frieze and in the spandrels of the lower arcade has been scraped off. Lastly, the tabernacle which occupied the space above the window has been exchanged for a clock. The whole composition belongs to the beginning of the reign of Charles the First,



fig. 75. North Cloister, as rebuilt in 1709.

but the east end, erected after the Restoration, is in a plainer style, and is capped by a small pediment¹.

[Dr Cosin, who shared Archbishop Laud's views about Church ceremonial, introduced a gorgeous ritual into this Chapel, together with the use of incense. In consequence, it attracted much ill-will from the Puritans. One of his most bitter opponents says :

¹ [A careful drawing of the east window will be found in the Cambridge Port-folio, n. 488.]

"that in Peter House Chappel there was a glorious new Altar set up, and mounted on steps, to which the Master, Fellowes, Schollers bowed, and were enjoined to bow by Doctor Cosens the Master, who set it up. that there were Basons, Candlestickes, Tapers standing on it, and a great Crucifix hanging over it. . . . that there was likewise a carved Crosse at the end of every seat, and on the Altar a Pot, which they usually called the incense pot : . . . and none of them might turne their backs towards the Altar going in nor out of the Chappell : . . . and the common report both among the Schollers of that House and others, was, that none might approach to the Altar in Peter-house but in Sandalls, and that there was a speciall consecrated Knife there kept upon the Altar, to cut the sacramental bread that was to be consecrated '"]

In the diary which William Dowsing, the iconoclast, kept of his proceedings we read :

"We went to Peterhouse, 1643, Decemb: 21, with Officers and Souldiers and...we pulled down 2 mighty great Angells with wings, and divers other Angells, & the 4 Evangelists, & Peter, with his Keies, over the Chappell Dore—& about a hundred Chirubims and Angells, and divers superstitious Letters in gold ; & at the upper end of the Chancell, these words were written, as followeth *Hic locus est Domus Dei, nil aliud, et Porta Celi*. Witnes Will: Dowsing, Geo: Long. These wordes were written at Keies Coll: and not at Peterhouse, but about the walls was written in Latine, *we prayes the ever*, & on some of the Images was written, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*. on other, *Gloria Dei, et Gloria Patri*, etc: & all *non nobis Domine* &c: & six Angells in the windowes. Witnes Will: Dowsing, George Longe."

Many of these Angels and Cherubim were probably at-

¹ [Prynne, *Canterbury's Doom*, fol. Lond. 1646, p. 73. The account is probably much exaggerated; but that incense was really used is proved by the list of plate furnished by the Bishop, where a charge is made "for the Sencor," and for "making a newe case to the Sencor." "Correspondence," etc., i. 224; and the Chapel Accounts for 1632-3 record payments for much costly plate, altar-cloths, cushions, and hangings. See Appendix, No. v. Similar accusations are brought against Dr Wren, in two curious and extremely scurrilous Pamphlets, "The Wren's Nest Defil'd," 1640, and "Wren's Anatomy; Printed in the yeare, That *Wren* ceased to domineere, 1641." The latter expressly accuses him of introducing Latin service into Peterhouse, and setting up an altar there: an accusation the truth of which is proved by an entry in the above account for eight service-books in Latin.]

² MSS. Baker, xxxviii. 455. [Dowsing's Diary is printed rather differently in Carter's *History of the University of Cambridge*, 8°. London, 1753. So far as I have been able to discover, this was the first time that the diary was printed, but unfortunately Mr Carter tells us nothing about the history of the MS.]

tached to the roof, which is now in very good order, and a characteristic specimen¹.

The stalls and organ gallery appear to be those which were fitted up at the first [though a College Order of April 10, 1666 complains that "our College-chapell is not yet provided of an Organ, nor of more money than £25 towards y^e Purchase of one." It was decided soon after that £35 should be spent in buying one. It was expected to have been ready by Michaelmas in that year, but "by reason of y^e Plague in y^e Town" was somewhat delayed, and I have not been able to discover when it arrived², but it was probably in working order in 1669—70]³.

These fittings contain a mixture of genuine mediæval panelling, which was possibly brought from the parochial chancel, or the disused chantries. This may be seen at the back of the stalls, and in front of the organ gallery. The stalls and subsellia, however, belong in style to the period of their construction. The stalls have no misereres. The entrance door of the Chapel is also a mediæval door removed from elsewhere, perhaps to replace that which was defaced by Dowsing. [It has been ornamented with Jacobean shields and enrichments.]

In the interior, the east end was of course utterly defiled and demolished by Dowsing, and the altar had no rails when Blomefield wrote, for he tells us that

"The East Window containing the History of Christ's Passion is very fine and whole, being hid in the late troublesome Times, in the very

¹ [We find in the Chapel Accounts for 1631:

"Imprimis for 8 Angells and woode to make the winges of the Angells 43'."]

² [College Orders, April 28 and October 25, 1666. In contradiction to these pleas of poverty the following special subscriptions to the organ are recorded in Blomefield, 154:

"Joh. et D^a. Alicia Peyton rogatu Magistri dederunt organum Pneumaticum, quod valebat £40.

Ad instaurandum Organum Pneumaticum Pentecost Hoper (cum filium haberet) ex hoc Coll' Soc'. £20."]

³ [There had apparently been some legal difficulty about obtaining the organ, for the accounts of 1661—2 record "Expensa circa litem pro organo, £19. 8. 8." In 1665—6 we find "Pro expensis in tempore pestis £43. 3. 6." In 1666—7 "Pro organo-po eo ex donatione per Magistrum Ashburnham £20. Organum inflanti 10'." In 1667—8 "Expensae circa organum £44. 0. 0." 1669—70. "Organum inflanti £2. 0. 0." This charge is continued yearly from this time, and probably marks the period when the organ was ready for daily use.]

Boxes which now stand round the Altar instead of Rails; the Chapel is paved with black and white Marble, beautified with Sentences, is stalled round, hath an Organ, and two large Brass Branches."

Moreover, that Doctor Beaumont (Master 1663—69)

"drew with Chalk and Charcoal, those two Pieces by the Altar, that on the North side of the Wisemens Offering, being exceeding fine: the Star is admirable".

In 1731—2 about £70 was paid to joiners ("*scriniarii*") for work in the Chapel, perhaps the panelling at the east end. Also in 1735¹ the roof was ordered "to be examined in order to have it taken down or repaired:" but the latter alternative was evidently adopted, and nearly £300 was spent upon the Chapel, of which £105 was paid to the painter.

[The view of the interior of the Chapel drawn by Pugin for Ackermann's work shews large tablets, apparently of stone, on each side of the east window, and between the windows on the north and south sides. They extended from the cornice of the stalls to the corbels of the roof. The Creed and some texts were painted on them. They were removed in the course of a thorough repair of the Chapel carried out in 1821—2².]

The present altar is railed round, and has a handsome modern altar-piece of wainscot behind it, but at what period constructed does not appear.

Six of the lateral windows were, between the years 1855 and 1858³, enriched with painted glass by Professor Ainmüller of

¹ Collectanea, 157. [Uffenbach, who visited this College Aug. 7, 1710, says: "On either side of the altar hung two scenes of the Passion, well designed in black on blue cloth in golden frames." Translation by Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, 170.]

² College Order, March 27.

³ [Ibid., Aug. 7, 1821. "Agreed that the Joiners' work in the Chapel, and the Screen in front of the organ gallery be repaired." June 29, 1822. "Agreed that the ornaments and wainscoting in the interior of the Chapel be cleaned and repaired." July 6, 1822. "Agreed that all the Tablets in the Chapel shall be taken down, and that the Lead Work on the south side of the Roof and the Wainscoting of the ceiling be substantially repaired."]

⁴ [The offer "to supply the two windows adjoining the East End of the College Chapel with stained glass" was accepted Nov. 28, 1851. These are criticised as "a new and important decoration" in the Ecclesiologist for August, 1855; and the last four in the same journal for April, 1858.]

Munich, the total cost of which, including the carriage and setting up, has amounted to £1467¹. Each window contains about 67 feet 6 inches superficial in glass. [The work was undertaken as a memorial to William Smyth, M.A., Professor of Modern History (1807—49), chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. William Nind, M.A., Fellow.] The subjects are,

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| North side. | The Sacrifice of Isaac.
The Preaching of S. John the Baptist.
The Nativity. |
| South side. | The Resurrection.
The Healing of a cripple by SS. Peter and John.
S. Paul before Agrippa and Festus. |

The south gallery was at first a passage from the Master's Lodge to the Chapel, and led to the Master's pew in the organ gallery, which still exists. It was built in 1633², and the north gallery probably soon after. They both apparently became ruinous about 1709, for on April 15 of that year the following College order was made :

"Y^t y^e Cloyster on y^e North side of y^e Chapel should be taken down to y^e ground and rebuilt according to a Pap^r deliver'd into y^e Society at a meeting y^s day by M^r grumbold . . . : also . . . that forty five pounds, the price of y^e Trees cutt down behind y^e new Gardens be given towards this work."

Two years afterwards the south cloister was taken down and rebuilt in the same style, as the following order shews :

October 4, 1711. "Agreed . . . that the Cloyster on the south side of the Chappell should be taken down to the ground and rebuilt of the same dimensions it is at present and according to the Model of y^e Cloyster now erected on the north side thereof. And that y^e sum of eighty pounds in the Treasury of the Gift of y^e Bp. of Durham be applied towards the Charge of y^e said Building. . . ."

These new galleries are in the Italian style, and totally

¹ [There were a few fragments of old glass in these windows before the Munich glass was put in, consisting of heads and portions of figures with arabesques and other ornaments, drawn in a style similar to that of the east window, and probably at the same period. We have seen that Bishop Cosin proposed to fill the north and south windows with painted glass, and these fragments may perhaps indicate that his design was carried out, but that the windows were not so fortunate as to escape destruction in the same way as the east window did. The fragments have been carefully preserved.]

² ["May 4, 1633. About y^e gallery from y^e chapell to the lodging, £21 . 15 . 10."]

different from those which they superseded, which were precisely like the arcade that still remains against the lower part of the west front of the Chapel, with four-centered arcades and a single Jacobean Gothic window in the centre of each above. [The differences between the two are shewn in figures 14, 15. The former is an exact reproduction of part of Loggan's print. It was ordered that the south gallery should be fitted up as a chamber on April 2, 1757.]

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE OLD CHAPEL; OR, CHURCH OF S. MARY THE LESS.

[WE must now examine the history of the Church which had so long been used as the Chapel of the College.]

The episcopal founder appropriated to the use of his scholars the church of S. Peter outside Trumpington Gates, which accordingly was employed by them as a college chapel until the beginning of the seventeenth century; and the parish duties were performed by a parochial chaplain appointed by the College¹. The Church fell to the ground about 1350, as Fuller states, without mentioning his authority².

The Registers of the Bishops of Ely furnish the following dates:

“1340. 17. Kal. Nov. (Oct. 16). License is granted to Nicolas de Wisebech to celebrate Divine service within the College until the Church of S. Peter is dedicated.

1349. License for the dedication of the Church of S. Peter outside Trumpington gate³.

1352. 7. Kal. April: (Mar. 26). License to the Scholars of the

¹ In the list of Patrons of Churches, etc. in the Diocese of Ely, inserted in Bishop Gray's Register and others, we find “*Ecclesia Sancte Marie extra Trumpiton Gates Cant: appropriata Magistro et Sclaribus Domus S^{ci} Petri regitur per Capellanum.*” This list is undated, but as it states that the Rectory of S. Botolph is in the gift of Corpus Christi College it must have been drawn up between 1353 and 1460. [Cole says “about 1340 or 1350.”] MSS. Baker, xxx. MSS. Cole, xxiii. 197.

² Fuller, 76. [It had been given to the Hospital of S. John by Henry son of Sigar of Cambridge, in the reign of King John. Peterhouse Treasury, “*Ecclesia Cantabrigie*,” A. 1. Selden, *Hist. of Tithes*, 386.]

³ MSS. Cole, xxxv. 118.

House of S. Peter to celebrate on a portable Altar in the chancel of S. Peter's Church, on account of the work of the new chancel¹.

1352. Nov. 3. The Church outside Trumpington gate was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary²."

The actual Church is a lofty body without aisles or any structural division between nave and chancel. It is 27 feet wide and 100 feet long, divided into six severies, each of which except the westernmost is a double square in plan. It is lighted by lofty windows, and has deep buttresses. The tracery of the windows on the north side has wholly disappeared except from the one at the east end³. On the south side and at the eastern gable are rich flowing Decorated windows, the tracery of which is designed in the same style, and in many respects with the same patterns, as those of the Lady Chapel at Ely, and of the Presbytery of the Cathedral, the former of which was begun in 1321 and finished about 1349, and the latter finished before 1336⁴. The division between nave and chancel is marked by the

¹ MSS. Cole, xxiii. 130. "On the back of an original Bull, which Serves as a Sort of Binding to this Volume [The Registers of Bishops Montacute and L'Isle] is the following Entry or two, wrote in the same Hand with the Register, but a Peice is torn off at the Corner, so that the Sence is imperfect." The entries are records of licenses which the Bishop granted in 1352 for celebration in particular places, of which the one referring to Peterhouse is: "Item 7 Kal. Apr: ibidem [at Downham] 1352, similem licenciam Scolaribus suis Domus Sancti Petri super Altare portabile in Cancello Ecclesie Sancti Petri predicti pro eo quod inceptum et finitum novi Cancelli...."

² "Die Sabbati proximo post festum omnium Sanctorum [Dominus Episcopus] dedicavit Ecclesiam extra Trumpeton Gates Cantebrig' in Honorem beate Marie semper Virginis." Register of Bishop L'Isle, MSS. Cole, xxiii. 105. [On Nov. 28 in this year the Bishop gave to the College service-books and "quasdam tabulas depictas ad ornatum summi altaris;" and in 1357 vestments, altar furniture, and plate. Register of Peterhouse, p. 82.]

In 1385, Bishop Arundell, at the petition of the parishioners, changed the dedication feast from the morrow of the Commemoration of All Souls (Nov. 3) to the 11th of July, on account of the number of feast days immediately preceding the old dedication day, which prevented the parishioners from rendering due honour thereto. MSS. Baker, xl. 233. [The Bishop's statute is printed in *The Ecclesiologist*, xv. (1857), 286.]

³ [Professor Willis wrote this description just before the extensive repairs executed under the direction of Mr G. G. Scott in 1857: and it is therefore extremely valuable as shewing what the state of the Church was before they were undertaken. Discoveries were made during the work which render a few alterations necessary. I have also added an account of the changes in arrangement introduced at that time.]

⁴ [Hence, probably, the tradition that Alan de Walsingham (Prior of Ely 1341—1364), who is known to have designed the Lady Chapel and other buildings there, was also the architect of this church. It is worth remarking that a vaulted passage

base of the ancient screen (now cut down to the level of the pews), which cuts off three severies to the east for the Chancel¹.

On examining the buttresses on the outside it will be found that those which terminate the first two severies reckoning from the east (*a, b, c*, fig. 2), have their original plinth and moldings running uninterruptedly round each buttress, and along the wall until we come to the fourth buttress (*d*), along the east side of which they are continued but are not returned along the face. This buttress is in fact patched along the face into a resemblance to the others, but exhibits unmistakeable traces of the former existence of an enclosing wall, and of a roof. The same indications may be observed on both sides of the Church.

[The plinth reappears on the western face of the fifth buttress (*e*), and is continued along the sixth (*f*), which is a plain square buttress with Decorated stages applied to its face². This is the same on the south side. The sixth severy is wider than the others; and the seventh buttress (*g*) is somewhat different; but seems to have been intended originally to resemble the sixth.]

At the north-west corner of the Church, in the west wall, is a fragment of Norman walling consisting of the piers of an arch (S, fig. 2). This is evidently part of the old church of S. Peter, and once belonged to a tower which appears to have been still in existence when Fuller's plan was made in 1635. The whole of the west gable is a piece of modern work. The walling of the last severy, on both sides of the Church, is of a different character from that of the five eastern severies. On the south side it contains a lofty window of Perpendicular tracery, though the bases of the mullions and the sill are Decorated. The foundations of the original porch (*ibid.* T) remain. In the fourth severy there are indications, on both the north and south sides, which shew that two chantry chapels were constructed opposite to each other by enclosing the space between the buttresses. The construction of

originally led from the Lady Chapel at Ely to the Presbytery, as from this church to the College. (Architectural History of Ely Cathedral: by Rev. D. J. Stewart, plate 3.)]

¹ [This screen was removed in 1857.]

² [It was discovered in 1857 that this additional strength was designed to resist the thrust of an arch, the remains of which existed inside the Church (>> fig. 2). It is clear from this that it was originally intended to terminate the chancel here, but that the plan was altered, and the western part finished with later work.]

both of these is the same, and as follows. A low wide arch was formed under the window, beneath which a monument was placed upon the line of the foundation of the wall; and on the west side of this arch a small doorway was constructed to give access to the Chapel. The two arches completely fill the space. The arches on both sides have lately been laid open. Those over the monuments were ornamented with deep moldings and rich complex foliation. The monuments no longer exist. [The wall above the Chapel on the north side was originally pierced by a window of four lights, similar to those on the south side. This was subsequently bricked up on the outside, and plastered over on the inside, so that until the restoration of 1857 the tracery alone was visible. Some fragments of the ancient glass and leadwork were then discovered, and carefully preserved. At the same time the four windows on the north side, then blank, were filled with tracery imitated from those on the south side. The wall above the Chapel on the south side is now blank, but the outline of the window that was once there may easily be detected by the interruptions of the string-course and the joints of the stonework. On the outside the present horizontal string-course, though apparently entire, may be seen to be made up of the curved pieces of the original drip-molding. The door and window into the north chantry, with the window above, are shewn in figure 16.]

At the east end of the Church a vestry in two stories is erected against the south wall of the easternmost severy, and close to this against the next severy there is a second apartment or vestibule, entered by a door from the south side of the choir (figs. 17, 18). This apartment has also a door on the east side into the vestry up four steps, and a third on the south side into the once vaulted space under the gallery (fig. 18, H), thus opening directly opposite to the ancient entrance of the College. Besides these doors it contains an ancient stone staircase which leads to a fourth door above the last, opening to the gallery. By this door and stairs the chaplain and other members of the College were enabled to enter the choir at all times, without passing through the external gate of the College.

The vestry has a piscina, and square windows of two lights each, one on the side next to the College, and two on the



Fig. 16. Chantry with window over it. North side of Church of S. Mary the Less



Fig. 17 South wall of Chancel of S. Mary the Less. A, Piscina B, C, D Sedilia
E, Door leading to Vestry

eastern side. The former retains its cusps and original condition, but the whole eastern face of the vestry is bedaubed with Roman cement, and the details are wholly obscured. The vestry, [but not the room over it,] was contemplated when the Church was built: for the window in the south wall of the easternmost severy against which it is placed is a genuine orb window¹, of rich flowing tracery, panelled with stone in lieu of glass up to 17 feet from the ground (fig. 17). [The upper portion was found to have been glazed when examined in 1857, as the smaller window over

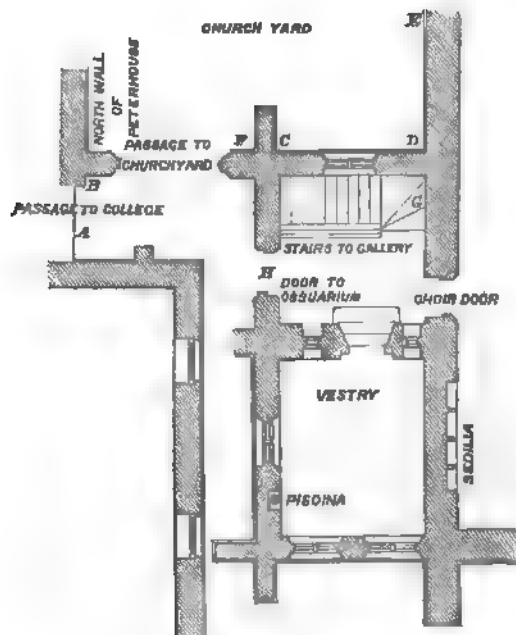


Fig. 18. Ground Plan of Vestry, etc. S. Mary's the Less.

the door leading into the vestry had also been.] The floor of the vestry is raised upon a vault which is used as an ossuary. This vestry had a narrow escape in 1742, when it was resolved by the College (Ap. 30) that

¹ ["Orb" is a blank window or panel. It is derived from the Latin *orbis*, through the Norman-French *orbe*. See Prof. Willis' *Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages*, § 78.]

"The Vestry adjoining to the Church be taken down; provided the Consent of the Ordinary and Parishioners be obtained, and that the same can be effected at a reasonable expense, which is left to the judgment of the Master with the Deans and Bursar."

This was not carried out. The reason for it was to clear the space between the Church and Burrough's building, then just finished, as related in Chapter V.

There were several chantries attached to this church. In 1325—6 (19 Ed. II.), the King gave license to Robert de Combreton to grant 3 messuages and 4 acres of land in Cambridge to maintain a chaplain to celebrate daily for the repose of the souls of himself, of his wife Emma, and of his relations, at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the parish church of S. Peter "extra Trumpeton Gate¹."

The records of Pembroke College record that a chantry was founded in this church (22 Edw. III. 1348—9) by John Cotton². Part of the site of that College included a tenement belonging to it: and it is the only chantry returned by the Commissioners of Henry VIII. as appertaining to the church we are considering³. It is perhaps the same as that previously mentioned, with some confusion in spelling the founder's name, and between the dates of the different muniments and licenses of the foundation.

In 1436 Thomas Lane, Master of Peterhouse (1431—73), bequeathed estates to found a chantry with a chaplain "to celebrate daily *in the new chapel on the north part* of the parish church" for the repose of his soul⁴: and in 1443 the altar of the chantry chapel of Mr Thomas Lane was consecrated in honour of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, and Saint Margaret⁵.

The Peterhouse register has also a list of articles "pertaining to the chapel of Henry Horneby [Master (1509—17)] in the

¹ MSS. Baker, xxxviii. 149.

² Ibid. vii. 179, xvii. 133.

³ Commiss. Doc^u. i. 278.

⁴ [Peterhouse Treasury, "Collegium" Box A. 8. He directs that his chaplain "continue celebret in nova Capella ex parte boreali ecclesie parochialis predictae et specialiter oret pro animâ meâ." The deed is dated 30 July, 6 Edward IV. (1466). A note in the Register, 82, gives a list of service-books and vestments bequeathed by him "ad celebrandum in Capella Sancte Marie situata in cimiterio ex parte orientali Ecclesie annexe Collegio."]

⁵ Register, 83.

Cemetery of S. Mary outside Trumpington Gates¹;" and it is also said that he gave in 1516 many things to be used in the service of this chapel. We may assign Lane's chantry to the north chapel already described, and Horneby's to the opposite chapel.

It is also recorded that on May 4, 1443, two altars were consecrated in the nave of the Church of this College, one on the north to S. Mary Magdalen and S. Margaret, the other on the south to S. John the Evangelist, at the same time that Lane's chantry was consecrated². These altars must have stood, as was very usual, one on each side of the door of the rood-screen, and served for the parish masses, and perhaps for the priest of Cotton's chantry.

In 1446 the executors of John Holbrook, Master (1418—31), made the pavement of the choir and the desks³, and Mr Leedes built the south porch⁴.

On May 28th, 1498, John Warkworth, Master (1473—1500), desired by will that his body, wherever he might happen to die, should be buried in his chapel on the south part of the nave of this parish church. He also bequeathed certain sums for exequies and masses for his soul⁵. He died in 1500. Previously to this Bishop Alcock of Ely had, on Oct. 13th, 1487, consecrated gratis the chapel of Mr John Warkworth in honour of S. Etheldreda, S. Leonard, S. John the Evangelist, S. Mary, and All Saints. The chapel, therefore, was fully completed in his lifetime, and it remains to discover its position. It is stated above to be on the south side of the nave, but in Bishop Bouchier's Register⁶ it happens to be recorded that the resignation of a certain John Grove, fellow of the College, took place on Dec. 20,

¹ [Register, 100, copied MSS. Cole, xlii. 44.]

² Register, 83.

³ [Ibid.: "Anno domini 1446 in mense Junii Executores recolende memorie Magistri Johannis Holbroke fecerunt fieri pro anime sue memoriali pauimentum chori cum descis inferiorum gradum sumptibus et expensis suis. Excepto quod collegium exhibebat meremium et lapides in gradibus sacerdotis, diaconi, et subdiaconi, vulgariter vocat' freeston."]

⁴ He was bursar of Peterhouse in 1447.

⁵ [Register, 103. The original is in the Treasury of Peterhouse, "Collegium" Box, No. 9. The words are, "in capella mea ex parte australi navis ecclesie parochialis beate marie extra Trumpyngton Gates."]

⁶ MSS. Cole, xxv. 27.

1453, in "a certain Chapel dedicated to All Saints next the Chancel of the parish church of S. Mary near the gate." The word *navis* in Warkworth's will must therefore be taken as a general term for the body of the edifice, and there will be no reason to doubt the evidence of the list of Benefactors to Peterhouse, which records that John Warkworth "built the Chapel next to the Church of S. Mary which is now termed the vestry."

In fine, it appears that in 1340 the church of S. Peter was unfit for divine service from the repairs and rebuilding rendered necessary by its ruinous state, so that the scholars had recourse to a private oratory in college. In 1352 the chancel of S. Peter was fit for service and the scholars have license to employ a portable altar there until the new chancel is finished. The word "chancel" is often applied to any chapel, so that it must be considered that some part of the old church was by that time roofed in, and found to be more convenient than the temporary oratory. The present church was dedicated in 1352, and the name changed from S. Peter to S. Mary.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, when the College buildings were being carried on, the Church was also undergoing repairs and refittings, as we gather from the consecration of the altars of the rood-screen in 1443, the pavement and desks of the choir in 1446, and the building of the south porch about 1447. To this period we may assign the perpendicular window and work at the west end next to the porch. The building of the vestry follows about 1485, or rather the completion of it. The work of the gallery bridge and the chambers next to it is also, by style, a part of the fifteenth century work; but, as I have already said, cannot be exactly fixed in date. The similar gallery and gateway at Corpus were built about 1487.

[In 1550—1 a workman was employed to destroy the altars in the choir and little chapel, by which Warkworth's chapel may possibly be meant¹.

Dowsing visited the Church in 1643, and records that

"We brake down 60 superstitious pictures, some popes and crucifixes, with God the Father sitting in a chair and holding a globe in his hand²."

¹ [1550—1. "Et de xij d. Thome Brine pro diruendis aris chori et parvi sacelli."]

² Carter's Cambridgeshire, 40.

Cole has left a long description of this Church, dated 28 March, 1743, from which the following portion may be quoted :

"The present Church of Little S^t Maries as it is always called to distinguish it from that of Great S^t Maries, or S^t Mary ad Forum or near y^e Market consists only of a noble large Nave or Body, but divided abt y^e middle by a neat Screen, w^{ch} runs quite across and so makes a Chancel and Nave, w^{ch} is tiled and roofd Archwise with large Arches of wood work w^{ch} are handsomely adorn'd wth carv'd work over y^e part w^{ch} constitutes y^e Chancel.... There are stalls w^{ch} run round y^e Chancel part, to y^e lowermost step of y^e Altar, w^{ch} stands on an Eminence of two, and rail'd round y^e uppermost Step. The upper end of it is also beautifully wainscoted and painted from y^e end of y^e Stalls on both sides and y^e E. Wall behind y^e Altar; y^e Pannel behind w^{ch} immediately is painted of a fine blew and gilt: above w^{ch} is also gilt and carv'd I.H.S, and over this a Globe, and on it a large gilt Cross.... Over y^e Door of y^e Screen pretty high hangs y^e Arms of y^e present Royal Family neatly painted, and was y^e Gift of M^r Valentine Ritz, a German Painter who has lived in this Parish near 50 years, and is now very old: he was formerly no indifferent Copier; but now past his Work¹."

The roof of the chancel is Jacobean in style, and that of the nave older². But the whole is now condemned as rotten and past repair, and a new roof designed by Mr Scott is ordered to be substituted³. The screen was probably cut down to the level of the pews, and the stalls removed, when the present Italian altar-piece and the pews were set up, which appear to belong to the last century and were perhaps part of a "beautification" that took place in 1741.

[When this altar-piece was taken away, three sedilia and a piscina at the east end of the south side were discovered (B, C, D, A, fig. 17), and also an ambry on the north side. Various fragments of clunch and alabaster, painted and gilt, were also found behind it. This led to further investigation, and a niche on each side of the east window was laid open,

¹ MSS. Cole, ii. 49. [Valentine Ritts painted the picture of Sir I. Newton in Trin. Coll. Hall.]

² [To this statement Professor Willis appends a note of interrogation.]

³ [A good view of the interior with the roof in question by F. Mackenzie is given by *Le Keux*, ii. p. 201, and of the east window (exterior) in the *Cambridge Portfolio*, ii. 489. The following entry in the *Catharine Hall* accounts for 1646—7, "Giuen to Peterhouse towards the reparation of Little S. Marys . 2 . o . o," indicates some extensive work at that time.]

previously concealed by a monumental tablet, to receive which the tabernacle work had been cut off level with the wall. These niches have been carefully restored, and the pieces found behind the woodwork fitted into their places wherever it was found practicable to do so. The exact size of the original altar was also discovered, by the marks on the eastern wall from which it had been broken down. The present table represents it exactly in width, but is 6 inches lower. The steps also (fig. 17) follow the ancient indications. The whole of this work was executed under the direction of G. G. Scott, Esq., Jun., who also designed the new altar-piece in 1876.]

On the outside of the east end are two tabernacles, now in a hopeless state of dilapidation, placed one on each side of the east window, rising considerably above the level of its present sill. The base of a third, exactly the same in form as the others, is placed in the middle, and once doubtless rose as high as they do, and was connected with the tracery of the window and with the lateral tabernacles by screen-work and other curious devices, which, falling into decay, were all swept away. [A restoration of these was contemplated in 1857, but they were found to be too ruinous, and the idea was wisely abandoned¹. It is said that they once contained statues of our Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and S. Peter.]

A restoration of the east window, at an expense of £13, is recorded in the Bursar's Roll for 1639—40. [It was again repaired in 1821².]

¹ [College Order, Nov. 11, 1857: "That Mr. G. G. Scott be consulted upon the best mode of restoring the East Front of Little S. Mary's Church, and that the niches be measured and models of them taken under his directions with a view to their being restored."]

² [June 30, 1821. "Agreed that the East Window of the Chancel in S. Mary's Church be repaired forthwith."]

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF PARTICULAR BUILDINGS.

Hall. Combination Room. Master's Lodge.

HAVING now traced the general architectural history of the College to the present time, we must examine the changes in the principal offices.

HALL.—Of this it is recorded that £4. 15s. 8d. were expended upon the framed screen at the lower end in 1638¹. In 1705² Dr Battell and other contributors gave money, about £40 in all, towards ornamenting the common Hall, which marks the date of its present³ interior fittings. The exterior next the court was ashlarred, with Italian window-dressings, at the same time with the rest of the buildings in 1755; and it was new-roofed in 1791⁴.

[In 1868 (Aug. 7), it was decided to restore the Hall, under the direction of Sir G. G. Scott. Loggan's view shews two windows in the body of the Hall, with one, considerably longer, at the east end, opposite the dais. Successive alterations had, however, so completely obscured these details, that a reproduction of them would have been equivalent to a new construction. The architect, in consequence, felt justified in building an oriel

¹ "Pro lignis et opere in tabulationem septi in inferiori parte Aule." Bursar's Roll, 1638—9.

² College Order, April 23, 1791.

³ [Prof. Willis wrote this in 1856.]

⁴ College Order, April 23, 1791...."that the part of the Estimate given in by Humfreys and Bradwell for necessary Repairs be adopted and likewise that the East side of the Library building next the court be plaistered and the end next the street pointed; and that the Hall be new roofed.—Ordered at the same time that five guineas be given to the Parish towards defraying the expence of rebuilding the Church wall."

towards the court, and in adding five buttresses on that side, and four on the south side, to the hall and buttery, to support, as far as the former building was concerned, the weight of the oak roof which he had designed. The windows on the south side were left, as far as was practicable, in the condition in which they were found. They are of late fifteenth century work. Originally the sills appear to have been not more than four feet above the surface of the ground, as may be seen in the westernmost bay on the south side, where the opening has been filled in with brick above a line in the ashlar which marks the former level. The original sill has been preserved. Evidence of the old fourteenth century windows was also found on the north side, and still exists behind the panelling. The panel work of the interior, including the screen and dais, was executed under the direction of the architect by Messrs Rattee and Kett. The whole was completed by February, 1871, at a cost of £7156. 9s. 3d.]

COMBINATION ROOM.—[Cole has left such a precise account of this room as it was arranged in his time that it is printed entire.]

“This curious old Room joins immediately to the East End of the common Hall or Refectory, and is a ground Floor called, The Stone Parlour, on the South Side of the Quadrangle, between the said Hall and the Master's old Lodge. It is a large Room and wainscoted with small oblong Pannels, the two upper Rows of which are filled with Paintings on Board of several of the older Masters and Benefactors to the College. Each Picture has an Inscription in the Corner, and on a separate long Pannel under each much ornamented with painting, is a Latin Distic. I was very desirous of preserving this laudable and very curious, and almost singular Peice of Antiquity in our University; not only out of Regard to the Things themselves; which surely in a religious Society ought to be preserved; but because the Room is now deserted; the Fellows meeting after Dinner in an upper Room above it; so that this Room is going to a visible Decay: Upon this Account I prevailed with my Friend M^r Erasmus Earle formerly Fellow Commoner of Pembroke and since made a Fellow of this College, and also Fellow of the Antiquary Society, to take an exact List of them for me with their Inscriptions and Distics: which he accordingly did for me. And this I am very glad was done at that Time; since which, as I am informed by the present worthy Master [D^r Keene, 1748—56], the right rev: the Lord Bp. of Chester, they have been all taken out of their Pannels, and, as the Bp. told me, he has new framed them and hung them up in his Lodge. The Pictures are ranged all round the Room, and begin at the North Corner of the East Side.

1. A View of the two antient Hostles of the Brothers of Penance, and of Jesus Christ : on the Spot where they stood, Hugh de Balsham Bp. of Ely founded this College in 1280.

*Hæc bina fuerunt Scholasticorum Hospitia, in quæ
Fratres Seculares extra Hospitale Divi Johannis traduce-
bantur, quorum Loco hoc Collegium est ædificatum.*

Qua præit Oxonium Cancestria longa Vetustas,
Primitus a Petri dicitur orsa Domo.

2. King Edward the First in his Robes, Crown and Cap, a Globe in his left Hand, and a Sword in his Right, with a Profile Face, and the Arms of England by him.

*Edwardus Rex Angliæ ejus Nominis primus,
Licentiam dedit fundandi hoc Collegium,
A: D: 1283.*

Omnia dum curat Princeps, non ultima Cura est,
Si pius est, Artes sustinuisse bonas.

3. Hugh de Balsham in his Episcopal Robes, Mitre, pastoral Staff in his right Hand and a Book in his Left, with these Arms by him ; Gules 3 Crowns Or, for the See of Ely, impaling Gules 2 Keys in Saltire Or ; being designed possibly for those of St. Peter.

*Hugo de Balsam decimus Episcopus Eliensis, primus
Fundator Collegii Anno Dom: 1284.*

Utere Divitiis si te Fortuna bearit,
Hac Iter ad Cælum est, sic tibi Dives eris.

4. Simon de Montacute Bp. of Ely in his Episcopal Robes, Mitre and Crosier : See of Ely impales Argent, a Fess lozengée Gules, a Bordure Barry Vert and Or for Montacute.

*Simon Montis-acuti decimus septimus Episcopus
Eliensis Anno Dom: 1344.*

Lex ubi pulsa silet, regnat pro Lege Libido ;
Jusque Pudorque ruunt, mox ruitura magis.

5. *Simon Langham Episcopus Eliensis
Anno Dom: 1395.*

The See of Ely impales Gules 2 Keys en Saltire Or. But these are not Bp. Langham's Arms : neither is the Date in Mr Earle's Account just : for Bp. Langham succeeded to Ely 1361, removed to Canterbury five years after, and died at Avignon in 1376. He is habited as a Bishop.

Laus Pueris, Doctrina, Decus florentibus Annis,
Solamen Senio, Perfugiumque Malis.

6. Thomas de Castro-Bernard in a clerical Habit, holding an open Book.

*Thomas de Castro-Bernard fuit Magister
Collegii Anno Dom: 1420.*

Omnibus impendas ultro, tibi Nemo rependat,
Non Hominis vox hæc, sic jubet ipse Deus.

7. John Holbroke Master in 1430, in a clerical Habit, holding a Book in his right Hand and a Roll in his Left.

*Johannes Holbroke Magister Collegii
Anno Dom: 1430.*

Partus dant similes Usura, et Vipera foeta,
Qui juvat afflictos, foenerat ille Deo.

8. Thomas Lane Master 1472, in a clerical Habit, holding a Book with both his Hands.

*Thomas Lane Magister Collegii
Anno Dom: 1472.*

Fælix Centurio Synagogæ Conditor olim:
Nam Deus huic charus, charus et ipse Deo.

9. John Warkeworth Master in 1498, in a clerical Habit, holding an open Book with both his Hands.

*Johannes Warkeworthe Magister Collegii
Anno Dom: 1498.*

Dives adoptata gaudeto Prole; probatos
Non cuicunque libet, progenuisse licet.

10. Thomas Denman Master in 1500; in a Doctor of Physic's Robes, with a Book in his right Hand and an Urn in his Left.

*Thomas Denman Doctor Artis Medicinæ
Magister Collegii Anno Dom: 1500.*

11. Henry Hornbie Master in 1516, in a clerical Habit, with an open Book in both his Hands.

*Henricus Hornbie Magister Collegii
Anno Dom: 1516.*

Christus laudetur Mundus ne Cornua tollat,
Tollentur justis Cornua nulla malis.

12. Edmund Hanson, D.D., in Doctor of Divinity's Robes, with a shut Book in both his Hands.

*Edmundus Hanson Doctor Theologiæ
Anno Dom: 1516.*

Pectoribus Scopulos Marmorque evellite prudens,
Qui se stravit Humi, succubuitque Deo.

13. Mr Lownde D.D. in Doctor's Robes, and holding an open Book with both his Hands.

*Magister Lownde, Doctor Theologiae [sic]
Socius Collegii Anno Dom: 1519.*

*Ite procul Zoilus, Momusque et livida Turba,
Et vos Frons, Oculus, Lingua superba procul.*

14. William Martin, Priest and Fellow of the College, in sacerdotal Robes, and a closed Book in both his Hands.

*Magister Willelmus Martin, Sacerdos
& Socius Collegii Anno Dom: 1519.*

*Qui Dominum metuit, Divinaque Jussa capessit,
Filius ille Dei, & Filius ejus erit.*

15. Thomas Burgoyne Master in 1520, in his Doctor's Robes, and holding a closed Book with both his Hands. These Arms by him. Vert a Lion salient Or, impales Argent a Fess Sab: in Cheif 3 Crows and in Base a Cheuron Sable. But these Arms are either painted falsely or so taken; for the Arms of Burgoyne are Azure a Talbot passant; and the impaled Coat, no doubt, was designed for this Master's Mother Margaret the Wife of John Burgoyne of Impington near Cambrige, whose Arms on Brass are twice on her Monument in that Church impaled by those of her Husband as above, viz: a Talbot passant impales a Fess and in Cheif 3 Leopards' Faces and in Base a Cheuron¹.

*Thomas Burgen Doct: Theol: Magister
Collegii Anno Dom: 1520.*

16. John Edmondes Master in 1527, in Doctor's Robes and holding a closed Book with both his Hands.

*Johannes Edmondes, Doct: Theol: Magister
Collegii Anno Dom: 1527.*

*Τῶν ἱερῶν ἄγνοια γραφῶν μερόπεσι βροτοῦσι
Μοῦνον ξυμπάντων αἴτιον ἔστι κακῶν.*

17. Doctor Shirton Master of Pembroke Hall, in his Doctor's Robes and holding a Book closed in his left Hand and a Roll in his Right, with these Arms by him; viz: Pembroke Hall impaling Party per Fess, Or in the Cheif Part, and in the Base Part, Paly of 4 nebulé, and Gules, in Cheif a Label of 3 Points Vert.

*Doctor Shirton Magister Aulae
Penbrokiae [sic] Anno Dom: 1530.*

*Proximus ille Deo, qui paret recte monenti;
Dignus et ille Deo qui sibi recta cavet.*

¹ [For these arms Cole refers to his Fourth Volume, p. 89.]

18. The Widow of M^r Wolfe, in Widow's Weeds, holding an open Book in both Hands.

Vidua Magistri Wolfe Anno Dom: 1540.

Mortalem Tabithæ Pietas bis vivere Vitam,
Cœlestem Viduæ perpetuamque dedit.

19. Andrew Perne Master, in his Doctor's Robes, and holding a closed Book in both his Hands: by him are his Arms, viz: Or, on a Cheuron between 3 Pelicans Heads erased Azure, 3 Mullets of the Field: and this Motto; ΑΛΗΘΕΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΕΝ' ΑΓΑΠΗ [*sic*].

Bibliothecæ Libri Redditus pulcherrima Dona,
Perne, pium Musis te, Philomuse, probant.

*Andreas Perne, Doctor Theol: Decanus
Ecclesiæ Eliensis, Magister Collegii, obiit
26 Aprilis Anno Dom: 1573 [*sic*].*

20. Sir Edward North. He has a golden Chain round his Neck and a Flower in his left Hand, with these Arms by him: Azure, a Lion passant, Or, inter 3 Fleurs de Lis, Argent, for North; impales, Sab: on a Cheuron embattled inter 3 Eaglets displayed Argent, 3 Trefoils slipped, vert. This last Bearing is wrong taken or falsely painted; for on Sir Edw: North's Tomb in Kirtling Church, they are Quaterfoils¹.

Dominus Edoardus North Anno Dom: 1564.

Nobilis hic vere, vere si nobilis ullus,
Qui sibi Principium Nobilitatis erat.

21. Robert Smith, Scholar of the House, in Robes turned up with Ermine, in a Ruff and a Roll in his left Hand.

*Robertus Smith quondam Scholaris
hujus Collegii obiit Anno Dom: 1565.*

Dulcia Musarum qui Pauper Tecta reliqui,
Nunc Dives, studiis, consulo, Musa, tuis.

22. Archbishop Whitgift in the Robes of a Doctor in Divinity and holding a Book closed in his Hands.

*Doctor Whitgift quondam Socius
Collegii Anno Dom: 1569.*

Quod Paci Whitgifte faves, Studiisque piorum,
Dat tibi, Pacis amans, candida Dona Deus.

23. Henry Willshawe, in a clerical Habit, holding a closed Book in his left Hand.

*Henricus Willshawe Doctor² Theo
logiæ Anno Dom: 1578.*

Quam minime quæris Bona? te doctissime Willshawe,
Vita vel invitum Nobilitate beat.

¹ [For these arms Cole refers to his Eighteenth Volume, p. 109.]

² [Cole appends in the margin 'sic, in MS. Earle.']

24. Ralph Ainsworth Master in 1644, in his Bachelor of Divinity's Habit, holding a Book closed in his Hands.

*Magister Radulphus Ainsworth
Baccalarius [sic] in Theologia, Magister
Collegii Anno Dom: 1644.*

25. Robert Slade, in grey Hair, in a Ruff, and holding an open Book in his Hands.

*Robertus Slade Ætatis suæ 66,
Anno Dom: 1616.*

26. John Blythe, in a Ruff and clerical Habit, holding a Book closed in his Hands.

*Johannes Blythe Baccalaureus
Theologiæ, Socius Collegii An: Ætat:
suæ 57. A: D: 1617.*

27. Bernard Hale, Master, in a clerical Habit.

*Bernardus Hale S. T. P. Eliensis Ecclesiæ
tum Canonicus, tum Archidiaconus, hujus
Collegii Custos, obiit Anno Dom: 1663.*

28. Bishop Cosins, in his Episcopal Robes, without any inscription.

29. Joseph Beaumont, Master of the College, in his Doctor of Divinity's Robes.

*Josephus Beaumont S. T. P. Regius, Eliensis
Ecclesiæ Canonicus, atque hujus Collegii Custos
obiit 23. Novembris 1699.*

30. Charles Beaumont in his Doctor of Divinity's Robes.

*Carolus Beaumont S. T. P. Collegii Socius, magni
illius Beaumonti Filius, obiit 13 Martii 1726¹."*

[This description shews that the room is the same as the present one, or rather, as its western portion: for it originally extended no farther than the point marked O (fig. 2) and was

¹ MSS. Cole, xxxv. 112. Carter's Cambridge, 33, but inaccurately. Blomefield (Collectanea, 158) gives the last pictures of the series rather differently:

"24. Robert Slade, ætatis suæ 66, 1616.

25. Johannes Blythe, Bac. Theol. Socius Collegii An^o. 1617.

26. Magister Radulphus Ainsworth, Bac. Theol. Magister Collegii An^o. 1644.

27. Bernardus Hale S. T. P. Eliensis Ecclesiæ tum Canonicus, tum Archidiaconus, hujus Collegii custos, obiit An^o. 1663.

28. Josephus Beaumont S. T. P. Regius, Eliensis Ecclesiæ Canonicus, atque hujus Collegii Custos, obiit 23 Nov. 1699.

29. Thomas Richardson S. T. P.

30. John Whalley, D.D. Regius Professor, is the present Master, 1745."

just 22 feet long. It was more than doubled in size, as the plan shews, during the repairs above recorded (1868—70), by the addition of a set of chambers to the east, and of an oriel to the south. The stone fireplace in the west wall was then discovered behind the wainscot. It is entirely original with the exception of some moldings which had been cut off when the panelling was put up in front of it, and is probably the fireplace of which the painting has been already recorded in the Bursars' Rolls. The oak panelling and furniture, designed by Mr G. G. Scott, was executed by Messrs Rattee and Kett. The whole effect is now singularly harmonious and appropriate. There is no record to tell us when the wainscot was originally set up. It is probable, however, that it would be at about the same time as that of the Hall. It was clearly a practice in this College, as Fuller says, to paint the picture of a distinguished member, with appropriate verses, which apparently were written under a portrait which had been already hung up, after the death of the person so commemorated. In Dr Perne's case the writing of the verses alone is mentioned in the accounts for 1593—4. They apparently did not give satisfaction, for they were rewritten in the same year, and the picture was "refreshed," shewing that it had been painted some time previous. In 1616—7 nine shillings are paid to John Newton the painter for his work about the verses written under the picture of Mr Slade¹. The original panelling had probably been removed at the same time as the pictures, for that which was taken down as recorded above was not older than the middle of the last century. It has been placed in another apartment in the College². Most of these pictures have now been brought back from the Master's Lodge, and have been hung in the Hall, with the Latin distichs restored according to Cole's record of them.

In 1868 the stucco was stripped off the south wall of this

¹ [Fuller, p. 73, gives Slade's distich in the following words: "*Haeredem voluit Sladus conscribere Petrum, Clauderet extremum ne sine prole diem.*"]

² [This conclusion respecting the age of the wainscot, which was arrived at by Mr G. G. Scott, is confirmed by a passage in the Cambridge Guide for 1799. "There were various other Paintings...upon Pannels of wainscot in the old Combination Room, which upon its being new wainscotted were removed into the Library, where they remain."]

room and of the Master's chamber above it, and the ancient masonry brought to light. The sash windows were removed, and replaced by others in a suitable style of the fifteenth century. The only addition was the oriel above mentioned, which was continued to the room above. A small vestibule on the west side of the turret (I. fig. 2), by means of which a covered passage was provided into the Hall through a molded doorway of an extremely rich early design, was rebuilt. These works were conducted with so much care for the preservation of every detail that could throw any light upon the past history of the College, that it is easier to trace the architectural history now than before the alterations.]

LODGE.—The Masters continued to occupy the ancient Lodge between the Hall and the Library until the beginning of the last century. But in 1725 (Ap. 29), Dr Charles Beaumont, the son of the Master, Dr Joseph Beaumont, gave by will to the College, to be used as a Lodge, the large and commodious mansion built by himself in 1701¹, opposite to the College. In 1741, a College order was made "that the House in which the Master now lives be deemed a Legal and Statutable place of Residence for the Master for the time being," as it has continued to be to the present day, the ancient Lodge being converted into chambers.

It appears from the description of Cole quoted above, that the Fellows appropriated the chamber over the old stone Parlour as their Combination Room when the Masters vacated it, for which purpose the turret stair would conveniently adapt it by giving immediate access from the Hall.

[The portion of the College garden immediately adjoining the Lodge was assigned to the Master. Charges respecting it occur frequently in the accounts, among which may be mentioned a repair of the arbour in 1601—2. Its extent is shewn on the plan (fig. 1) from Loggan's map of Cambridge.

A few miscellaneous particulars concerning the College may be briefly noticed. The Clock was put up in 1586—7. The position of this, as we learn from the College order directing its

¹ Dyer's Privileges of the University, ii. 19.

removal, was over the Buttery¹. The seats in the court were repaired in 1589—90: and it was planted with privet in 1600—1, to which hawthorn bushes were added in 1611—12. These are shewn in Loggan's print (fig. 14)².]

¹ ["April 2. 1757. Agreed that the Lanthorn over the Butteries be taken down, and the Clock remov'd at as little expense as possible."]

² ["1589—90. Et de viijd Swayle reparanti sedilia in Area. 1600—1. Et de xiiij Williams operanti circa ligustrum in area, et de iij pro radicibus ligustri. 1611—12. circa le quicksett in area."]

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

- 1284. Removal of the Scholars of the Bishop of Ely to two hostels hard by the Church of S. Peter.
- 1286. Death of the Founder, Bishop Hugh de Balsham: with bequest to his scholars of 300 marks, with which they built a hall.
- 1307. Acquisition of the site of the Fratres de Poenitentia.
- 1352. Dedication of Church of S. Mary the Less.
- 1374—1417. Repairs are done to Hall and chambers but no other building work.
- 1424—9. Building on a large scale is being carried on.
- 1431. Contract for building a Library.
- 1443. Consecration of the Chantry of Thomas Lane.
- 1447. Desks and windows of Library made.
- 1450. Kitchen built.
- 1460—66. Building of Master's chambers, Combination Room, and chambers.
- 1487. Consecration of the Chantry of John Warkworth.
- 1589. Will of Dr Andrew Perne for building a new Library.
- 1595. Library completed.
- 1628—32. Chapel built.
- 1632. Range of Chambers built on north side of entrance court (Dr Richardson's).
- 1633. South cloister built, and north cloister probably soon after. Elongation to the street of Dr Perne's Library.
- 1636—40. Issue of letter soliciting subscriptions for these and other works. General repairs of the College undertaken.
- 1705. Hall wainscoted.
- 1709—11. North and south cloisters rebuilt by Grumbold.
- 1725. Dr Charles Beaumont bequeaths his house for a Master's Lodge.
- 1732—43. New building on north side of entrance court erected by Burrough.
- 1751. New gates toward the street erected.
- 1754. Principal court ashlar'd by Burrough.
- 1825. Foundation of Gisborne Court.
- 1848. Considerable repairs done to the College.
- 1857. Restoration of Church of S. Mary the Less.
- 1868—70. Restoration of Hall and Combination Room.

APPENDIX.

I. *Deed of Henry III., confirming the Brothers of the Penance in their Site.*

Henricus dei gracia Rex .. Cum dilecti nobis in Christo Prior et fratres de penitencia Jesu Christi quandam aream quam inhabitant prope Burgum nostrum Cantebrig' extra 'Trumpetone gate ex donacione diuersorum per cartas suas diuersis particulis integratam de nostra licencia sint adepti; nos, pro salute anime nostre ... dictos Priorem et Fratres tanquam ex fundacione nostra ibidem existentes et eciam eorum successores in proteccionem et defensionem nostram suscepimus specialem. Et dimissionem et concessionem quam Johannes Le Rus filius Mauricii Le Rus de Cantebrig' fecit per cartam suam ... de quadam parte aree predictae; Dimissionem...quam Hoellus et Thomas filii Johannis de Berton fecerunt; ... Dimissionem ... quam Magister Thomas filius Walteri de Sancto Edmundo fecit; ... Dimissionem ... quam Josephus Le Bercher fecit; ... Dimissionem ... quam Gilbertus filius Michaelis Herward fecit; ... Dimissionem ... quam Agnes que fuit uxor Johannis de Berton fecit; ... Dimissionem ... quam Henricus Pikerel fecit; ... Dimissionem ... quam Simon filius Johannis de Berton fecit; ... Et Dimissionem ... quam magister et fratres Hospitalis Sancti Johannis de Cantebrig' fecerunt ratas habentes et gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est concedimus et confirmamus sicut carte predictae quas dicti Prior et fratres inde habent et quas inspeximus ... testantur. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras ... fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Wodestoke vicesimo quinto die Junii anno regni nostri quinquagesimo secundo.

II. *Indenture for building the Library.*

Hec indentura facta xii die mensis Februarii Anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum nono inter Magistrum Johannem Holbrok magistrum Collegii Sancti Petri Cantebr' et socios eiusdem ex una parte et Johannem Wassyngle de Hynton ex altera testatur quod idem Johannes Wassyngle bene fideliter et sufficienter in fundo et a fundo superius edificabit parietes ostia et fenestras cuiusdam bibliothecae edificande in Collegio predicto. Sic videlicet quod omnia ostia ad dictum opus necessaria et decem fenestras computando duas minores pro una ex bonis lapidibus et durioribus de inferiori lecto lapidicini philippi Grove citra ultimum diem Aprilis proxime futurum post datum presencium dolabit et complete ad posicionem eorundem formabit.

Necnon dictos parietes citra eundem diem Aprilis edificare incipiet et citra festum quod dicitur Sancti Petri ad vincula ex tunc proxime sequens ad altitudinem decem pedum supra planam terram eriget. Alias insuper fenestras quotcunque ad opus predictum necessarie fuerint citra festum Pasche secundo futurum post datum presencium dolabit et ad posicionem earundem complete aptabit. Necnon predictas parietes citra festum michaelis Archangeli extunc proxime sequens ad altitudinem aliorum parietum noue fabrice predicti Collegii complete eriget.

Ad quas quidem convenciones bene et fideliter perimplendas idem Johannes Wassynge se in quadraginta libris obligauit. Et magister Johannes Holbrok et socii superius nominati solvent Johanni Wassynge predicto pro dolacione et aptura maioris ostii v. s. vjd: et pro factura cuiuslibet ostii minoris quotcunque fuerint iij s: pro formatione eciam et aptatione cuiuslibet fenestre maioris v. s: et cuiuslibet fenestre minoris ijs. vj. d. Necnon omni septimana integra quando ipse Johannes Wassynge infra dictum Collegium super opere predicto operabitur iij s. iiij d, et in septimana non integra secundum ratum et dierum feriarum numerum.

Dabunt eciam eidem Johanni Wassynge unam togam de liberata Collegii predicti si in opere predicto bene se gesserit. In quorum omnium testimonium partes predict' sua sigilla alternatim hiis indenturis apposuerunt.

Dat Cantabr' predict' Anno et die quibus supra.

III. *Building Account of Dr Perne's Library, 1593—4.*

Et de vii^s. vjd. pro iij^{li}. de le sowder et de xxx^s. Graie pro triplici fenestra in le gable ende de le gallery et de iij^s. Parkinson scribenti versus Dr^{is} Pearne in Conclau et de iij^s. iii^d. famulo m^r. Angers pro les extraicts curie Wrattung et de iij^s. Croslande dealbanti muros bibliothecæ per 3. dies et de ij^s. Griffith operanti ibidem per 3. dies et de ix^d. pro les heare et de iij^s. Croslande pro le beamefillinge le gallery per 3 dies et de iij^s. eidem efficienti le halfe pace bibliothecæ et foramina pro les iuistes et de iij^s. Cuidam rescribenti versus D: Pearne et picturam reficienti et de vjd. pro charta D^{no} Pearne scribenti nomina librorum et de ij^s. ij^d. eidem pro cons' ut patet in billa prefecti et de ij^s. viduis Joanes et Scisson purgantibus bibliothecam et de viij^d. Crofts pro claue pro cubiculo Dni Pearne et de xl^s. m^{ro}. Duckett custodi bibliothecæ Academiæ pro annua pensione et de vj^{li}. x^s. m^{ro}. Aercher pro 120 deale boardes et 2 wainscott planckes et de ij^s. viij^d. Passfeilde pro 4 pill^{rs}. ut patet in billa prefecti et de v^s. vjd. pro 26 pedibus de le plancke et 4 stooles ut patet in eadem billa et de v^s. vjd. eidem pro 42 pedibus de le plancke et de v^s. eidem pro 60 pedibus de les halfe inche boarde ut patet in eadem billa et de vij^s. viij^d. pro 36 pedibus de les wainscott plancke et de ij^s. p. 2 postibus et de xij^d. pro 4 liminibus et de ij^d. pro 2 pedibus de les square timber et de vij^s. ij^d. pro les

nayles et de x^d. ob pro 21 pedibus de les single quarters et de xi^d. $\frac{1}{2}$ pro
 15 pedibus de les inche boarde et de ix^s. ix^d. pro les nailles et glewe
 corde et halfe inche boarde. Et de iiii^{li}. x^s. viij^d. Pasfeilde operanti
 per 53 dies et de lv^s. famulo Pasfeilde operanti per 55 dies et de
 xxxvj^s. viij^d. puero operanti per 55 dies et de xxix^s. Blackwell operanti
 per 29 dies et de xij^d. cuidam pro unico die ut patet in eadem billa.
 Et de xiiij^s. pro vectura de les deale boardes et de xvij^d. les watermen
 et famulis Pasfeild operantibus circa les deale boardes ut patet in eadem
 billa et de xj^s. Croftes pro 2 dubble casements pro le ende window in le
 gallery et de xxj^s. viij^d. pro 13 single casements pro le gallery et de
 ij^s. iij^d. eidem aptanti 2 olde casements pro le gallery et de ij^s. pro 2
 boutles pro ostio pro le gallery et de iij^{li}. vi^s. viij^d. eidem pro 10 dubble
 casements pro bibliotheca et de iij^s. eidem pro 100 dicheaded nailles
 pro ostio et de vi^d. eidem aptanti les hinges et de iij^s. iij^d. eidem pro
 pari de les greete hinges et 8 platts pro le shelues et de xvi^d. eidem
 efficienti 8 platts de supellectile Coll: et de ij^s. iij^d. eidem pro 10
 barres pro supportat^r de les shelues et de xiv^d. pro 2 handles pro les
 doares et de xij^d. eidem efficienti xl. staples de supellectile collegii et
 de vij^d. pro xx de les longe spikines et de xiv^d. pro xiv shouldfastes
 et de xvj^d. pro 2 boutles pro ostio ut patet in eadem billa et de
 iij^{li}. vj^s. viij^d. Warde pro 140 pedibus glasse pro le gallery et de
 iij^{li}. xvij^s. vj^d. eidem pro 186 pedibus glasse pro bibliotheca ut patet
 in eadem billa et de xx^d. Crofts eximenti catenas librorum et de x^s.
 distributis inter discipulos scribentes nomina librorum bibliothecæ et
 de v^s. vj^d. Croslande coloranti trabes bibliothecæ et de iij^s. eidem
 operanti in cubiculo Dⁿⁱ Pearne et de ij^s. pro les roughe tyles et
 de vj^d. pro les gronsells et de xij^d. pro coloribus ut patet in eadem
 billa et de xij^d. Archer pro le frame pro pictura D. Pearne ut patet
 ibidem. Et de ij^s. vj^d. viduis Joanes et Scisson verrentibus aream
 Collegii et de vj^d. Croslande pro xl bricks et de viij^d. eidem pro operario
 purgante hospitium et de v^s. pro pensione balivi de Wratting et de xv^s.
 lectori græco.

IV. *Form of Letter soliciting Subscriptions.*

Magister et Socii Collegii Sancti Petri Cantabrig: Salutem in Christo.

Kal. Martij A.D. MDCXXXvj.

Ingens jam diu tenuit Petrenses Tuos desiderium ut venerandum
 istud et Primipilare Collegium senio suo pene confectum novo splen-
 descat cultu. Religiosa vere cura est, quæ publicis literarum Pietatis-
 que monumentis impenditur.

Cœpimus a Sacris, ac quod summâ animorum gratitudine agnosci-
 mus, tandem in Domo S^{ti} Petri exstructa est Domus Dei, nec illa in-
 venusta, sed nec ornata satis nec absoluta.

Perreximus ad Musea et reliqua Scientiarum Domicilia, ut quæ

caduca nuper et prope ruitura videbantur, non sine venustate quâdam sarta tecta posteris relinquamus. Quin ut aucta jam instruatur Bibliotheca, Area insuper et Aula Publica, Musarum Refectoria ne præ cæteris Academiæ Collegiis sordescant, omni quo possumus nixu contendimus. Sed quæ est nostra Infælicitas, post absumptas propriæ tenuitatis vires, post varias aliorum suppetias erogatas (æs alienum a nobis contractum silemus) adeo cœptis hisce Nostris exhaustum est Ærarium, ut nisi nova aliunde succurrat Beneficentia, plane nobis tantis oneribus succumbendum sit.

Supplex hinc (Vir præstantissime) Tibi nunc fit Petrensis Domus, olim Mater Tua, ut siqua apud Te memoria Domus Tuæ, Domus antiquæ, residet, hanc tenuitatem suam tantis conatibus imparem Pietate Tua et Munificentia subleves. Potuit certe pluribus Benignitatem Tuam ambire, sed apud virum optimum talibusque votis sponte facilem, satis efficax esse solet Rei ipsius dignitas. Quæ tanta est ut quantum ei Gratia et Beneficentiæ contuleris, tantum ornamenti Nomini Tuo consequutus fueris, cui nos deditissimos semper habiturus es. Feliciter vale.

V. *Accounts for Fittings in the Chapel, 1632—35.*

Computus novi Sacelli a solenni ipsius Dedicatione Martii 17^o. A^o. Do. 1632^o. ad festum Sancti Michaelis A^o. 1633^o.

[*Receipts.*]

Et computat de xi li. a Christophero Wren ... et de x li. a magistro Gulielmo Greene in Ornatum Sacelli contributis; et de xij li. ijs. ix d. pro calicibus et operculis argenteis (ex consensu) divenditis; viz: pro calice uno Norimbergico et operculo argenteis ac deauratis (ad unciarum 20 pondus et dim: uncia) v li. xij s. ix d; et pro alio calice cum duobus operculis (ad 26 unciarum pondus) vj li. xs. et de x li. ixs. ijd. in oblationibus Die consecrationis et de x li. ex oblatione privata; et de iiij li. vijs. in oblationibus in sacra synaxi 4^{or}. diversis anni temporibus et de vij li. iijs. ijd. in Censu Sacelli a festo Purificationis ad Sancti Michaelis.

Summa lxv^{li}. iij^s. ijd.

[*Payments.*]

Et [computat] de xij li. vs. in Invitatione Episcopi Eliensis visitoris nostri in Consecrationem Novi Sacelli ... Et ... de xij^d. mundanti Sacellum ante consecrationem, et de xxj^s. iiij^d. pro 24. Storeis contractionibus pro Magistro et Socijs (in quas inclinent genua); et pro 10 longioribus in usum communicantium; et de j^s. ix^d. pro duobus Cereis majoribus mensæ Dominicæ; et de xxij^s. x^d. pro 8 libris Liturgiæ Latinæ; et de xxiiij^s. iiij^d. pro 4 alijs libris Anglicanis, Bibliis scil. duobus et

duobus Liturgiis vernaculis constringendis et ornandis in usum Sacelli. Et de xiiij^{li}. xix^s. j^d. pro 6 ulnis et amplius Syndonis purpureæ tenuioris, et pro quatuor ulnis coccineæ, ex quibus frontale superius et inferius conficiebantur cum palla mensæ superstrata (omnia xylino panno subtus corroborata); pulvinar etiam oblongum ad Magistri sedem adaptatum cum tribus aliis minoribus, sarcinulis plumeis oppletis cum fimbrialibus suis et nodis angularibus in usum et ornatum mensæ; et pro duobus libris ejusdem serico villosa involutis; et de ix s. ij d. pro fimbrialibus lateralibus et angularibus nodosis pulvinaris quarti in usum suggesti Concionatorii; et de iiij^{li}. ij^s. M^{ro} Cutler pro Salmo suo redditus cujus loco Polubrum dedit et obtulit in usum Sacræ mensæ (ad recipiendas nimirum Oblationes in Eucharistia solenni) argenteum, amplum et perpulcre deauratum cum insignibus ipsius et Collegii incisus. Et de iiij^{li}. xi^s. pro duobus Oenophoris argenteis inaurandis in usum celebrantium; et de iiij^s. vij^d. pro vectura omnium a Londino; et de xlvij^s. pro Pallio sacro in usum ministri Sacra peragentis; et de xxxv^s. vj^d. Ashley, viz: xv^s. pro tribus suggestis et ij^s. pro duobus scabellis, pro mensa vj^s. et v^s. pro tabula supra mensam parieti affixâ et appensâ et duobus scalis vj^s. et de vj^d. pro mundandâ integâ vetustâ; et de vj^d. pro alia matta in Sedem Ministri, et de ij^s. vj^d. pro pulvino sessili ejusdem; et de viij^s. vij^d. pro candelabris minutis æneis in usum Sacelli; et de xij^d. pro suscitabulo ignario; et de v^s. pro exaratione binâ formulæ Consecrationis; et de xij^d. pro libello Inventorii apparatus Sacelli; et de v^s. v^d. pro verriculis, scopis, et contis aliisque utensilibus in munditiam Sacelli. Et de iiij^s. iiij^d. fusori Campanario pro duobus itineribus a Walden ad Cantabrigiam ad visendam campanam Horologicam; et de vj^d. Lotrici pallii Sacri; et de xxv^{li}. xvij^s. iiij^d. pro duobus paribus Candelabris argenteis et eleganter auratis in mensam Dominicam; et Calice cum operculo similiter deauratis (pondus Candelabb: calicis, et operculi, 70 unciarum) Et de xij^{li}. iij^s. pro calice consimili et operculo (31 unciarum) Eucharistico.

Summa lxxi^{li}. x^s. ix^d.

1633—34.

Et [computat] de viij li. ix s. iiij d. Magistro Tolly pro peristromatis et de j s. vd Tabellario ea deferenti; et de xxvij d. Rule pro virgis ferreis et uncis...

1634—35.

Et [computat] de xxxvj s Roberto Rule fabro ferrario pro 4 transermis, et de ij s Philippo Blisse easdem pingenti; et de ij s. iiij d. Carbasher vitrum eisdem adaptanti¹.

¹ [The words in this and the previous accounts will be explained as far as possible in the Glossary.]

II.

Clare Hall.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE SITE AND OF THE FIRST BUILDINGS.

IT has been already shewn that Clare Hall ranks historically as the third foundation in the University¹; yet architecturally, the College as it stands, dates from the reign of Charles I.; and although the quadrangle was not completely closed in until the beginning of the 18th century, and has since suffered additions and changes in minor details, it possesses a unity of effect that leads most persons to imagine that it was built from a design completely made from the beginning². This is far from being the case, and as the building accounts are unusually complete, it will be found to present a most instructive and curious history of the changes in architectural taste which took place during the eventful period of more than a century which passed away while it was step by step carried on to its present condition.

¹ [See Historical Introduction.]

² [When Professor Willis lectured before the Architectural Congress at Cambridge in 1860, he described Clare as "one of the most beautiful buildings, from its situation and general outline, that he could point out in the University. It had a homogeneous appearance, more like a palace than a College." His remarks on the Chapel were not so complimentary.]

But though the edifices that previously occupied the site have vanished, their history must detain us awhile. The site was part of a certain property acquired by the University from Nigel de Thornton about 1270¹, and was "situated in a place called Mylnes Lane, neere St. John Zacharies Church," in the words of an old table, once in existence at Clare Hall, containing an account of its history². It was occupied by two messuages, and apparently extended, as at present, from Milne Street to the river. Richard de Badew's scholars were probably lodged in hostels that already occupied the ground. [These hostels are said to have been destroyed by fire about 1338³, but on somewhat doubtful authority.] Caius⁴ relates that after the second foundation in that year by Elizabeth de Burgo, Countess of Clare, "many excellent men lent a hand to the perfection of the building, which, like that of other Halls, was not begun and finished at once."

Little or nothing can now be recovered concerning the original College. We know that it possessed a Library, which was being built between 1420 and 1430, as the College Register records that William Wymbell, Master, contributed £3 for the glass of all the windows on the south side: and that his successors, Gull and Wilflet, gave or procured subscriptions for the fabric of the same. Mention is also made of a wall extending to the river bank [to which Wilflet contributed the lime: and of a "battlemented wall" (*muris vatellatus*), which is shewn in Hammond's map (fig. 3), next to King's College]⁵.

¹ See below, History of the Schools.

² MSS. Baker, xxxviii. 253.

³ Fuller, 84. MSS. Cole, ii. 9.

⁴ Caius, Hist. Cant. Acad. i. 57.

⁵ [In the list of "Benefactors Collegii" (Register, p. 17) we find:

"Magister [Willelmus] Wymbyll [Master 1421] ... soluit pro vitro omnium fenestrarum librarie ex parte meridionali et aliis iii li." He and others also gave "ad facturam camere proxime ad aulam trinitatis et muri vatellati x. marcas et ultra."

"Magister Willelmus Gull magister collegii dedit ... iiij marcas ad fabricam librarie." Ibid. p. 18.

"Magister Willelmus Wilflete ... dedit fabrice noui muri ad ripam riulli calcem quantum sufficit. Item procuravit ad edificium librarie de bonis Roberti Wright ... iiij marcas. Item dedit eidem de bonis Willelmi Fulburn cujus executor fuerat xx^s. Item procuravit ad fabricam noui muri in toto a diversis Christi fidelibus ut patet in libro computus eiusdem fabrice inceptae 2^o nno administracionis sue." Ibid. p. 19. (No sum is given.)

In the Register quoted above there are a few historical memoranda. These inform us that

‘On October 20, 1514, Edmund Natares¹ was elected and admitted to the Mastership of Clare Hall. In 1521, on the day after the festival of S. Dionisius [Oct. 9], being the night of the election of the Proctors, the Master’s chamber and the College Treasury were burnt down, causing a great loss of money, evidences, and other property.

“In 1523 the kitchen was built, together with the chambers between it and the Hall, at the College expense; in 1524 the Hall and one of the Master’s chambers were removed to the position they now occupy; in 1525 the whole building now belonging to the Master was erected at the expense of Dr Natares; in 1528 the building between the Master’s chamber and the chapel was built at the expense of Magister Caumonde, Vicar of S. Peter’s at Colchester, in whose honour we celebrate exequies on the 14th day after Easter; in 1535 the chapel itself was built, to the completion of which Magister Spicer², Rector of Clopton, contributed £95, in whose honour we celebrate exequies four times in the year. In the same year the party-wall was erected which leads from the west door of the Hall to the house by the river side.”

This seems to complete the College for the time being: or rather, to have reinstated the parts damaged by the fire of 1521.

[It is curious that a tradition should have become current so early as the first half of the seventeenth century that there was no Chapel until after the fire of 1521. This is expressly stated by Fuller³: and even appears in a formal statement signed “The Master and Fellows of Clare-Hall,” which was circulated about 1685 with the view of obtaining subscriptions towards the completion of the Hall⁴. It is entitled

In the mastership of Thomas Stoyte (1466—1470) “factus est magnus caminus in coquina. Item fecit alium magnum caminum in Aula. Item fecit pavimentum in Aula. Item fecit ibidem nouam celaturam super altam mensam.” Ibid. p. 39.]

¹ [The name is spelt variously Natares, Nateres, Natures.]

² [Dr Spicer bequeathed “100^{li}. sterlyng” on the condition, among others, that there should be “a Lampe brinnyng dayly for ever in ye Chapell...afore St Katheryn ther from seven a klok in ye mornynge till it be ten of the cloke aforenone ... And when [the Priest] hath sayd Masse to say De Profundis at my Towmbe ther”... MSS. Baker, ii. 74. His will is dated March 24, 24 Hen. viij.]

³ [l. c. p. 86. He contradicts himself, however, in a subsequent passage, p. 132.]

⁴ [It is printed in the “Annotations” to “The Right Notion of Honour: As it was delivered in a sermon before the King at Newmarket, Octob. 4, 1674.” By Nath. Vincent, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty, and Fellow of Clare-Hall in Cambridge. 4^o. London, 1685. The following passage, also from the “Annotations,” is important: “He [the author] had no other Motive to the Publica-

"A General Address to all bountiful Encouragers of Religion and Learning, in the behalf of Clare-Hall in Cambridge: which remains half built, after all the endeavours of the Society for more than Forty years to finish it."

After narrating how the College had "been always unhappy, either in the Ruines or the Defects of its Building," the damage done to it on two occasions by fire, and the construction of a new College at the second foundation, the writer proceeds:

"But yet the most valuable part of a College, a Chappel, was wanting for above two hundred years; till the Society had by their good Husbandry saved so much Money as with the Gift of a hundred Pounds built one, with a fair Library over it."

Several notices may however be traced which prove the contrary. The most important of these is the will of John de Donewych, Master, dated April 9, 1392. After directing that his body is to be buried in the Parish Church of S. John Baptist in Milnestrete, near the door on the south side, where a porch with an image of the Virgin over it is to be built at his expense, he bequeaths a complete set of the "Corpus Juris Civilis" to his College, on condition of their providing a priest to say mass for his soul for a whole year "in the Chapel of the said College, or in the Parish Church¹."

There can be no doubt that the Church of S. John the Baptist was used by Clare Hall as a Chapel, as their ancient

tion of these Papers, neither did he need any other, than the desire of his honoured and worthy Collegues, to recommend in a printed Epistle, the present attempt to finish our fair Building; and our design of a College Hall, of which great convenience we have as yet no more than the bare Foundation." The following note is written by Dr Goddard (Master 1761—1781), opposite to Dr Vincent's name in the College Admission Book. "In 1674 he preached before the King at Newmarket in a long periwig and hollow sleeves, then the dress of a gentleman; which so scandalised even Charles 2^d that he ordered the Duke of Monmouth, then Chancellor of the University, to put the statutes in execution relating to decency of apparel. On the death of Dr Dillingham (1678) he endeavoured to be made master by a mandamus, but was disappointed by the Society's chusing Dr Blyth before him before he could serve them with it. ... He died 1722." This story is repeated by Gough, *British Topography*, i. 230.]

¹ [MSS. Baker, ii. 75. "Item lego Collegio totum Corpus Juris Civilis unius secte, ita quod Collegium statim post mortem meam inveniatur unum Sacerdotem ad celebrand' divina in Capella dicti Collegii seu in Ecclesia paroch' pro anima mea ... per annum integrum."]

statutes¹ (1359) direct that their divine service is to be performed in their parish church; and that after its destruction the south chancel aisle of S. Edward's Church was built to replace it. This aisle has subsequently been always called "Clare-Hall Aisle²." This will however shews distinctly that while the College had undoubtedly the right of using the Church of S. John Baptist, probably for the burial of their dead, they had likewise a Chapel of their own for their devotions within their precincts. Other proofs may however be adduced. When the Archbishop of Canterbury visited the University in 1401, he met the authorities of Clare Hall "*in capella Collegii*."³ Between 1420 and 1430, John Pelham, Fellow, gave Nicolas de Lyra on the New Testament and the Psalms "to be chained for ever in the Chapel⁴." In 1452 and 1455 the College Chapel is mentioned as the place where masses for the souls of the foundress and benefactors are to be said. Moreover, there is a long list⁵ of "*Ornamenta capelle*" in the College Register written in an early hand of the fifteenth century. These ornaments consist principally of vestments, furniture, and plate, and indicate a richly endowed building⁶. We learn incidentally from this list that there were three altars in it, but more precise indications of its extent, position, or arrangements, cannot be discovered.]

[The original position and arrangement of the College have fortunately been preserved to us in a plan⁷, now in the College

¹ Commiss. Doc^{ts}. ii. 141.

² Borough Report, p. 18.

³ Fuller, p. 132.

⁴ Register, p. 18.

⁵ [Translated by Mr H. T. Riley, Second Report of the Hist. MSS. Com. p. 110.]

⁶ The following extracts from the Register, pp. 11, 12, illustrate this part of the subject. The value of the articles is always set down after them.

Ornamenta altarium duorum inferiorum capelle de albo serico cum cortinis . . .	iii li.
j pannus aureus ad longitudinem summi altaris	v li.
Ornamenta sepulcri paschalis pretiosa viz. ij ad latera tecti sepulcri et ij pro	
finibus sepulcri et j pro basi sepulcri cum militibus. j fromtell et j pannus	
sericus	xv li.
i cista communis in qua est sigillum commune et munimenta domus	
precium ciste x s. precium sigilli	xx s.

Again in the list of "The Books of Divine Offices," Ibid, p. 9. "A book of *placebo* and *dirige* on the north side of the chapel with a legend of S. Etheldreda"

ij s.

⁷ [This plan, which I owe to the kindness of the present Master, Dr Atkinson, was

Treasury, which appears, from the handwriting of the designations of the different parts, to have been made in the reign of Charles the First—probably when the rebuilding was in contemplation. The plan of the new College is drawn on a slip of paper pasted to the original in such a manner as to shew where it was proposed to place it. A reduced copy of the two plans is here given (fig. 2).]

The eastern range of the Quadrangle abutted upon Milne Street, and, as shewn in the plans of Hammond (fig. 3) and of

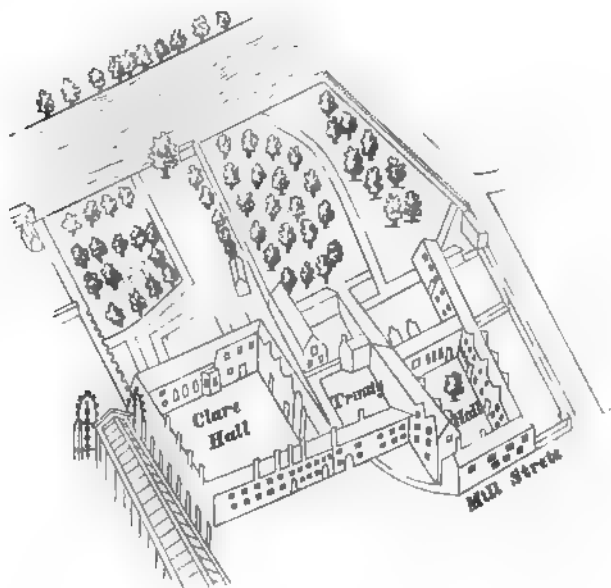


Fig. 3. Clare Hall, reduced from Hammond's map of Cambridge, 1592.

Speed, was continuous with the same range of Trinity Hall. It extended beyond the Chapel to the north; and to the south approached to within fourteen feet of King's College Chapel Porch, which it overlapped six feet, as we shall see stated presently in the Butt Close controversy. It was entered by a gate

unknown to Prof. Willis. From the memoranda above quoted, and Cole's sketch given below, he had reconstructed the College with his usual ingenuity, and had placed the different parts quite correctly in relation to each other. The only error he had fallen into was that he made the Court too small, from a belief that Cole's sketch represented the whole north side of it.]

rather to the north of its centre, and was irregular in shape, for the southern, western, and northern sides each measured nearly 130 feet, while the eastern side measured only 120 feet. The Chapel, occupying the same relative place as at present, is shewn in Loggan's print. Cole has preserved a rough sketch of it, of which he says, writing on Feb. 15, 1742,

"I have seen a plan of y^e old College as it then stood, by y^e Favour of my Friend y^e Rev. M^r Goddard Senior Fellow of y^e College ... in a Statute Book of y^e College neatly painted w^{ch} is quite different from the present Building, for as y^e whole stood much nearer to our College



Fig. 4. Cole's sketch of the Chapel entitled "South of Clare Hall Chapel."

- A. y^e Chapel.
- B. y^e Porter's Lodge.
- C. y^e Old Library
- D. y^e Anti-Chapel.
- E. a Chamber over y^e Antichapel.
- F. Staircase up to y^e Library

[King's] than it now does, viz, came to where the Brick wall at y^e W. end of our Chapel and run along and joyned to the Porter's Lodge behind their own Chapel; so their Refectory stood on y^e W. side of their Quadrange fronting y^e River w^{ch} had no Bridge over it¹."

Cole shews a few feet more than Loggan does, for his sketch extends to just beyond the door, which, as he tells us, gave access to the Library. [The Master's Lodge, as now, was in the northern half of the western range². A door in its southern wall gave access to a large apartment (A, fig. 2), probably the Combination Room, whence a second door opened into the Hall.

¹ MSS. Cole, ii. 9.

² Compare Commiss. Docts. ii. 163.

This, as Hammond's plan shews, had an oriel towards the Court. Beyond the screens were the butteries (B), and the kitchen must have been south or south-west of them. A comparison of the two plans shews that it was at first intended merely to reconstruct the old College 70 feet farther to the west, with a second gateway in the western range, a change now become desirable by the acquisition of ground beyond the river. The formation of this gateway would have necessitated the removal of either the Hall or the Lodge to a new position, in order to keep up the necessary proximity of the two buildings. The western side being obviously the most agreeable situation for the Lodge, the Hall was removed to the north side. Subsequently the plan was slightly modified, the quadrangle being made rectangular, and deeper in proportion to its breadth¹.

It seems to have been intended to leave the approach to the College open, bounded by walls to the north and south; and it is clear that the College gates were once hung under the entrance in the centre of the eastern façade (E, fig. 1), where the massive staples that carried them may still be seen, and not on stone piers standing flush with the street as at present. Previous to the rebuilding, Milne Street was bounded at its southern end by a wall, and the entrance to King's College Chapel yard was on its eastern side (F, fig. 2).]

The old Hall, Butteries, and Combination Room stood clear in the area of the present Quadrangle until the present Hall and its appurtenances were finished in 1693, when they were converted into chambers, and not fully cleared away until the buildings of the new Court were completed at the beginning of the 18th century¹. This old hall is pleasantly immortalised in the "Spectator," for May 30, 1711, as follows:

"This is to assure you that the club of Ugly Faces was instituted originally at Cambridge, in the merry reign of King Charles the Second. As in great bodies of men it is not difficult to find members enough for such a club, so (I remember) it was then feared, upon their intention of dining together, that the hall belonging to Clare-hall (the ugliest then in the town, though now the neatest) would not be large enough handsomely to hold the company."

¹ Building Accounts. The plan (fig. 2) shews how this naturally happened, from the relative positions of the old and new quadrangles.

² "Spectator," No. 78. [The paper is by Sir Richard Steele.]

The Chapel, which, as we shall see presently, was not pulled down till 1763, has been thus described by Cole:

"The pres^t Chapel, as I s^d before, was built in 1535, and stands detach'd from y^e Court at y^e N. E. Corner of y^e Quadrangle and makes a sort of side to y^e old Court of Trinity Hall, & comes pretty near y^e Great Gate of our old Court w^{ch} it directly fronts; at y^e E. end of it is y^e Porters Lodge, where tradition says y^t Peter Gunning B^p of Ely formerly studied in. Over y^e Anti-Chapel is a Students Chamber, and over y^m both and y^e Chapel runs a long Room w^{ch} was y^e old Library to y^e Coll: When y^e Coll: was new built they left Room to enlarge their Chapel designing to pull y^t down when it sh^d be convenient, with rough Stones to joyn to y^e rest of y^e Building, w^{ch} tho' not yet done, yet am in hopes it won't be long first. ... There is an Inscription at y^e bottom of y^e undermost corner Stone of y^e Building fronting our Coll: & w^{ch} is to joyn y^e Chapel, w^{ch} from its awkward Situation & partly from its being covered by y^e other stones in y^e Wall I was some time before I c^d make out: but am sure it can be no other than what follows:

ΙΕΣΥ ΧΡΟ
ΑΙΘΩ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΩ
LAPIS SACER P.
MAIL. XVI. 1638.

that is: This Stone sacred to Jesus Christ y^e chosen, or corner Stone was placed here May 16, 1638¹. Come we now to y^e Chapel, w^{ch} is a good neat small Room separated from y^e Antichapel by a Wooden Screen; there are no Monum^{ts} of any sort in this part of y^e Chapel, tho' there is a Tradition y^t D^r Rob: Scot Dean of Rochester and Master of this College lies interred in it, as there is another y^t y^e reason why no one, except this last named (& that is not certain) was ever buried in it is that it never was consecrated: w^{ch} I think hardly probable. The inside

¹ [In the account of laying the foundation-stone of the new Chapel (Cam. Chron. April 30, 1763) the word ΑΚΡΟΓ is added after ΕΚΛΕΚΤΩ, probably for ἀκρῶ: and the date is given as May 19. The same stone was used afterwards for the foundation-stone of the new Chapel with the following additional inscription:

RESURGENTIS
COLLEGII, 1638.
SACELLI, 1763.
Posuit
P. S. Goddard, M.
Maii 3.

Cole's correspondent the Rev. Edward Betham, Fellow and Bursar of King's, remarks in a letter to him, after describing the position of the stone: "Inscriptions of this Kind should be as plain and intelligible as may be. As to this, the Living cannot make it out immediately; and can it be expected those who come after should understand it better? Posterity will want some one to explain the Meaning of the Words; and where will He find anyone to tell Him, why two such different Dates are put upon one and the same Stone?" MSS. Cole, ii. 10.]

of this Chapel is handsomely furnished wth a double row of Stalls on each side and at y^e W. end. The Altar stands on an Eminence of 3 Steps & is covered by a handsom Carpet, & has no Rails ab^t it: y^e Back of it is adorned wth a curious peice of fine Tapestry representing a Story out of y^e old Testament; & on each side of it are 5 small Pillars by way of Ornament having y^e Arms of y^e College over y^e middle one on each side. On y^e 2^d Step which leads up to y^e Altar stands y^e Litany Desk, made new while I was an unworthy Member of this College. There is but one Monument in y^e Chapel, w^{ch} is only an Honorary one or Cenotaph in Remembrance of a late Master and Benefactor, Dr Samuel Blythe who lies buried in S. Edwards Church. ... There are 3 Windows on each side of y^e Chapel, in w^{ch} formerly were y^e Figures of y^e 12 Apostles, and 4 Doctors of y^e Church curiously painted; but these were broken in the general Destruction of such peices of Decency throughout this County in 1643, and nothing but the lowermost half of y^m remain, wth their names at y^e Feet of most of y^m."

[He then proceeds to describe and figure the coats of arms in the windows, among which are those of the College "under a picture of St Ambrose¹."] This Chapel incurred the 'strong censure of Cardinal Pole's commissioners at the visitation of the University in 1557, because it had never been consecrated².

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE EXISTING COLLEGE.

Description of the Buildings. The Butt Close Controversy.

WE may now examine the history of the existing College. This consists of a single Quadrangle, 110 feet broad from north to south, and 150 feet from east to west. It has an entrance court to the east in Trinity Hall Lane with handsome iron gates and stone piers. The entrance archway and Porter's Lodge is in the centre of the front towards the court, but not of the front towards the street, because the Chapel which projects from it and occupies the north side of the entrance court destroys the symmetrical position of the arch. The east and south sides of the quadrangle, and the southern half of the west side, are occupied by chambers in two stories with a garret floor above.

¹ MSS. Cole, ii. 13-15.

² Cooper's Annals, ii. 121

Opposite to the entrance arch just mentioned on the east side, there is an archway on the west side, leading to the bridge and the grounds beyond the river. The northern half of the west side, including the rooms over the archway, is appropriated to the Master's Lodge, which extends to the north extremity of the river front. The north side of the Quadrangle, reckoning from the Lodge at the west end, contains first the Kitchen, with the Library above; secondly the Butteries, with the Combination Room above; and lastly the Hall. This range



Fig. 5. Arch to Gallery of Hall.

is prolonged by the Ante-chapel and the Chapel, the east end of which extends to Trinity Hall lane.

The Hall takes up the eastern half of the north side of the court, as indicated by the four large windows with panelled surfaces below them, shewing that it occupies the entire height, from plinth to cornice. A doorway in the centre of this side (G, fig. 1) opens to a transverse passage behind the screen of the Hall. This passage terminates in a handsome staircase, which leads to the Music Gallery, placed as usual over the passage, and to the Combination Room, the door of which opens into the Gallery.

[The entrance from the head of the stairs to the Gallery is through an arch ornamented with plaster enrichments, in the spandrels of which the date of the construction of this part of the College, 1688, is carved (fig. 5).] Beyond the Combination Room, and communicating with it by a door exactly opposite to the Gallery door, is the Library. The six windows in the western half of this side of the court are equally divided between these two apartments: and as the latter abuts upon the Lodge, the Master and his guests have a covered access to the Hall by passing through the Library and Combination Room into the Gallery, thence down the staircase, and along the whole length of the Hall, to the high table.

In the western wall of the passage leading to the Hall are three doorways. The one next to the Court is a half-hatch door, and gives access to the Butteries, which are placed under the Combination Room: the second is the opening of a passage leading to the Kitchen. The third opens into the lateral space between Clare and Trinity Hall, which serves as a back court to the Kitchen. Under the Buttery and Hall are cellars. The floor of the Kitchen, however, being sunk to the level of that of the cellars, obtains great height for that room, and its windows occupy the space corresponding to the square blank panels under the great Hall windows. [It is entered down a flight of stairs (K, fig. 1). In the cellars of the south range there are windows, now blocked, and below the present level of the court, shewing that it has been artificially raised. This may also be seen on the north side, in the passage between the College and Trinity Hall, the level of which is many feet below that of the Court.] A range of garrets extends all along this side of the Court.

The rebuilding of the College was occasioned by the hopeless state of decay into which the old chambers had come by lapse of time. In the words of the statement quoted above:

"what our Foundress built for us decayed; part of it fell down; and that the College and its Inhabitants might not be buried together in the same Ruines, that new and unfinished Fabrick we now enjoy was begun."

But before the new Quadrangle was commenced, a curious question arose concerning its position. We have seen that the

old Quadrangle was close to King's College Chapel. Clare Hall was advised, for convenience of light and air, to remove the intended building farther to the west. But as this would be to the mutual benefit of both Colleges the Master and Fellows of Clare Hall made a request to King's College that the latter would, if such removal were made, concede to them a passage (upon a lease) into the fields through their grounds beyond the river. To explain this it must be mentioned that on the west bank of the river opposite to Clare Hall, was a piece of ground belonging to King's College known by the name of Butt Close, and intervening between the river and the common fields beyond, which were used for exercise. Clare Hall desired to obtain a passage only through this close, so that by making a bridge over the river access to the fields might be obtained in the same manner as had long before been carried out by King's, Trinity, and S. John's.

[The Master and Fellows of Clarehall began by asking the Provost and Fellows of King's College

"to Consider of these two Propositions following, And to graunt that which they themselves shall thinke best. First, That the Right Wop^l the Provost and Fellowes would please, for the better accommodation of Clarehall both for Conveyeing of Materialls whilst it is in Building, and freedome of Passage into the Fields when it is built, to let Clarehall have such a Range or Balke in their But-Close as (lyeng right West from their Watergate) may only serve to make a Causey Way into the Fields, and to aunswer a Bridge over the River. ...Or Secondly. That [the same] would please to part with the lower Half of But-Close unto Clare hall upon these Conditions. First, That we remove all our Colledge (save only the Chappell and Librarie) So farre downe towards the River as that the Outside of the East end of our Colledge doe range with the Lower Rowe of Trees that growe from the Fryers Gate to the West end of Kings Chappell¹. Secondly, That what necessarie Charges shall arise for the settling of this Busines, shall be defrayed by Clarehall only. Thirdly, That if the Conveniency and Quantity of Ground given Kings Colledge by setting downe Clarehall so farr be not thought in Equity a reasonable Compensation for such part of Butt-Close as Kings Colledge part withall That then Clarehall make it up with some other Lande which lyes nerest Cambridge, and so fittest for the use of Kings Colledge, that so the Colledge receive no damage."

This very reasonable request would probably have been

¹ [King's College Muniments, A. 139. It must be remembered that by "King's College" in the following controversy the old court is meant, which was only divided from Clare Hall by Milne S^t. The chambers were in two stories, and extremely lofty.]

granted without difficulty¹, had not Clare Hall unfortunately made the mistake of addressing a petition to the King, without waiting for an answer from the College, asking not only for a passage, but for a large piece of ground, which was to be granted to them for ever, "by his majesty's special power and prerogative." To this he replied, 20 January, 1637, directing his College to accede to the request of Clare. Hereupon a controversy arose between the two foundations, which for bitterness of spirit and virulence of invective, stands almost without a rival. King's College began by setting forth "Certaine Reasons alleaged why Kings Colledge may not yeild to the motion made by Clare Hall²." They urged their 47th Statute, which forbids the sale or alienation of any part of the College property³: and their neighbours having suggested that the removal of their buildings westward would give more light and air to the chambers of King's College, and enable the beauty of their Chapel to be better seen, they replied that Clare Hall, so far from being a nuisance to them, was rather a convenient shelter from western winds and sun; that their Founder, though he might have placed his Chapel anywhere else had he thought proper, had deliberately selected its position: and lastly, that

"This little peice of ground, (commonly called Butt close) is all we have both for the walkes and exercise of at least an hundred persons, and also for the feeding of Tenne horses which we are enioyned to keepe by Statute; the Chappell yard only excepted, which we are forced sometimes to make use of in those kinds, though it might be better spared. And if our Colledge should be built according to that Royall Patterne which was intended (which we have no reason to dispaire of) we could not then by any meanes be without that ground; which was designed as the only place for walkes and gardens, and to that end so dearely bought, by our Royall Founder."

It is somewhat difficult to trace the exact sequence of the papers that the combatants in this wordy strife hurled at each other, for in their excitement they forgot to date their letters. It would appear, however, that after the receipt of the paper just quoted, Clare Hall petitioned the King a second time, praying that the matter might be referred to the arbitration

¹ [As in fact King's College says in a draught letter to the King Ibid. A. 163.]

² [Ibid. A. 142.]

³ [Commiss. Docts. ii. 580.]

of Lord Holland, Chancellor of the University, and two of the Bishops. The letter ends with the following curious passage :

"And if it shalbe thought beneficiall for those of your Kings Colledge y^t your Colledge of Clarehall should be newly rayseed upon y^e old foundation, y^t by y^e neerenesse thereof it might shelter them from winde and Sunn as is alleadged, yet y^e premises considered, your petitioners doe humbly begg of your most sacred Ma^{ty}, y^t they may be suffered at their owne chardge to land a bridge over y^e river, & enjoy a passadge through y^e said But-close into y^e feilds, w^{ch} would be litle or noe prejudice to them, and of great benefitt to your petitioners, especially in tymes of infecion, having noe passadge into y^e feilds but through y^e Chappell yard of your said Kings Colledge, y^e gates whereof are shutt up in those tymes of danger¹."

The King selected the Bishops of Winchester and Norwich as assessors to the Chancellor. Upon this King's College requested permission to refer the matter as far as they were concerned to the Archbishop of Canterbury, their Visitor: a request which the King appears to have granted, for we find the Visitor and Lord Holland appointed "for to take into their Considerations his Majestyes former directions herein, and to accommodate all Matters in question²." By what arguments or influence the disputants were reconciled we do not know; but from a letter of the Chancellor³ to the Provost of King's, dated June 15, 1637, after studying "the view of a platforme of both Colledges exhibited by Dr Paske," it is plain that he considered the proposed exchange to be desirable, and probably persuaded King's College to withdraw their opposition to it⁴. The case was heard at two meetings of the referees, and in the spring of 1638 (March 17) the King put an end to the dispute by the following letter, which is almost word for word a copy of his former one :

"Trustie and welbeloved Wee greet you well. Having seriouslie weighed y^e seuerall desires of the Master and Fellowes of Our Colledge of Clarehall, together with your respective and dutifull aunswer, thereby wholly submittinge y^e determination thereof unto our Selfe, which as now, so wee shalbee readie allwaies to lett you know how well wee accept of the same: Wee have thought good to signifie Our Royall pleasure therein. Although it were easier both for us and you to permitt them at their owne charge to land a bridge from the middest of y^t o^r Colledge, and make a sufficient Causeway with convenient ditches and fences through y^e Close called y^e But-Close, by which they may directly passe into y^e common fields; yet takeing into our princely consideracion y^e many

¹ [Ibid. A. 145.]

² [Ibid. A. 149.]

³ [Ibid. A. 152.]

⁴ [Ibid. A. 161. Dr Paske was Master of Clare 1621-45, and 1660-61.]

benefitts which will accrew as well unto our unparaleld chappell (y^e beauty whereof wee are most desirous to advance) as to our other structures there with you by y^e remove of Clare hall: Wee are not willing to omitt so faire an opportunity, but attending y^e mutual good & accomodacion of both Colledges and more especially this of ours, beareing our owne Title, doe judge it fitt, and so order, That our whole Colledge of Clare-hall (y^e Chappell and Librarie excepted) bee removed 70 feete lower into the west, and that such portion of ground as shall remaine betweene y^e said Colledge and y^e Southwest end of Our Kings Colledge shalbe sett forth and by them conveyed unto you for y^e enlarging of Our Chappell yard and fairer accesse to that Our Royall Chappell. And, forasmuch as Clarehall will not onely bee put to a farre greater charge, but streightned also for want of necessary Roome by y^e said remove, Our will and pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby order, that besides the foresaid bridge, ditches, fences and causeway, yo^u suffer them to take downe so much of y^e wall running toward y^e Semours Garden as shall bee requisite for their building, and forthwth grant unto them under yo^r common seale for twenty yeares¹ a Leasse of all y^e p^{te} of y^e said Butt Close, being as wee are informed lesse then three Acres, w^{ch} shall lie northwards of y^e said bridge and causeway, without Fine, for y^e Rent of five pounds per annum, y^e said leasse to bee renewed from time to time at y^e same Rent without Fine as y^e said Colledge of Clare-hall shall desire; and in like manner our will and pleasure is y^t y^e said Colledge of Clarehall shall graunt a Leasse for 20 yeares of y^e said 70 feete lower into y^e west unto you of our Colledge of Kings Colledge at y^e yearely Rent of twelve pence without fine, to bee renewed from time to time, at y^e same Rent without fine, as you of our Colledge of Kings Colledge shall desire; w^{ch} wee doe so direct and order, to auoyd all scruple of contravention of any Statutes, or violation of any oathes on eyther side. Nor doe wee doubt, but y^t yee, who are so neare unto us in our Royall Care, will bee also carefull to observe our directions; and both you and they bee ready to doe such further Acts as shall bee found requisite for y^e further performance and exequution of this our order and direction. And in the meane time, our will is that these our letters bee entered in your Registrie, as a perpetuall Record for y^e peace and benefitt of both Colledges².”]

As a result of this, Clare Hall obtained the tenure of Butt Close, now the site of their avenue and garden, while King's added to their grounds on the same conditions the small piece of land to the east of the south-east angle of Clare Hall, by which that angle is made to stand completely on the lawn of King's College³.

¹ [In the King's first letter "for ever" appears instead of "for twenty years;" and the rent is left to the discretion of King's College. (Ibid. A. 155.) Clare paid £5 per annum for Buttclose, and King's 12d. for the Chapel yard.]

² [Ibid. A. 157.]

³ [College Order, April 11, 1638. (Ibid. A. 159.) Clare College drew up an

CHAPTER III.

THE REBUILDING.

Works executed from 1635 to 1656. East and South Ranges.

THE building accounts were from the beginning entered by the Bursar, Barnabas Oley, in a book which is still in existence, and from which I have drawn up the following history¹.

The collection of subscriptions, and the purchase of materials (which were bought by the College and paid for on delivery), had been carried on for at least three years before the site was determined by the Royal Letter of 1638.

Large quantities of bricks were bought in 1635: but in the following year the Bursar adopted the plan of buying brick-earth, and had bricks made specially for the College.

"July the 8 th 1636. To Mr Roger Wilford for y ^e use and Earth of an acre of Brickland twelve poundes.	12 0 0
February y ^e 5 th 1637. P ^d Mr Alderman Purchas for the earth of thirteene-score and eight thousand Bricks after 6 ^d the 1000"	6 10 0

analogous order on the same day, "At a Meeting held in the Master's Lodging at one of the clocke in the afternoone." (Ibid. A. 160.)] By Act of Parliament, May 30, 1823, 4 George IV. (Private Acts for that year, p. 181), the mutual tenancy of these two pieces was terminated by an exchange between the two Colleges. Clare obtained Butt Close, containing 2a. 2r. 34p., and King's the small piece at the angle of Clare, 70 × 50 feet, together with the White Horse Inn in Trumpington Street. [Two papers that appeared in the course of the controversy are printed at the end of this history, Appendix No. 1. They illustrate the state of College feeling at the time, and incidentally give many interesting particulars about the two Colleges. Butt-close seems to have been the perquisite of the servants of King's College, for in 1662 Dr Barnabas Oley gave £10 to two "Grooms" of King's College, Francis Crosby and John Cowin, "who were prejudiced by y^e College haveing p^t of the Buttclose" (Clare Hall Accounts, p. 96): and in 1669, when the west front of the College was being built £3 was paid "To widdow Coale for y^e use of y^e green to lay our timber on, w^{ch} she hires of y^e grooms of King's Coll." Ibid. p. 110.]

¹ [On the first leaf are these words, "Incipit hic liber cum Anno (et quod melius est cum Deo opt^o. Max^o.) Die Januarii primo. Anno Dni 1635." There are also several texts suitable to the occasion, which may possibly have been chosen with the idea of inscribing them on some part of the new building—such as "*Nisi Dominus ædificaverit domum*" etc. Psalm 127. 1; "*Venite et ædificemus muros Jerusalem*," Nehemiah 2. 17; "*Tempus destruendi et tempus ædificandi*," Eccles. 3. 3, and others.]

"July 17, 1637. To M^r Humphrey and M^{rs} Cutchey for their
2 p^{ts} of y^e acre of land the use and earth whereof I only
before hired of M^r Wilford, but now have bought their
shares for ever for the Coll." 16 00 00

Afterwards, apparently during the building of the East
Range, the old practice was returned to, and we find

"May 31, 1641. To W^m King of Ely uppon a bargayne of
Forty thousand Ely Bricks to be delverd halfe to Kinges
Colledge halfe into Clare hall betwixt this and the First
of Aug^t next six score to y^e 100 and ten Hundreth to y^e
Thousand Ten poundes" 10 00 00

During the same period, oak timber, "Ashpoles for levers
and hookepinnes," elmpoles "to Scaffold wth all," lath and
hart-lath¹, were laid in, and Edward Woodroofe was sent
"to Lin about the Buying of Waynscot, Deale, and Firre."
Ashlar² and "Block-stone" from Ketton and Weldon, clunch
from Haslingfield, slate from Colly-Weston, pebbles, sand, etc.
were also purchased. On April 18, 1638, Mr Welby was sent
to buy 20 "fother" of lead in Derbyshire³. This was cast
away in its water passage, and John Westley, the master-mason,
was sent to Lynn to enquire after it. Salvage was paid for
it, and it arrived June 6, 1639, two-thirds of its value having
been expended on its recovery⁴. The whole sum laid out upon
lead was £376 13s. 1d.

¹ Accounts, p. 16.

² Ashlar cost 4s. 4d. the ton. Ibid. p. 36.

³ "Aprill the 18, 1638. To M^r Welby to buy Lead in Darby-
shire Three score poundes 60 . 00 . 00.

May the 19th 1638. Sent M^r Welby more to pay for twenty
Fother of Leade at £9. 6 . 8. the fother, the sum of 140 . 00 . 00.
One hundreth & Forty poundes"

⁴ Accounts, p. 24. "Oct. 2. 1638 M^r Stones sent a messenger
wth tidings fro Dautry that this 20 futher of Lead was cast
away, and 10 Futher for Jesus Coll. p^d the messenger 00 . 7 . 00

— To John Westley uppon accounts when he went to Lynne
to enquire after the Lead & Recouer it 3 . 06 . 00

Aprill 1. 1639. To M^r Lincolne of Jesus Coll for Charges
of y^e Admiralls Court & Salvage 16 . 6 . 8

Apr. 24 to John Hardy of Saltfleet Haven by Rich. Hardy
his brother for pt of charges for Recovery of o^r Lead cast
away" 24 . 0 . 0

Other charges for the recovery of this lead amounted to . 30 . 19 . 5

Total. 274 . 19 . 1

The accounts before the Restoration are kept in such a manner that it is very difficult to discover upon what part of the building work is being carried on. From incidental allusions however it appears that the East Range, and the Bridge, were first undertaken: and next the South and West Ranges¹.

The following extracts from the accounts refer to the East Range, [which is proved to have been begun in the first week of May 1638, from the first payment to masons being on May 5 for part of the previous week; and the first payment to John Westley, "uppon accountes for the agreement of y^e worke for the Bulding," is also made on May 5. At this time too the purchase of lime begins.] It was exactly three years in building, for on May 27, 1641, the glazier receives the last payment, making £28. 10s. in all, which "doth fully discharge all worke done about the first Range."

"Apr: 28. [1638.] To George Woodroofe, for cutting Two Faces of Lyons upon y ^e Pedestall of y ^e Gate ²	00	4	0
Augt 22. 1638. To George Woodroofe for cutting the Picture y ^e standes on y ^e inside of y ^e Gate ³	00	04	00
Febr: 9. [1638 ³ .] To George Tonson toward the Gate Finishing ⁴	3	0	0
" To George Woodroofe for carving 4 Corinthian Heads	02	02	00
July 16. [1639.] To Grumball after setting upp the Gate	00	02	06
Augt. 17. [1639.] P ^d Richardson for turning a Glope at East end of y ^e Bulding	0	01	00
[July 18, 1640—April 1. 1641.] Money payd the plumber for Covering y ^e Gatehouse ⁵	1	17	0
[June 5. 1641.] To Kendall for Leadworke in y ^e East Range"	00	04	00

[The new chambers having been completed, the old east range was pulled down. Part of it had been already destroyed in 1639 and 1640, as we find on Sept. 14, 1640, "To Wright for taking downe y^e east end—5. 01. 06.⁶;" and that the new stone-work had been completed about the same time is proved by a payment of £1 to three labourers "for Clensing y^e King's Coll. Chappell yard" on Nov. 21, 1640⁷. We next however meet with the following entry:

¹ [For facility of reference I have drawn up a chronological table of the dates of the building of the different parts of the College such as I find Professor Willis had prepared for some others. It will be found at the end of the history.]

² Accounts, p. 20.

³ Ibid. p. 41.

⁴ Ibid. p. 44.

⁵ Ibid. p. 25.

⁶ Ibid. p. 64.

⁷ Ibid. p. 53.

"12 July 1641. To Fra: Wright uppon a Bargaine of xx shill :
for pulling down y^e east end of the old Colledge¹" 01 00 00

The old walls however remained till after the new gate was finished in 1673, in which year occurs the following²:

"June 24. to Andr. Haslop his bill for worke about y^e old
building at y^e end of y^e Chappell, & pulling down y^e old
walls and Gates next y^e street, with two thousand of tiles" 011 19 00

The first entry no doubt refers to part of the old south range, which would of course interfere with the proposed new buildings. It was probably at about this time that the temporary Porter's lodge was erected at the east end of the Chapel (fig. 4): and a door made next the Chapel into the street.]

While this work was proceeding, that of building the Bridge that was to connect the College with the newly acquired Butt Close, and of laying down a Causeway thence with a second Bridge into the fields beyond, had been undertaken. In reference to this we find³:

"Jan. 14. 1638—9. To Mealing uppon a Bargaine of a Causey	00 03 06
Oct. 19—26. 1639. [Labourers are paid] for Heightning y ^e Causey & Takeing downe p ^t of the old Coll. in 8 ^{br}	2 14 09
Nov. 12. Halyt for work at y ^e further Bridge	00 02 04
Nov. 13. To M ^r Coventry for 2680 Ely Bricks for the litle Bridge	01 18 00
20 Apr. 1640. For Cutting downe 40 willowes Heades to Lay in the Causey"	00 03 02

The next entries illustrate the history of the Bridge itself.

"Jan. 18. 1638—9. To Tho: Grumball for a Draught of a Bridge	00 03 00
March 4. „ to Richard Chamberlayne in p ^t of a Bargaine for the Gates and Bridges into and out of K. Coll. Butclose	60 00 00
Febr. 1. 1639—40. To Grumbald for working y ^e Rayle and Ballisters xl. shill. Febr. 8 th 40 shill. Febr. 22. 45s.	06 05 00
Nov. 16. 1640. To . . . for filling up the Core of y ^e Bridge"	00 06 06

[The accounts for the Bridge are kept more separate than the others at this time. Still it is difficult to be sure when they end, and the charges for other work begin. After careful investigation I compute that the total cost was about £284. 13s. 8d.]

¹ Accounts, p. 64. ² Ibid. p. 118. ³ [Accounts, fol. 62—64. See also pp. 47, 48.]

[The College walks were not laid out till 1691, when we find "The Account of money expended in building y^e northside wall of y^e walke beyond y^e Bridge, and for freestone copeings at the gate into y^e Close and turne Pike, digging and carryage of Earth and Gravell to raise y^e walke, and for planting trees¹." These gates, of wood, are shewn in Loggan's view a little to the west of the Bridge. His plan shews also the bowling-green, occupying the southern half of the ground between the College and the river (fig. 1). The present iron gates were put up in 1714, as is shewn by the following College Order, dated July 20, 1714:

"That a convenient iron-palisade and gates for the gardens, gates for the bridge-foot and entrance into the College, (such as shall be approved by the Master and as many of the fellows of the old-foundation as shall be resident in College) shall be set up."]

The south range had also been in building since the summer of 1640, when stone for the plinth was bought: and the first payment to John Westley the builder was £20 on July 4. It took rather more than two years to build, as the following extracts shew. By the spring of 1641 it was ready for the wood-work, but it was not glazed until August 1642, and the plumbers' work was certainly not finished before Christmas.

"To Frisby July 17 1640. uppon accounts for plinth & Ground-table for y ^e South Range Ten poundes	10	0	0
p ^d Gilby for Fitting y ^e Battlements & For stone ²	0	2	6
October the 12 th 1640. To Nicolas Litle for Irō Barres for the South windowes the lowest story or Ground chambers	05	00	00
Nov. 16 1640. To Fra: Wright (upon a Bargayne of x ^{li} for the first flore South Range & Studydes and dores and partitions) ³	10	0	0
17 Aprill 1641. To Kendall in p ^t uppon a Bargaine of x ^l for casting and laying all the Lead on the south Range & all spouts ⁴	1	0	0
29. Apr. 1641. To Fra: Wright upon a Bargayne of 75 ^{li} for all the Carpenters worke compleate in the South Range fiteene poundes and Ten poundes ⁵	25	0	0
Dec. 2. 1642. To Daud Blisse for paynteing y ^e chamber in y ^e South Range next to M ^r Watts ⁵	00	15	00
Augt the 8 th . 1642. payd Daniel Malden uppon accountes for Glazing the South Range (by his wife) Five poundes	5	0	0

¹ [Accounts, p. 164. On this was expended £138 . 01 . 07.]

² Ibid. p. 75.

³ Ibid. p. 64.

⁴ Ibid. p. 25.

⁵ [Ibid. p. 84. From a list of "Ingresses received" we learn that Mr Watts occupied "the corner chamber next King's College Chapel."]

Nov. 12. 1642. payd him in full discharge of all the worke done in the 4 chambers of the South Range next the east R ^d of Mr Oley, Novembr 12. 1642 Fitty shillings and I promise with all Speed to make an end of all the plummers worke y ^t is to be done about the new Built South Range in Clare hall for other three poundes and to do it very well and sufficiently before the feast of y ^e nativity of X ^t next comeng. I say so.	1 10 0
John Kendall ¹	2 10 0

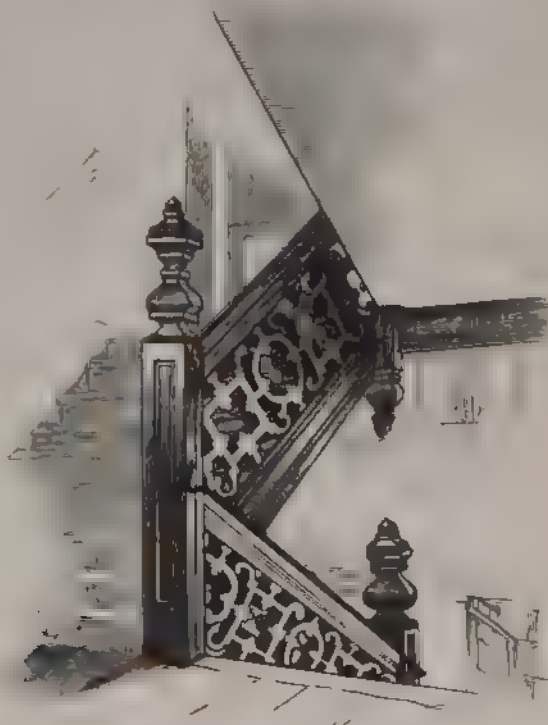


Fig 6 Staircase in the centre of the South Range

In the middle of the south range is an excellent and unique specimen of a staircase² (A, fig. 1, fig. 6), probably part of Wright's work in 1641. [In this part of the College temporary accom-

¹ Accounts, p. 86.

² [It has been engraved in *Studies from Old English Mansions*, by C. J. Richardson, folio, London, 1842. Ser. 2, Page 8.]

modation was provided for the Master, before the Lodge was built, as is shewn by Loggan, who designates it "*Magistri hospitium*:" and this staircase may have been designed to give the Master a more dignified access to his apartment.]

The foundation of the west range was also begun at the same time as that of the south range, for on Jan. 30, 1640, we find the heading "West Range" for the first time in the accounts, and small payments amounting in all to £2. 7s. are made to Westley and others "for Rammeing the Foundations¹." No farther progress however at that part is recorded at that time.

Nothing occurs to shew who made the design for the building. John Westley was the builder: Francis Wright the carpenter; and Thomas Grombald and his son, William Grombald and his son, George Tonson, Aristotle Drew, and others, appear as working masons, receiving daily wages. The work was carried on either by that system, or by small bargains for particular jobs, as will be seen by some of the extracts from the accounts already quoted². The sums thus agreed upon were usually paid by instalments, and the workman either signed his name or made his mark under the entry of the payment in the accounts. John Westley died in 1656, and it then became necessary to have a settlement with his widow. From this, which was drawn up by Barnabas Oley, and is dated 14 August, 1656, we learn that

"He (John Westley) was to sett the Battlements, and to plaster all the needfull work in all y^e Roomes, y^t is all, that were not to be wanscoted. By *all the needfull work* (in the lynes above) I understand, y^t John Westley was to plaster all the upper and all the under Roomes and all the two middle Ranges of Chambers that were not covered wth wainscot." [Signed] Barnabas Oley³.

¹ Accounts, p. 55.

² To these the following may be added. Ibid. p. 60.

"November the 28 1641. To Aristotle Drue & Rob^t Heath
uppon a Bargayne of Eighteene pounds for paueing the
Eastend of y^e Chappell and facing the white wall where
the Arras Hange 00 . 10 . 00"

³ [Ibid. p. 91. Dr Oley left by will £10 "to the children or grandchildren of John Westley that good workman that built the Colledge ... not as restitution for any fraud done to him, but for my fear that my omission to state his accounts exactly before the Colledge (I mean the Fellows) before I was forced away by the warrs, was

Moreover, an agreement had been made with him as follows¹:

“There was Due (by agreement) to John Westley for the South Range, and a Brick wall in King’s Colledge Close from Bridge to Bridge	} 600 00 00
There was due to him in equitie as I Conceive (though not agreed on) for his care, work, and setting the Bridge	} 50 00 00”

These sums he seems to have received by small instalments beginning with £20 on July 4, 1640, as stated above.

[The building was interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War, and the materials got ready were seized by the Parliament Party, to strengthen the fortifications of Cambridge Castle². The authority of Cromwell having been established, the College petitioned him to indemnify them, and assessed their loss at £503. 6s. 6d., being £275. 1s. 6d. for the value of the timber taken away, and £228. 5s. for damage sustained from March 31, 1642—March 31, 1654. He referred their petition to Lazarus Seamon, Vice-Chancellor, and two others, who certified to the fairness of the demand³. During the negotiations, which seem to have been protracted, they intimated their willingness to take £350, having ascertained that that sum was in the hands of the Treasurer for Hertfordshire⁴. What they finally obtained cannot now be known, but that some restitution was made is certain from the following account of an interview between Mr Tillotson and Cromwell. Tillotson, who was then Fellow of the

prejudicial to him. I left the accounts in the Colledge of all my Receipts and Layings out to be examined and considered, but I fear some were not so carefull as they should have been to have weighed things as they might have done, and therefore I did something out of my own purse to his wife and children. And I wish I was able to do more.” MSS. Baker, xvi. 191.]

¹ Accounts, p. 90, headed “The accounts betwixt Clarehall and the widdow Westley stated by mee. B. Oley.”

² [Querela Cantabrigiensis, 1685, p. 193. Fuller, p. 325. Cooper’s Annals, iii. 340. Birch’s Life of Tillotson, 1752, p. 402. Tillotson’s friend and former pupil, who writes this part of his life, says that “he obtained a thousand pounds to be paid out of the Exchequer to the college for wood and stone prepared for carrying on its building, but seized by the parliament-party towards fortifying the Castle at Cambridge in the time of the war.” When Evelyn visited Cambridge in Sept. 1654 he remarks of this College “Clare-Hall is of a new and noble designe, but not finish’d.” “Diary,” ed. Bray, 8°. 1827, ii. 95.]

³ [Appendix, No. 2.]

⁴ [Draft petition, preserved in the College Library. Lazarus Seamon, Master of Peterhouse, was Vice-Chancellor, 1653—4.]

College, held the office of Tutor in the family of Prideaux, Cromwell's Attorney General: and had probably been instructed to lose no opportunity of pleading the cause of his House. He wrote as follows to Dr Dillingham, Master, on Dec. 22, 1656.]

"Honored Sir,

I was seuerall times since I came to London at White Hall but could not speake wth his Highnes hee being then in a course of Physick. On Fryday last M^r Attorney Gen. was pleased to carry mee thither & bring mee to him. I deliu'd y^e Letter, w^{ch} hee read carefully once and againe, & recited to M^r Attorney y^t clause *Nulli tamen libentius agnoscunt quam gens togata p'sertim Academica* & sayd to him M^r Att upon y^e words *gens togata* yo^u y^e Lawyers might haue come in for y^e most thankefull people if *p'sertim Academica* had not hindered yo^u. When hee had made an end of reading lookeing very pleaseingly hee came to mee, and walked downe towards y^e lower end of y^e roome & sayd S^r I take this acknowledgem^t from y^e Colledge very kindly, & am glad I had an opportunity to do yo^r Colledge y^t favor; I pray p^{nt} my service to yo^r Master and Fellowes, & tell them I giue them thanks for their thanks & tell y^m they shall find mee ready to embrace all opportunityes of showing favor to y^e Uniursityes and in particular to yo^r Colledge and Society & I pray let y^m know thus mush frō mee'...

In 1656 a general sum of the building Accounts from the beginning was drawn up with the following conclusion²:

"R ^d from Benefactors, Materials, Ingresses &c. ...	3650 . 10 . 11
Layings out	5300 . 12 . 08
So the expenses exceed the Receipts	1650—01—09"

which difference was principally taken out of the College stock.

After the Restoration the accounts become more intelligible: headings to the pages inform us of the nature of the work, and memoranda are added in explanation.

In 1662, under the mastership of Dr Dillingham, the wall from the bridge to the field was built and part of the inside next the Court of the west building. About £400 was spent, and apparently the work was then suspended for the time³. Amongst other entries the following payments occur:

"To Aristot. Drew freemason for working y ^e Pedestalls & capitalls on each side y ^e gateway, and 112 foot and half of watertable	007. 17. 04
--	-------------

¹ [The letter is preserved in the College Library.]

² Accounts, p. 92.

³ Ibid. p. 104.

To Parker y^e bricklaid for raising y^e eastside wall of
 y^e west building being 7 pole and half in length and
 10 foot high at 24s. y^e pole 009 . 00 . 00"

[This shews that rather more than the whole of the eastern wall, namely, 123 ft. 9 in., of the inside of the Court (BC, fig. 1) was at any rate commenced at that time.]

CHAPTER IV.

WORKS EXECUTED from 1669 to 1715:

Hall. Combination Room. Lodge. Subsequent Changes.

IN 1669 the work was resumed and carried on to 1676. It consisted of the building "of y^e part of y^e West Range abutting upon the bowleing Green, and adjoyneing to y^e South Range, and extending to y^e walke leading up to y^e bridge, being two chambers of a flore." This was the same part for which the foundation had been commenced in 1640, and part of the inside wall built ten feet high in 1662. The present work, however, included the south half of the river front (IK, fig. 1), the design of which belongs to this period, and not to that of the south and east ranges, from which it altogether differs.

They began to clear the foundation on April 19, 1669, and one pound was paid on the 24th of April, "to Jackson for his journey hither to surveigh y^e building." Then follows on May 15th, "to R. Grumbold y^e free-Mason and Bradwell his Partner and y^e Sawyers y^e first bill £4—12—05." A series of similar entries occurs concluding with Nov. 20, 1669, "To Grumball his 27th and last bill," which finishes the building as far as the walls are concerned¹. Grumbold, or Grumball, had

¹ Accounts, p. 114. Some of the items are curious: e.g.

"May 29. To Simon Wise ... for 6 mullions containing 27 feet in length, at 10^d. y^e foot..... 1 . 2 . 6.

Oct. 15. To Simeon Wise for 16 feet and 8 inches of y^e great cornish at 3s. the foot, it being brought by cart, and 1^d to y^e carters for beare, in all 002—11—00." This cornice was for the river front.

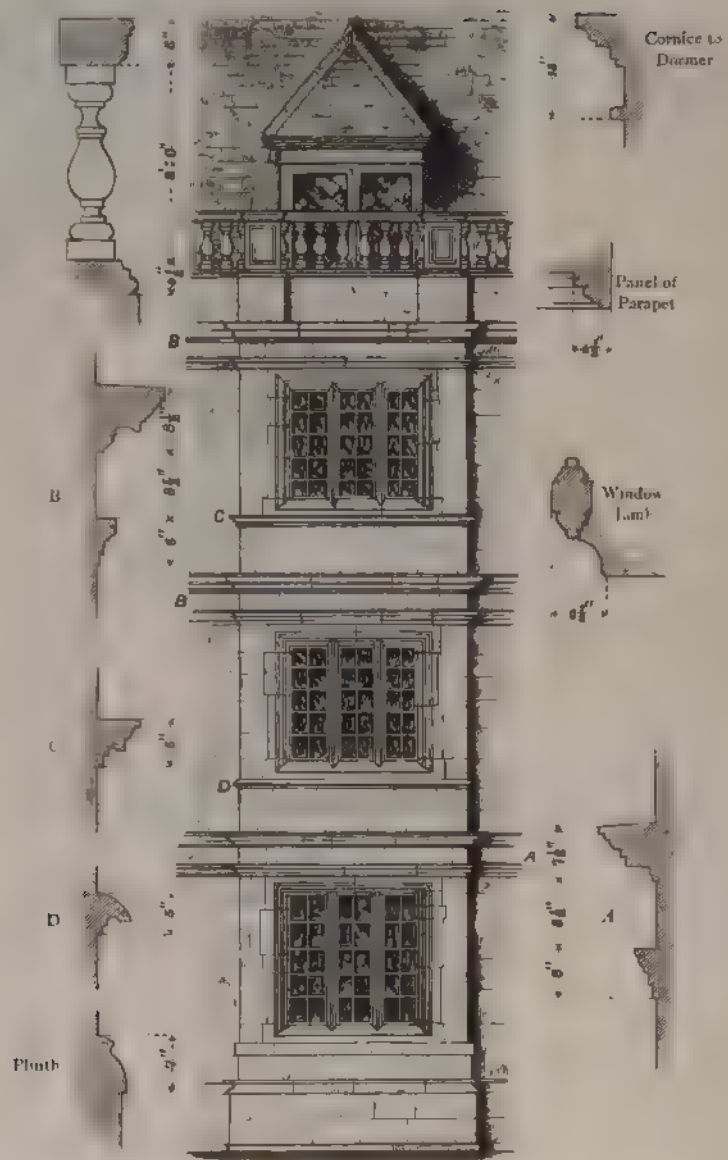


Fig. 7. Elevation of one bay of the east side of the west range of Clare Hall, in its present state.

therefore taken John Westley's place as builder, but there is still no mention of the person who made the design: unless Mr Jackson the "surveyor" be supposed to have performed that office, such being the name which architects bore in those days. After Grumball's last bill¹, the accounts go on with minor works, until Ap. 15, 1671, when £6. 1s. 9d. is paid to Andrew Haslop for 2 weeks "about stripping y^e end of the south building not finished:" and on Oct. 25, 1671, £7. os. 4d. "to Rob. Grumbold for y^e chimney peices, transums for y^e end windows of y^e South Range, schroles, etc." Now the south range, built as we have seen in 1640, extended completely to the river front, as its lateral walls and construction shew, and the south side next to King's College is therefore completed according to the original design. But the west gable (IJ, fig. 1) formed part of the line of the river front, and the above entries shew that this was now worked upon and altered with new windows to suit the new design of that front (fig. 9), which is ingeniously contrived so as to accommodate itself at the angle to the ancient lines of tabulation.

The south and east sides, although built in the reign of Charles the First, are of the style called Jacobean in the gateways, and the windows are nearly medieval, with three and two lights alternately. The heads of these lights are even pointed, but they have no transom. Lastly, the walls are crowned with battlements. [A reproduction of part of Loggan's view of the court side of the west range (fig. 8) illustrates this, but the whole composition will be better understood from the accompanying elevation of one bay of the same range, with its moldings (fig. 7), as it appears at present.] In the river-front however the windows have Italian dressings; namely, a pediment and a straight arch beneath it with three massive rustic voussoirs, and when originally constructed they had a central monial also crossed by a single transom. A regular Ionic pilastrade occupies the two upper stories, and the wall is crowned with balustrades instead of battlements (fig. 9). The side of this west building next the court was built in exact conformity with the earlier

¹ "Nov. 20. 1669. To Grumball his 27th and last bill, and giuen
him to drinke 1st. and 6^d..... } 000 . 01 . 06.
003 . 09 . 08."

design, and its battlements were made by Grumbold May 13, 1671¹. In 1673 the piers next the street were built, and hung with new wooden gates two years afterwards².

A summary at this time shews that they had expended from April 19, 1669 to May 16, 1676, £1989. 19. 07; which exceeded the receipts by about £580. This sum was deducted from the "pes computi" at Michaelmas, 1678.

In 1679 a sum of £233. 16s. 4d. was expended "in finishing all y^e inner worke of y^e 12 Roomes belonging to y^e South-west Corner of y^e new building . . . till which time they were not inhabitable³."

The next work undertaken was the north range which was to include the Hall and its appurtenances. Subscriptions for this purpose began to be received in 1681. In 1683 (May 26), we find the digging of the foundation begun, and on July 27, Jo. Squire is paid for "taking down y^e Timber roofs and flores of y^e old building," that is, as much of the old Range as stood in the way⁴. In this year, to use the words of the contemporary

1 "May 13. 1671. p ^d . to Grumbold y ^e ffreemason his first bill for	
2 weeks worke about y ^e battlements next y ^e Court . . .	005 . 04 . 04
May 20. p ^d . to Grumbold a 2 ^d . bill for worke about y ^e Battlements on y ^e Court side	002 . 14 . 00"
2 "May 23 1672. Blocke-stone...for y ^e Pillars next y ^e street ...	007 . 17 . 00
Ap. 22 1673. Grumbold ... for worke about y ^e Pillars next y ^e street	025 . 00 . 00
Jan. 24 1674. Timber for the Street Gates.	004 . 01 . 04
July 1 1675. to Manners y ^e joyner his bill for 11 Norway planks for Bilexions for y ^e Street Gate	002 . 15 . 00
Aug. 13 p ^d . to Peirce y ^e Carver for Roses, Festoons & other worke about y ^e Gates	001 . 10 . 00

[At the same time the low walls were built which used to bound the walk from the Gate to the Court on either side. They are shewn in Loggan's print: and their profile may still be seen on the eastern wall of the College (fig. 1)].

Sep. 16. 1673. to Haslop his bill for worke about y ^e walls next y ^e street and y ^e crosse wall up to y ^e Colledge.	014 . 19 . 05
Oct. 21. p ^d to Brierley y ^e Smith his first bill for iron worke about y ^e Gate	001 . 04 . 03
Dec. 4. p ^d to Jo. Manning... for 219 feet of copeing for y ^e walls next y ^e street redde scapled	012 . 15 . 06"

³ Accounts, p. 132. The twelve rooms consist of the four stories of rooms at the west end of the old south building in addition to the eight rooms contained in the west building of 1669.

⁴ [At the head of the accounts for the "New Hall and Buttery" (p. 136) it is

writer¹ of the account book, "we laid y^e foundation of y^e walls for y^e hall & butterys, & brought them within 3 or 4 courses of bricks as high as y^e free stone is first laid; and so covered them with hame & earth secure from frosts, and we had a good stocke of freestone and new bricks (for y^e old materialls were all first spent in y^e foundations) reddey for worke when we found ourselues able to goe on, w^{ch} was in 1685 & 1686. Our stocke of



Fig. 8 Central portion of the west range, from the inside of the court, after Logan.

bricks for feare of losse by y^e frorsts was sold, & y^e money good to bye new when we were sure to use them²."

stated that "y^e recetts of money began in 1681 and continued till Lady Day 1689. The expences began in y^e yeare 1682, and continued till y^e beginning of y^e yeare 1689." This fixes exactly the date of the building of the north side of the Court.]

¹ [Dr Samuel Blythe, Master (1678-1713), and a great benefactor. He died Ap 19, 1713. MSS. Cole. ii 11.]

² About this time (20 Feb. 1685) Dr Barnabas Oley died. In his will (dated 23 May, 1684), he bequeathed "100 marks English money to be laid out in building a Library in the North Range from one end to the other upon the ground; the Hall at the West end, above the Library; the Chappell at the East end above

Meanwhile (Sep. 9. 1684), Robert Grumbold was paid "for looking after y^e laying and raiseing of the foundation in 1683. & for drawing a designe for y^e building fifty shillings¹." Thus we have the author of this part of the work at least, and its style is very different from that of the two previous portions, the original namely, and the river front. No attempt is made to unite this side with the other by continuation of lines or levels. It is surmounted by a regular entablature proportioned to the block pilasters upon which it rests, and this abuts at each end against the walls of the chambers. In other respects, however, the composition possesses great ability. It is so contrived as to retain enough of the earlier work to avoid glaring incongruities. But to this subject I shall return in a future chapter, my proper subject at present being the history, and not the characteristics, of architecture.

On Feb. 23, 1685, "preparations were begun to proceed in y^e building . . . and Labourers sett to worke to uncover y^e walls and digg y^e Cellars, and open foundations for y^e bricke pillars;" and on June 18, 1687, Grumbold was paid "twenty four pounds for working and setting all y^e stone Railes and Ballisters over y^e New Hall and Butteries." Thus we have the beginning and end of the wall work. The accounts shew that Robert Grumbold, the Architect, was also the Master Mason, and was paid 20s. a week for supervising the workmen. The College found all materials. The Roof of the Hall and Combination Chamber (over the Butteries) was slated in 1686 and 1687, and Mr David Fyfield of London contracted to do all the plaster work in 1687 and 1688, in which year the windows were glazed². Cornelius Austin, whose name so often occurs at this time in Cambridge, wainscotted the Hall in 1688 and 1689³;

the Library; and nothing above the Hall or Chappell." Yet this distribution of these apartments is wholly different from that which was actually commenced the year before his will was made. In the margin of his will he added "This 100 marks I have also payd . . . Accounts, p. 140

¹ The total expenditure on the Hall and Butteries as audited April 18, 1689, was £2084 11s 6d Accounts, p. 152

² "March y^e 4th 1688. paid to Cornelius Austin in part for y^e wainscott in y^e new Hall ninety pounds 090 . 00 . 00
March y^e 28. 1689. paid in full to Corn: Austin thirty seven pounds one shilling, for y^e wainscott on both sides y^e new

and the Combination Room¹, which Cole² styles "y^e best proportion'd Room in y^e whole University," and which is certainly a remarkably handsome work of its kind, in June of the latter year³.

The Hall and Butteries occupy about three quarters of the north side. Of the remainder, including the Kitchen with the Library over it, we are told that on "Apr. y^e 29th, 1689, we first began to open y^e ground, in order to lay all y^e foundations, not laid before, & then continued to finish y^e Kitchin, & cover it securely from all winde and weather." The roof was in fact slated in the following October, but the Library over it was not fitted up for many years afterwards, and probably the floor was not laid⁴. Loggan's view, published in 1689 or 1690, represents the whole Quadrangle clear and complete, whereas it wanted at that time all the northern half of the west side, and had the old Hall standing in the middle of it⁵. But he mentions below that the west side was not

Hall at 7s. per yard square, and for y^e wainscott at y^e upper end, and on both sides y^e Screen, at 9s. per yard square, also in full for y^e carved Corinthian heads of y^e

Pillers, w^{ch} cost 16th..... 037 . 01 . 00"

¹ "July y^e 31th 1689. paid in full to Cornelius Austin for y^e Combination Wainscott being 248 yards square at 9s. y^e yard, also for carving y^e Architraue, bedmolding, and cornish, being together 116 feet long at 1s. 6d. y^e foot, also for materialls and worke of 5 sash window frames, at 3th. 10s. 0d. for each window, also for hinges to y^e 3 doors, and for y^e Railes and Banisters over y^e Screen.....97 . 15 . 00." Previous payments amounting to £50 . 0 . 0 made a total of £147 . 15 . 0. Accounts, p. 158.

² MSS. Cole, ii. 12.

³ [The following items, referring to this work, are interesting. Accounts, p. 150.]

"Octob. y^e 3^d. 1687. paid to M^r Francis Percy, for Carveing worke about y^e Cupulo and stare-case..... 005 . 10 . 00
 Novemb. 2^d. 1687. p^d to M^r Percy for carving y^e Colledge Coat of Arms in a stone sheild over y^e new hall doore..... 001 . 00 . 00
 Aug. y^e 6th 1688. paid to James Blisse his bill for painting in Oyle y^e window barrs, also about y^e Cupulo, y^e Garrett windows, the Eaves on y^e north side and for guilding y^e Fane on y^e Cupulo..... 004 . 18 . 06"

⁴ [The cost of this piece of building, as audited on May 9, 1690 (Accts. p. 162), was £978 . 02 . 00½; to which may be added £343 . 00 . 08 (Ibid. p. 168) for fittings and other work, spent in 1692, 1693, and 1694, making a total of £1321 . 02 . 08½. The tables and forms cost £37 . 19 . 06.]

⁵ The following entries (Accounts, p. 168) shew that the greater part of the old Hall was retained: though a payment of £2 . 2 . 0 on Oct. 24, 1640, to Philip Hall and others "for taking p^t of y^e Old Hall" (Accounts, p. 53) indicates that a portion, probably that which abutted on the south range, had been pulled down before.

complete, and was only represented by the engraver as it was intended to be finished¹. It will be remarked that the Combination windows in this engraving are latticed, but the Library windows are bare openings. Four years passed before the buildings were furnished and ready for use; when the new Hall was inaugurated by a banquet on April 20, 1693².

“Incomes allowed to y ^e College w ^{ch} are paid in by	M ^r Tho: Henchman for his Chamber, w ^{ch} was late y ^e Combination dining room	006 . 00 . 00
	M ^r Herne for y ^e late Hall now made a chamber { for a study for his Pupill Morgan	002 . 00 . 00
	{ for a study for his pupill Cardell	002 . 00 . 00
	M ^r Rich. Laughton for y ^e late Combination, with hange- ings, chaires, and tables	015 . 00 . 00
	M ^r Whiston for y ^e Chamber (late y ^e buttry) for his pupill Whadcocke Preist	003 . 00 .
	of M ^r Herne for his Pupill Newton, y ^e Income of y ^e 3 ^d . study in y ^e old Hall	002 . 00 . 00

June y^e 23. 1693. paid to James Disbrow his bill for lathes,
nailes, haire, mortar and worke in making up y^e Partitions
in y^e late Hall, butteries and Combination then turned into
Chambers

06 . 02 . 05

June y^e 30. 1693. paid Geo. Brierleys Smiths bill for lockes,
and keyes and crosse garnettes for y^e doors in y^e late hall,
Butteries, and new Paper Office, [etc.]

03 . 15 . 08”

¹ Loggan says, at the bottom of his view of the Hall, in which the west side of the court also is drawn in perspective: “Cæterum quod opus est, de hac structurâ (versus occasum) cessat in præsentia; hoc autem complevit Artificis Chalcographi manus quidem munifica.”]

² [The accounts for that year (p. 166) furnish us with what Professor Willis calls “a delicious record of the College feasts of those times.” I transcribe the items having reference to it. The total shews that the entertainment was more than usually splendid.]

“April y ^e 20. 1693. a Treatment of our Benefactors at the first opening of our new hall y ^e charge of which was as follows, May y ^e 5 1693. to Ch: Bumstead for y ^e use of peuter at y ^e treat		01 . 18 . 06
May y ^e 11. 93. pd. Henry Green his Cookes bill for all his provisions at y ^e dinner.....		29 . 01 . 00
— 13. 93. paid Edw: Huckes bill for 3 choristers, tabacco, sugar, knives, linnen, glasses, pipes, etc.....		02 . 03 . 00
June y ^e 30. 1693. paid Edw: Huckes bill for Beer, bread and cheese upon account of this treat		07 . 18 . 08
Octob: 12. allow for Canary and white Port wine to M ^r Rob: Herne w ^{ch} he paid to M ^r Hinton.....		02 . 02 . 00
— 24 paid to M ^r Herne for so much of a hogshead of red- Port as was then spent.....		10 . 11 . 03
Total		53 . 14 . 05”

The unfinished part of the west range which was reserved for the Master's Lodge was "begun in pursuit of an Order of y^e Society bearing date April 5, 1704" in May 1705¹, and completed apparently in the autumn of 1707, though the accounts were not audited until July 1708, when it appeared that the building had cost up to that time £1508.03.11. On Jan. 21, 1709, an order of the Society directed that the finishing and



Fig. 9. River front, shewing the original design 1671, and the changes made in 1715 and 1811, reduced from a lecture diagram by Professor Willis.

fitting up should be undertaken. It was begun in February of that year, and apparently not completed until 1715, when the garden also was laid out². [It was fitted with sash windows in 1719, as the following order shews ;

"April 18, 1719. We have also agreed that the side of the College next the Fellows garden be sash'd, and the 2 arches in y^e said side be

¹ [Accounts, p. 180.]

² 1715. "Dec. 3^d. P^o to Philips for making a draught of y^e Garden 1 1 6"

made up, and that the Master or his locum tenens and major part of y^e senior fellows present in College be impowered to agree and contract with y^e workmen for their several prices, and that the Chestkeepers or their deputies be impowered to issue mony for paying of y^e workmen out of y^e college chest."

The work done from 1709 to 1715 cost £2501. 15s. 9½d.¹]

Thus the Quadrangle was completed in seventy-six years from the beginning.

The last portion included the north half of the River front, which in design is a copy of the south. But during the interval between the building of the two halves the crossed mullion had been superseded by the sash. The new windows were accordingly not only fitted with sashes, but the mullions and transoms, or crosses, were cut out of the earlier portion. This is evident by inspection, for the jambs of these windows retain the marks of the insertion of the original transoms on the south half of



Fig. 10. Kitchen window

¹ Accounts, pp. 207, 211, 213. The following agreements (*ibid.* p. 188) give useful information concerning the progress of the Building.

"Mar 1 1705 6 Mr Grumbold's Proposals then made for Finishing the remaining Part of the New Building

Imprimis. For 150 foot of Rayle & Balaster on the west & east side of the new Building, to find Stone & Workmanship at 15 . p. foot

112 . 10 . 00

For finding Stone & Workmanship for the Stack of Chimneys

25 . 10 . 00

For the two Frontis-Pieces over the gate to find Stone & Workmanship

80 . 00 . 00

For finishings for the Pedestalls on the West Side .

3 . 10 . 00

For finishings over both the Gates .

10 . 00 . 00

For Clensing & tooming down the Work on both sides the New Building

5 . 10 . 00

237 . 00 . 00

the front, and on the north have evidently never been fitted with them. The original form of the windows was still farther interfered with in 1815 by cutting their sills down to a lower level, and thus destroying the characteristic pedestal form which they at first possessed'. [These changes will be best understood by the woodcut (fig. 9), which represents one compartment of the west front in the three stages. One window, on the north side of the kitchen, still preserves its original mullion and transom without alteration. A figure of it is here given (figs. 10, 11), with its moldings.]

The Gateway fronts on the court side and river side of the west Range, were also built by Grumbold at the same time as the Master's Lodge². Loggan's print (fig. 8) shews the archway decorated with a dressing that rises only

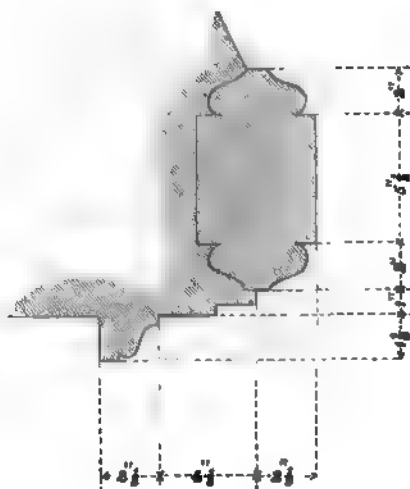


Fig. 11. Kitchen window

The College to find scaffolding, lime & sand, lead & Iron, & allowance for the Workmen in the Buttery's." It was agreed between M^r Grumbold and M^r Clarke the Bursar, on Mar. 9, 1705—6, that the work should be done for £220.

¹ [College Order Book. July 21, 1815. "Whereas the Window Frames on the West Side of the College have long been in a state of Decay, from the Effects of Time and the Weather, that new ones be put into the Windows according to the Plan best approved by the Master and resident Fellows in College: and as it would be advisable to lengthen the Windows on the Ground Floor, that the Plan and Estimate of M^r Tomson be approved of: and that the Opinion of an Architect be taken respecting the Lengthening of the Windows on the first Floor: leaving the ultimate decision upon any alteration to the Master and Resident Fellows in College." The builder employed was M^r Humfrey.] Harraden's view, published in 1809, shews these pedestals all along the river front.

² Cole gives the following account of the Lodge (1742): "The Master's Lodge lies on ye W. end of ye Quadrangle & contains one half of it or more, viz. from ye Division of it by ye Arch wch leads to ye Bridge quite to ye End of it towards Trinity Hall, & is a very good one being like ye Front to ye River, sashed: some of

to the sill of the window above it : [and which closely resembles that of the lower portion of the gate on the opposite side of the court. The upper story added by Grumbold, which is shewn in the view of the entire gate here given (fig. 12), was intended to harmonize with the style of his river front, described above and partly figured (fig. 9)].

On Sept. 28, 1762, it was agreed

“That the Battlements of the south and east sides of the Court be taken down, and Balustrades be put up in their stead ; and that the windows of the College, except those belonging to the Garrets, be glaz'd with crown glass, in such manner, and at such times, as shall be agreed upon by the Master and the resident Fellows¹.”

It may be presumed that it was upon occasion of the carrying out of this glazing that the arches, or hanse-heads, were cut out of the window-heads, which are now square at the top (figs. 7, 10).

CHAPTER V.

LIBRARIES AND PRESENT CHAPEL.

IT remains to speak of the Libraries and present Chapel of the College. We have already seen that the north side of the ancient quadrangle had a room next the roof, extending over the Chapel and other apartments, which was probably appropriated to the Library² from the building of the Chapel

these being too large for himself he lets out occasionally to Fellow-Commoners, particularly those over ye Arch & on ye right hand of it, in ye 1st floor of wch I lived 2 years by ye leave of my most respected and worthy friend Thomas Westerne Esq. of Rivenhall in ye County of Essex, then a Fellow Commoner in y^e College.” MSS. Cole, ii. 12.

¹ [College Order Book.]

² This is shewn in Loggan's view, where it is marked “Bibliotheca,” and in Cole's sketch already referred to (fig. 4).

in 1535. It was undergoing some great improvements and refittings in 1627 when the Duke of Buckingham, then Chancellor, visited the University, as shewn by a passage in one of Mr Joseph Mede's letters to Sir Martin Stuteville, where he tells his correspondent that

"Dr Pask [the Master], out of his familiaritie, must needs carrie him [the Duke] to see a new librarie they are building in Clare Hall, notwithstanding it was not yet furnished with books; but by good chance, being an open roome, 2 women were gotten thither to see his grace out at the windowes, but when the duke came thither were unexpectedly surprised.—'M^r doctor, quoth the duke (when he saw them) you have here a faire librarie, but here are 2 books not very well bound¹."

The bookcases, which are now in the present library, so exactly resemble those of S. John's Library which were made in 1623, that it is certain that the work in the old Library just alluded to consisted partly of fitting it up with the classes in question². On the other hand, the formation of the present Library over the Kitchen is not distinctly recorded in the College Books. We only know that its walls were built in 1689, and that when Cole wrote the following description³ in 1742 it was completed, and the old Library also was still in use.

"At the E. end of this [Combination] Room is y^e Library belonging to y^e Coll: having a Way into it from y^e Master's Lodge w^{ch} is y^e grand way up to it, & y^e common way from y^e Combination. This Library also is y^e most elegant of any in y^e University, being a very large well-proportion'd Room à la moderne, wth y^e Books rang'd all round it & not in Classes as in most of y^e rest of y^e Libraries in other Colleges. . . . The old Library is over y^e Chapel, & had they not one so much better, w^d not be reckoned a despicable one, being fitted up wth wainscote Classes on both sides, & has a great many good Books also in that which are separated from y^e rest, as being either not so valuable or in worse condition, consisting chiefly of Commentators: there is also a good Collection of Italian & Spanish Authors there."

The old Chapel, and with it the old Library, were pulled down in 1763, and the classes, which are most elegant specimens of their period, and have suffered little or no alteration,

¹ It is dated 10 Mar. 1626—7: and is printed with many others relating to the University in Heywood's Puritan Transactions, ii. 355.

² [See the chapter on College Libraries.]

³ MSS. Cole, ii. 11, dated Feb. 15, 1742.

were removed to the new Library, and arranged in the central space of the room, where they now stand.

[The two following College Orders shew that another room, besides the present one, once served the purposes of a Library after the original one over the Chapel had been destroyed¹. Some of the fittings of the still older one had apparently been placed in it for a time.

"May 14, 1818. That a plan and estimate of converting the Old Library into sets of Rooms for Undergraduates be laid before the Master and Fellows in College, and that if it meets with their Approbation it be put in Execution.

Nov. 26, 1818. 1. That the Room Rent of the Rooms lately fitted up in the Old Library be two pounds per quarter each.

2. That the shelves in the Classes removed from the Old Library be newly arranged; that the books which require binding be rebound, and the rest of them cleaned; and that a Catalogue of them be made and the Classes cleaned and varnished."

I am told that the "old Library" here referred to occupied the space over the present Hall: but it is not now known why it was so employed after the construction of the Library now in use.

It had been intended from the first to rebuild the Chapel on an extended scale in its old position: and Loggan's print shews the tothing of the wall at the north-east corner of the east range prepared for the junction of the Chapel to it. Want of funds however delayed the execution, or even the serious entertainment of this idea until 1734, when Edward Ward, Esquire, of Stoke Dayle, in the county of Northampton, having bequeathed five hundred pounds to the College "to be applied either to the rebuilding of their Chapel, or the augmentation of their Library, or to other purposes," it was agreed (Oct. 1) "that the said five hundred pounds be applied to the rebuilding of our College Chapel, being the Use first specified in the above Clause of his Will." The money was laid out in the purchase of Bank Stock, "to be applied, together with its produce (as soon as it can conveniently be done), to the above-mentioned purpose." Nearly

¹ [That the first Library had ceased to be so used as early as 1738 is proved by a College order of that year (Oct. 18) directing that "an apartment in the old Library be fitted up for the reception" of the goods of Dr Robert Greene deceased.]

thirty years however elapsed before the College found itself in a position to undertake the work. An unexpected legacy in 1763 occasioned the following Order :

"Jan. 18, 1763. Whereas our late Master Dr John Wilcox has by his Will bequeathed to the College the whole residue of his Fortunes towards building a new chapel, which, with former benefactions, it is thought may be sufficient for that purpose, it is agreed that the old chapel be pulled down, and a new one built with all convenient speed ; and that the whole work shall be carried on according to such directions as shall be given by the Master and major part of the resident Society."

By this bequest the College received £5348, which was increased by subscriptions to £7071. No time was lost in commencing the work : for the pulling down of the old Chapel was begun on Feb. 14 in the same year, and the first stone of the new one was laid on May 3 by Dr Goddard, Master of the College, then Vice-Chancellor¹, with the following prayer :

"*Faxit Deus ut sacrosanctum Ædificium lapide posito inchoatum feliciter assurgat, et tempore opportuno omnibus suis numeris et partibus expletum erigatur ; stetque diutissime elegantia sua et pulchritudine spectabile, in Dei Optimi Maximi gloriam et honorem, et Aulæ nostræ Clarensis decus et ornamentum. Amen.*"]

It was designed by Sir James Burrough, Master of Caius College, but he dying in 1764, three years before it was finished, it was completed by James Essex, who in fact appears from the accounts to have assisted from the beginning, and to have made the working drawings. It is a very favourable specimen of Burrough's architecture, in an Italian style of course, and the octagonal antechapel lighted from the cupola is an original feature. It was consecrated, in the presence of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, by Richard Terrick, Bishop of London², July 5, 1769. The whole expense was £7327. os. 3d., in which sum is included a gratification to the heirs of Sir J. Burrough of £21, and another of £200 to Mr Essex "for his

¹ [See the Cambridge Chronicle for April 30 and May 7, 1763. For an account of the cornerstone, which was laid at the north-east corner of the new building, see Chapter I., and for other particulars the Cambridge Portfolio, p. 191, where good views of the south elevation, and of the interior looking eastwards, are given. There is a view of the same, looking eastwards, by Mackenzie, in Ackermann, i. 35.]

² [Bishop of London, 1764—1777. He had been Fellow of the College.]

drawing of plans, measuring of work, and for all his other care and trouble about the building and finishing the Chapel¹."

[Very little alteration has taken place since the original construction. The roof is concealed by a handsome coved ceiling of stucco-work. The apsidal east end contains the original wooden altarpiece, consisting of four fluted Corinthian columns supporting an entablature and pediment. Beneath is a picture of the Annunciation by Cipriani, put up when the Chapel was built, at a cost of £100. The stalls, panelwork and organ gallery belong to the same period. The organ was brought from the Church of Honington in Lincolnshire. It has since been enlarged. The windows were filled in 1870 with stained glass by Wailes, in consequence of a bequest of Thomas Henry Coles, D.D., with the exception of the easternmost window on the south side, the glass for which had been previously given by the Rev. Joseph Power, M.A., Fellow and University Librarian.

Considerable alterations and improvements were made in the Hall in 1870—1872 under the direction of Sir M. Digby Wyatt, architect. The wood and stone carving were executed by Mr Thomas Phyffers. The principal works were an extremely beautiful ceiling of plaster, supported on iron girders; a large fireplace on the north side, ornamented with large oak figures, supporting a bust of the Foundress: and a wooden floor, with a dais in parquet-work for the high table. Stone panels, pierced with quatrefoils, were inserted into the lower part of the windows in order to provide some portion that could be opened; and plate glass was substituted above for the old square panes. The woodwork was at the same time enriched with arabesques and festoons of fruit and flowers, most skilfully introduced into the blank spaces in the pilasters and cornice, and the walls were tastefully decorated with patterns in colour. The cost of the whole was nearly £3500.]

[¹ When his name first occurs in the accounts Jan. 9, 1766, he is described as "M^r Essex (Carpenter)"]

Chronology of the Building of the existing College.

		Cost.
East Range.	May 1638—May 1641.	5300 . 12 . 08
Bridge.....	Jan. 1638, 9—Nov. 1640.	
South Range.	July 1640—Xmas 1642.	
West Range.		
Foundations laid.	Jan. 30, 1640—1.	2624 . 02 . 00
Work resumed, and E. wall raised 10 feet high.	1662.	
Work again resumed.	April 19, 1669.	
Stone work of Southern half finished.	Nov. 20, 1669.	
Battlements next the Court.	May, 1671.	
Woodwork and fittings.	1676.	1673.
Gates and Walls next the street.	1673.	
North Range.		
Hall, Combination Room, & Butteries, stonework	May 26, 1683—June, 1687.	2084 . 11 . 06
,, slating		
,, plastering,		
glazing, wainscotting	1686—7.	
	1687—1689.	
Kitchen and Library begun	April 29, 1689.	1321 . 02 . 08½
Formal opening of Hall	April 20, 1693.	
Walks and Avenue planted	1691.	138 . 01 . 07
West Range, Northern half, & Gates.		
Stonework	May, 1705—1707.	1508 . 03 . 11
Fittings	Febr. 1709—1715.	2501 . 15 . 09½
Battlements on S. and E. sides of Court	1762.	
replaced by Balustrades		
New Chapel.	1763—1769.	
Windows in S. half of W. front altered.	1815.	

Summary of Total cost.

East Range, South Range, Bridge.	5300 . 12 . 8
West Range.	6634 . 1 . 8½
North Range.	3405 . 14 . 2½
Avenue and Walks.	138 . 1 . 7
	<u>£15478 . 10 . 2½</u>

APPENDIX. No. I.

The Answer of Clare-Hall to certaine Reasons of Kings College touching Butt-close¹.

I. To the first we answer: 1^o. That y^e annoyance of y^e windes gathering betweene y^e Chappell and our Colledge is farre greater and more detriment to y^e Chappell, then any benefitt which they can imagine to receive by y^e shelter of our Colledge from wind and Sunne.

2^o. That y^e Colledge of Clare-hall being sett so neare as now it is, they will not only be sheltered from wind and sunne, but much deprived both of ayre and light.

3^o. That y^e removeall of Clare Hall 70 feet westward will take away little or no considerable privacy from their gardens and walkes: for y^e one of their gardens is farre remote, and y^e nearer fenced with a very high wall, and a vine spread upon a long frame, under which they doe and may privately walke.

II. To the second, not presuming to question the iudgement of former tymes, which were confined to their portion of ground: we answer y^e beauty of Kings Coll: Chappell is not pretended, but that it will be really advanced by y^e remoove of Clare-hall, as is obvious not only to men of skill, but to every ordinary and indifferent eye; and though y^e Founder meant to ioine his owne Colledge to his Chappell, yet no wise man will imagine, y^e his Highnes ever meant to ioine one flat side of his Colledge within 14 foot before the lights or porches of his Chappell, as part of Clare-Hall now stands.

III. To the third we say y^e convenience is mutuall; neither could we ayme wholly at our owne who did petition his Ma^{ty}. to settle such order, as might tend to y^e accommodation of both Colledges: and y^e by y^e remoove of our Colledge, and taking in y^e third part of Butt-close, our charge will be encreased £1000 at y^e least, whereas they are at little or no charge.

IV. To y^e fourth we say first, That though we should enjoy y^e same quantity of ground, after y^e remoove of our Colledge, yet y^e same being so little, and by these means so divided, the one part in y^e west and the other eastward of our Colledge; there would not in any competency be sufficient at either end for necessary use. And next, y^e we should not enjoy all y^e said ground, having offered a large part thereof unto them for the enlargement of their Chappellyard, and farrer accesse to their Chappell, w^{ch} is now most undecent.

V. To the fift we say, y^e we desire no supply of ground from them which may not well stand wth their convenience, and for y^e mutuall benefit of both Colledges; though in case our Colledge should be rebuilt where now it is, yet it were but neighbourly respect in them freely to accommodate us with a Passage into the feilds, w^{ch} would be little or no prejudice unto them, and much advantage to us, who being as many in number, yet have not y^e tenth part of y^e ground, which they enjoy, either for necessity or recreation.

VI. To the Sixt we say; That beside their Chappellyard, which is very spacious, they have three gardens, or orchards; one for y^e Provost which is lett out for £10 a yeare (as we are informed); one for the Seniors, and another for y^e

¹ King's College Treasury A. 144.

Juniors; and one other peice of ground called y^e Laundesseyard, which is neare as large as their Butt-close, whereof we desire but one part, so y^t if their Coll: should be built according to the patterne intended, yet they should haue a large compasse of ground both for their gardens and walkes.

VII. To y^e Seventh we say y^t this Statute is y^e onely Reason alleaged by them, and for y^e qualifying whereof, we then were, and still are, humble Petitioners to his Sacred Ma^{ty} for his Royall Dispensation.

To this King's College returned the following answer.

A Reply of King's Colledge to y^e Answer of Clare-Hall.

I. The wind so gathering breeds no detriment to our Chappell, nor did ever putt us to any reparacions there. The upper battlements indeed at y^e west end haue sometimes suffered from y^e wind, but y^e wind could not there be straightned by Clare Hall, w^{ch} scarce reacheth to y^e fourth part of y^t height.

2^o. No whit at all, for our lower Story hath few windowes y^t way: the other are so high y^t Clare-Hall darkens them not, and hath windowes so large y^t both for light and ayre no Chambers in any Coll. exceed them.

3^o. The farther garden is not farre remote, being scarce 25 yards distant from their intended building; y^e nearer is on one side fenced wth a high wall indeed, but y^t wall is fraudulently alleaged by them, and beside y^e purpose; for y^t wall y^t stands betweene their view and y^e garden is not much aboue 6 foot in height: and y^t we haue any vine or frame there to walke under is manifestly untrue.

II. Our Founder was not confined to y^t portion of ground for his Chappell, but had free roome to set it further East or South, if he had not thought this Site convenient; nor doth y^e flat side of Clare-Hall stand before y^e Chappell porch, unlesse some sixe foot bredth of y^e utmost corner.

III. We have been already at great charge in endeavouring to hold our owne, which is conferred to us by y^e broad Seale and Act of Parliament, and from y^e alienating of which we are strongly tyed by oath. And their charges of £1000 w^{ch} they say they shall incur by a removall, will be so much spent for their owne content and benefit; and not to be alleaged to us, who neither desire this of them, nor could hope for so great a courtesie.

IV. They may enioy all y^e ground w^{ch} formerly they haue done, and in what manner they please, we desire no way to sollicite them: and y^t large part, w^{ch} they mention for y^e enlargement of our Chappell yard is but about 70 foot square, being not halfe of y^t w^{ch} they relinquish by their remoovall.

V. To part w^{ch} many parcell of our ground will be very inconvenient to us, yet in neighbourlike respect we never denied to accommodate them wth a passage upon reasonable conditions, and after a manner which may be warrantable.

And if by their number they be straightned, it proceeds from themselves, who admitt of those y^t appertaine not to their foundation: w^{ch} inconvenience we for our part haue allwaies carefully avoyded.

And supposing y^t true touching our ground and number compared with theirs (w^{ch} we thinke altogether untrue) notwthstanding, we should not hold it reason to divide with them because we have more then they.

VI. Our Prouosts garden w^{ch} they mention is farre remote from his Lodgings, and quite without our precincts and walls, for w^{ch} allso he payeth a yearely Rent; neither

letteth he it out for y^e same menconed by a fourth part; and reserveth to himselfe full libertie and entire power thereof for his recreation and use. Now if he lett it out againe (as his predecessors formerly did) it can with no better reason be objected to him, then y^t we should charge their Master, if he should lend out his Lodgings himselfe in regard of discontinuance, having little occasion to use them.

Then if our Colledge should be built according to y^t Patterne, our gardens which are now would be taken up with buildings, nor any place left us for recreations, saue onely this Butt-close, w^{ch} for y^t verie purpose, and so specified, was dearely bought by our Founder from y^e Towne; and for the peice called y^e Laundresse yard (w^{ch} is but halfe as large as they pretende) it was by our Founder destined and is at this present employed to other purposes.

VII. That they onely peticoñed for his Ma^{ties} dispensation is manifestly untrue; for y^t would leaue us free to order all for our fittest convenience; but their endeavour is to force us: and some of their Colledge haue told us plainly that they will haue it insight of our teeths.

No. II.

Certificate that the Clare Hall petition for compensation is equitable.

Wee whose names are underwritten haueing perused a petition of the Society of Clare-Hall in the University of Cambridge heretofore presented to his Highness Oliver Lord Protectour of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland And an order of reference made thereupon dated Fryday the 20th of January 1653 to us directed:

In obedience thereunto do humbly certify that the matter of fact as contained in the foresayd petition is true both as to what is said concerning the Tymber taken from the said Colledge and employed for the States use and benefit to the value of two hundred seaventy five pounds one shilling and sixpence, and also for the dammage thereby sustained from the 31th of March 1642 untill March 31th 1654 that it amounts to two hundred twenty eight pounds five shillings, The totall five hundred and three pounds six shillings and sixpence, But wee know not of any woods belonging to the State in those parts out of which the petitioners may be satisfied either in Tymber or to the value aforesaide.

Subscribed

LA. SEAMON PROCAN,

FRAN. RUSSELL

ROBT. CASTELL.

III.

Pembroke College.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE SITE¹.



THE present College consists of three Courts: the original quadrangle, or "Old Court," at the north-west corner of the site; a second, or "New Court," on the east of the first; and a third, or "Chapel Court," to the south of the Old Court. This last has Bishop Wren's chapel on the south, the Lodge on the east, and Sir Robert Hitcham's cloister on the west. The Master's garden

¹ [In the following chapters it must be understood that Professor Willis is speaking of the College as it stood before the alterations which were commenced in 1862, and are still in progress. It is hoped that the accompanying plans of the College will make the description perfectly intelligible. His history of the site was unfinished. This is the less to be regretted from the admirable order in which the documents belonging to Pembroke College were left by the late Master, Dr Ainslie. He not only arranged and catalogued all the muniments with extraordinary industry and accuracy, but drew up accounts of the Site, of the Buildings, and of the Life of the Foundress, which render further research unnecessary. These, written out with his own hand in a 4°. volume, are preserved in the Master's Lodge, where my friend the Rev. John Power, the present Master, has given me every facility for consulting them. It will therefore be understood that I am referring to one or other of those works, when the authority of Dr Ainslie is quoted. The pieces composing the site have been laid down on the plan (fig. 1): but as dimensions are rarely given in medieval conveyances their relative size must depend in most cases upon conjecture.]

lies to the south of the Hall and Lodge; that of the Fellows to the south and east of the New Court.

[An open pasture, called Swynecroft or S. Thomas' Leys, formerly extended from Trumpington Street to what is now Regent Street, and bounded the College on the south and east.] A public lane, leading to this pasture, traversed the site from north to south, and separated the New Court and Fellows' garden from the orchard and meadows beyond. The north boundary of the site, now called Pembroke Street, was originally the outer circuit of the town, running along the King's Ditch; and the Town Gate called Trumpington Gate was consequently a little to the north of the entrance to the College.

The area of the Old Court and of part of the New Court consisted originally of two separate parallel slips fronting the street, long and narrow, in the usual manner of town building lots. The northernmost was a great messuage bought from Hervey de Stanton, Rector of Elm¹, Sept. 14, 1346 (20 Edw. III.); the next was called University Hostel, and was bought from the Chancellor, Richard Lyng, and the Regents and non-Regents of the University, Dec. 11, 1351 (25 Edw. III.)². These were acquired by the Foundress herself. She also, on April 4, 1363 (37 Edw. III.), bought an acre of meadow on the other side of the narrow lane above mentioned, and made it into an orchard³, as shewn in Hammond's plan (fig. 3). This acre, with

¹ [He was probably nephew of the founder of Michael House. Elm is 2 miles S.E. of Wisbeach. The property is described in the conveyance as "*Messuagium extra Trompeton Gate inter hospiciam Universitatis Cantebrie ex una parte, et fossatum Domini Regis ville predictae ex altera: et anum caput abuttat super Regiam viam, et aliud caput super venellam que ducit ad Swynecroft.*" *Registrum Magnum* of Pembroke College, fol. 1, N^o. 21.]

² It is described as, "*inter messuagium quondam Johannis de Holm ex parte australi et messuagium predictorum Custodis et Scholarium ex parte boreali,*" with the same abutments W. and E. as the last. *Ibid.* fol. 2, N^o. 1.

³ [The Foundress bought it of Richard Mordon, clerk, and William de Wyghton, perpetual vicar of Trinity Church. Their conveyance, dated "*die Martis in septimana Paschali 37 Edw³ III.*," describes it as "*unam acram prati jacentem infra muros juxta gardinum vocatum le Pascualyerd, et abuttat ad unum caput super crofium monialium Sancte Radegunde Cantebrie, et abuttat ad aliud caput super tenementum Johannis de Wistowe et aulam Pembrochianam.*" She granted it on 17 April, 1372 (46 Ed. III.), to Arnold de Pynkeny and Richard de Tatteshale, clerks. It is then described as a garden, "*jacens inter gardinum ecclesie beate marie ex parte boreali, et campum vocatum Swynecroft ex parte australi.*" It finally became the property

the addition of a piece of ground to the south¹, acquired by the College July 4, 1401 (2 Hen IV.), makes up the present "Fellows' large garden."

In 1389, twelve years after the death of the Foundress², the College purchased ground called Cosyn's Place adjacent to their

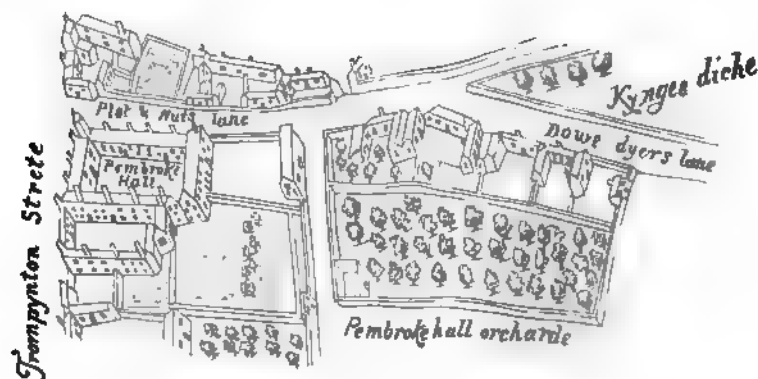


Fig. 3. Pembroke College, reduced from Hammond's Map of Cambridge, 1592.

south boundary³, which was further extended by the next acquisition, a house called Bolton's or Knapton's Place. [This was

of the College, Jan. 10, 12 Ric. II., 1389. The deeds are all copied in the Registrum Magnum, "De Gardino." Wistowe was the previous possessor of the tenement called Cosyn's Place described below.]

¹ [This piece of ground is described in the conveyance to the College as containing 3 roods. In the earliest deed relating to it (13 Ric. II., 1389—90) this quantity is expressed as *unam selionem*. This defines the meaning of the word "*selio*" in this deed, to be, as Dr Ainslie remarks, 3 customary roods. In one of the deeds relating to Crossinge Place, dated 1684, it appears to be two-thirds of a customary acre, which "in the vicinity of Cambridge is something less than 3 statute roods. Whence it would seem that the '*selion*' should be about half a statute acre. By adding the two pieces together the whole orchard would prove to be 7 roods customary, which is under 5 roods statute. From the survey lately taken the measurement appears to be 1 a. 226 sq. yds.]

² [She died on March 16, 51 Ed. III., 1377].

³ [It was finally purchased by the College "in die Dominica proxima post festum sancti Hilarii 12 Ric. II." i. e. on Jan. 17, 1389, MSS. Baker, vii. 178. The abutments in the final conveyance are "inter aulam vocatam Pembrokhalle ex parte una, et tenementum pertinens cantarie beate marie ex parte altera, et abuttat ad unum capud super viam regiam et ad aliud capud super venellam que ducit ad Swynecroft." Dr Matthew Wren says that it contained "tres rodas terre"; and that the society converted it into a garden. The reason for the connection of the name of Cosyn with it is not known.]

bought in the first instance by John Sudbury (Master 1411—28) and others, 19 June, 1419 (7 Hen. V.), and by them transferred to Ellen Bolton or Belton and others on 17 March, 1423 (1 Hen. VI.). The precise nature of this transfer does not appear: for on 29 January, 1430 (8 Hen. VI.), Sudbury, who had resigned the Mastership, conveys to his successor, John Langton and others, "a messuage which I held conjointly with Ellen, wife of John Knapton." "Hence," as Dr Ainslie says, "it seems pretty obvious that the two Ellens were identical, and that the place took its name from her both before and after her marriage with Knapton, though it never belonged either to her or to him in fee." According to Dr Matthew Wren, Langton presented it to the College¹.]

A lease in perpetuity of the tenement called S. Thomas' Hostel, adjacent to what was then the south boundary of the College, was acquired on 14 June, 1451 (29 Hen. VI.), by Laurence Booth (Master 1450—80) from the Hospital of S. John the Evangelist². It was used for the lodging of students, and attached to the College, to which it paid rent in the same manner as Physwick Hostel to Caius, or S. Bernard's Hostel to Corpus Christi; and like them was governed by an Exterior and an Interior Principal. It was suppressed at about the same time as some others (after 1526), and then let partly as separate tenements, partly reserved for College use³. The Hostel oc-

¹ [Dr Ainslie, 25—31. Pembroke College Treasury, College Box, G, 1—19. Wren's MS. History, "De Custodibus Pembrochianis," 13. The abutments in one of the earlier deeds are "inter venellam domini Regis ex una parte et tenementum magistri et fratrum hospitalis Johannis Evangeliste ex altera; et abuttit in fronte capiti super regalem viam et ad aliud caput super Swynecroft." In 8 Ric. II., the abutments are the same except that instead of the "venella," probably a small occupation-road which had been stopped up in the interval, we find "tenementum pertinens cantarie in ecclesia predicta" sc. "beate marie extra Trumpington gates." The house appears to have been let on lease for some years: for in 1437 we find the following entry in the accounts: "ex dono magistri pro reparacione Domus Knapton, 10s."]

² ["Anno 1451 dmissionem obtinet [Booth] a fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Evangeliste tenementi cujusdam hic in vicinis ad 80 annos inde, et deinde ad 80 alios; sicque quamdiu Magistro et sociis nostris videbitur, pro quo etiamnum solvimus Collegio Divi Joannis annuatim 13s. 4d." Wren, l.c. 30. "The College still enjoys the occupation of this tenement under the like perennial Lease at the same rent." Dr Ainslie, 38.]

³ [Wren speaks of "Hospitium majus S. Thomae et minus"; words which are con-

cupied the ground now appropriated to the Master's stables, the south side of the Chapel, and the south parts of the Master's and Fellows' garden. It was pulled down when the building of the Chapel was undertaken soon after 1662¹. Richard Parker, writing about 1622, mentions that this Hostel stood where "the garden belonging to the warden of Pembroke Hall" then was, and adds that the adjacent field anciently called Swynecroft had acquired the name of S. Thomas' Leas from it.

[The ground belonging to a Chantry in Little S. Mary's Church, which intervened between Cosyn's Place and Knapton's Place, was conveyed to the College 28 June, 1549 (3 Edw. VI.), by Thomas Wendy, M.D., the King's physician, and John Barton.

"It is probable," says Dr Ainslie, "that on the dissolution of the chantries, which took place immediately on King Edward's accession, Ridley, who was then Master, took care to purchase the fee for the College; Thomas Wendy, M.D., and John de Barton being merely the medium of transfer from the Crown.... We shall find the same two persons similarly engaged in the conveyance of [the Paschal Yard] in this same year to Corpus Christi College²."

The piece of ground which lay between the orchard of the College and the King's Ditch, was known by the name of the Paschal Yard, called in Lyne's Plan³, "Pascall Close." It belonged to a chantry in Great S. Mary's Church, founded in 1242, and derived its name from its leases being charged with the service of providing a Paschal candle, duly fitted up, to burn in that Church from Easter Eve to the Eve of the Ascension. At the dissolution of chantries it was granted by the Crown to Dr Wendy, as the property of the above-mentioned chantry had been, and by him sold to Corpus Christi College in 1549 in exchange for a tenement in Great S. Mary's⁴.

ceived by Dr Ainslie to apply "to the parts respectively reserved and let, or else to several portions of the same Hostel before it was let at all." The first lease was granted in 1540. Among the portions reserved we find "the Hall called the Hostle Hall," a "Kitchen," a "Brewhouse," and "House rooms."

¹ In that year the College redeemed the lease which they had lately given of S. Thomas' Hostel for 40 years, evidently with the design of providing the site for the Chapel (Dr Ainslie, 44).

² [Dr Ainslie, 45. The property is called "mesuagium sive tenementum...in parochia de littell Sainte Maryes," and the abuttals are Pembroke Hall N and S: the "regia via" W: and "Swynescroft alias vocat' Sainte Thomas' leyes" E.]

³ [Copied in the History of Corpus Christi College, Chapter I.]

⁴ Masters, 81.

It was leased to Pembroke College in 1609, and finally transferred to that body by Act of Parliament in 1833¹. The College Stables, the Tennis Court, and the building which contains Dr Long's sphere, erected about 1753, all stand upon this piece².

[Mention has been frequently made of the lane which ran from Pembroke Street to the open pasture called Swynecroft or S. Thomas' Leyes, and separated the western portion of the College site from the orchard, as shewn in the early maps (fig. 3). The inconvenience arising from this prompted the College to open negotiations with the town in 1618 for its enclosure: of which the result was a lease for 500 years (dated May 9, 1620) of the ground in dispute, therein described as:

"A little parcel of ground or lane lying between the walls of the said College on the West side, and on the East side lieth a close called the Paschall Yard, as also the Orchard of the said College, and opening into a ground anciently called Swinescroft, now commonly called S. Thomas' Leyes, into which the said demised ground or lane leadeth: and the same demised parcel of ground doth contain in breadth six yards more or less, and in length four score yards more or less from the North end of the said College next the said way to the South end of the same³: To have and to hold for 500 years from the said date, yielding and paying one shilling at each Michaelmas on condition that a public footpath be left open in the daytime, and another passage for horse and foot be made out of the Lane leading down from Emanuel College towards the Mills, at the end of the Ditch⁴ where a stile now standeth at the North corner of the forenamed Paschall Yard."

On the conclusion of this negotiation the College at once took possession of the footpath, and closed it effectually by building the south side of their new court across the greater part of it, as we learn from a passage in the new lease granted them on Sept. 29, 1668:

"And whereas there was a common foot passage by daytime out of the said Lane throughout the demised premises into the said Leyes called S. Thomas' Leyes, which the said Master, Fellows and Scholars

¹ [The price paid was £10,000.]

² [This account is derived from Dr Ainslie's history.]

³ [These measurements shew, as Dr Ainslie remarks, that the lane "was not held to terminate at the SW. corner of the orchard, but at the SE. corner of the Little Garden, (from which it passed on to Trumpington St.) where there was a Back Gate." A fragment of the ancient lane may still be seen between the east end of the south side of the New Court, and the wall of the Fellows' Garden.]

⁴ [The Lane in question is the present Pembroke St., and the Ditch the ancient "King's Dutch."]

have now stopped up, and built upon part of the said ground hereby demised; and to the intent that a common passage may be had to and out of the said lane into the said Leyes for horses and foot passengers," the College covenant "to maintain and keep in good repair a common horse-and-foot-way at the East end of the Orchard." This is the present "Tennis Court Road."

Besides this lane, there was another which ran west from what is now Tennis Court Road under the wall of the Fellows' Garden. At the south-west corner of this, where it joined the lane which led to Swynecroft, there was a piece of waste ground, belonging to the town (fig. 1). Of this the College obtained a lease in 1804 (April 3) for 999 years at the rent of a peppercorn, on condition of "leaving a footpath of 12 feet wide, running from east to west, adjoining the wall of Peterhouse Lodge Garden, so as to fall in with the common road on the north of the said waste." This transaction cannot be told better than in the words of Dr Ainslie:

"At this time, the leys having been inclosed in the spring of the year 1803, under Act of Parliament, all these lanes were closed to the public. The road at the East end of the Orchard, though originally for horses and footmen only, was now set out at a fair breadth, and a branch road of 12 feet wide, exclusive of the ditch, was also set out along the south wall of the Orchard, to the mutual accommodation of the College and of the Master of Peterhouse.

If this road were carried to the S. W. extremity of the Orchard it would form that northern boundary of the piece of waste here leased which is described in the lease as 'the common Road on the North.'

As soon as ever the College obtained this lease, they enclosed the greater portion of the waste, [with the wall FHI (fig. 1)] leaving out a space of 12 feet wide, as a continuation of the road just mentioned, as far as the door into the Master of Peterhouse' garden, and contracting it from that point to the width of the rest of the passage to the Master of Peterhouse' stables'."

The "Fellows' large garden" was increased in 1854 by an exchange with Peterhouse, when that Society ceded to Pembroke a piece of ground extending the whole length of the garden, and including the lane and ditch; and also straightened the boundary line between the two Colleges (CDE, fig. 1) by giving up the triangular piece (NML) between the garden wall of Peterhouse Lodge and the "small garden" of the Fellows of

[¹ Dr Ainslie, 54. The fee of the "Venella," and of this waste ground, was purchased from the town in 1832 for 100 guineas.]

Pembroke. In 1861 Peterhouse sold to Pembroke the field called S. Peter's Close for £1600. The old walls (AFG, FHIK, fig. 1) together with that which bounded the Master's garden on the east, have since been thrown down, and the whole of this large space laid out as pleasure ground. A dwarf wall (OP, fig. 1), carrying an iron railing, now bounds the Fellows' garden on the West. The lanes have of course been closed.

The houses called "Crossinge Place" were bought by the College in 1737 with part of the money bequeathed to it by Richard Crossinge, late Fellow. They had once been the property of Dr Andrew Perne; and subsequently of Dr Charles Beaumont. They were rebuilt in 1814 by William Custance, a surveyor, and let to various occupiers until the ground was required for the new range of chambers erected in 1871.]

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE BUILDINGS TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE first, or Old Court, is entered from Trumpington Street, by an archway near the north-west corner. It is somewhat irregular, measuring 96 feet 6 inches long upon its northern side, and 94 feet 7 inches upon its southern. The western side measures 52 feet 5 inches; the eastern 53 feet 6 inches¹. The north side is partly occupied by a building which was once the Chapel, but is now the Library; and partly by a range of chambers in two stories with garrets. The chamber on the ground floor next to the Library was the ancient vestry of the Chapel, from which it was entered by a door, now blocked, in the eastern wall. It is now entered by a separate door (A, fig. 2).

¹ [The accompanying plan (fig. 2) has been drawn from memoranda left by Professor Willis, tested by actual measurement. The south side of the Court the Lodge and the Hall having been since destroyed, the plan has been drawn on a scale of forty feet to the inch, so as to shew the different parts of the old College with sufficient minuteness.]



Fig. 4. Pembroke College, reduced from Luggan's print, taken
F. Master's G.

See face pp. 128, 129.



Chapel. B, Library. C, Hall D, Master's Lodge E, Kitchen,
 and Garden

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The chamber at the eastern end of the range is the buttery, and has the College Muniment Room above. The western or street side of the Court, and the southern side, are wholly employed as chambers, except the room on the ground floor next the Library, which serves as its vestibule, and the opposite one on the south of the archway, used as a Porter's Lodge. The greater part of the chambers on the south side have been gradually absorbed by the Master's Lodge, as the plan shews.

The Court is completed eastward by a large, lofty, and complex building containing the Hall and its appendages (fig. 4, B) ; and extending from the Master's garden on the south, to Pembroke Street on the north. It is divided transversely by walls into four portions, of which the first and largest is the Hall itself. This is approached by a door (fig. 2, B) at the north end of the east side of the Court, opening as usual to a passage cut off from the body of the apartment by a wooden screen with two doors. A door at the opposite end communicates with the second or "New" Court. Three archways (ibid. C, D, E) open northwards from this passage to the second portion of the building, which is narrow, and divided by two partitions running north and south so as to form an approach through the central archway to the Kitchen, which occupies the greater part of the third portion, and is wholly lighted from Pembroke Street. The western archway (C) leads through a pantry to the buttery beyond ; the eastern archway (E) gives access to a staircase which rises to the upper floor, and thus conducts to the chamber over the kitchen¹, to the muniment room over the buttery, and to the chamber floor over the Hall, which was originally appropriated to the Library, but when that was removed to its present place, was divided into rooms for students. Under the staircase is a scullery entered from the kitchen by a door at F. The fourth portion, at the opposite or southern extremity, is divided by floors into four stories. The ground room is the Combination Room or Parlour, and is entered from the Hall (ibid. Q). The first floor is termed the Audit Room, and is used for College meetings, but is at other times appropriated by the Master as a dining-room. Analogy shews that it was originally the

¹ [This chamber was thrown into the kitchen in 1862, so as to raise the roof and improve the ventilation.]

Master's chamber¹. The second floor, and the garrets above, are chambers for undergraduates.

At the south-east corner of the first Court a turret with a spiral staircase (fig. 5) is erected against the end of the partition wall that divides the Hall from the building last described ; and this staircase was, as its arrangement shews, erected originally



Fig. 5 Turret in the S. E. corner of the Old Court, now destroyed, from a photograph taken before the alterations of 1862

to give access to the three upper floors of this fourth portion of the Hall building. The entrance from the ground to the turret has been somewhat clumsily altered. At present a person descending the stairs, finds, when approaching the lower part, his course suddenly and awkwardly diverted through a breach

¹ [A list of rooms drawn up October 10, 1660 (Register, III), speaks of "The low chamber at y^e lodging staire foot," which shews conclusively the original use of the staircase.]

in the turret-wall and down a flight of straight steps into a square space which opens into the court through a large ornamental archway (G, fig. 2). In its original state the entrance of the turret must have been, as in all such staircases, at the base of the turret itself, and when the stairs followed their original course it may be plainly perceived that they led down first to a door on the right hand opening to the dais of the Hall at its south-west corner (H), and next to a doorway in front opening into the Court at the angle, the traces of which are now completely obliterated by the modern ashlaring. The square space which is now the vestibule of the turret stair has been obtained by cutting off a piece from an apartment now used as the Master's wine-cellar. It is at that end waggon-vaulted, but the vault has been removed from the end which serves as the vestibule. The turret had probably only a window where the door is now inserted, and this door from its size¹, and rich moldings, appears to me to have been transferred from the Hall. It will appear below that the Hall was wainscoted in 1634; and the door to the turret thus closed. But at the same period an ornamental doorway of the Renaissance² was applied to the Hall entrance (at B), as Loggan's print shews, and then, as I imagine, the archway that originally stood there was removed, and employed, with the other changes described, to form a more commodious entrance to the turret stair. By the original arrangement the Master had access from the Court to his chambers over the Parlour, and also a dry covered access from them to the Hall³. There are traces of an arch or doorway communicating from the Parlour to the vaulted chamber, which seems to indicate that the latter might once have served as a store-room.

Upon ascending the turret stair⁴ we find a single-light window, now blocked (a, fig. 6), but which originally looked into

¹ The opening is full four feet: and that of the ordinary staircase doors is only three feet eight inches.

² [This doorway has now, 1878, been set up as an entrance to the Garden, R, fig. 1.]

³ [This is the arrangement which still exists at Peterhouse.]

⁴ [The arrangements now to be described will, it is hoped, be made quite clear by the diagram, fig. 6, which represents a section of the turret supposed to be taken along the line OP (fig. 2). It was impossible to draw it exactly to scale in all its parts, as it was destroyed in 1875, but the relative dimensions of the different rooms

the Hall (A); a door *b*), also blocked, at the level of the ceiling of the Combination Room (B), which gave access to a flight of stairs leading to the Audit Room (C). Several steps higher we come to an open doorway with a four-centred arch with chamfered head (*c*). This doorway leads to a landing which gives access to the floor over the Audit Room (D) by a wooden doorway; to the Master's garret floor over the south side of the Old Court by a door now fastened up, but in a square stone frame (perhaps an old window); and lastly, by a door on the left down several wooden steps to the floor of the old Library (F), now converted into College rooms, which is four feet lower than the landing. This up and down arrangement, coupled with the fact that the doors *b* and *c* are both on the side of the stair next to the Combination Room Building, and coincide with the levels of its floors, manifestly shews that the turret was not originally intended to give access to the Library. Ascending still higher, the stairs lead to the parapet walk of the roof, and are also made to serve for the garrets which extend over the Hall and Audit Room (E.E.), to which they give access through a door (*d*). The turret is finished upwards so as to make an exceedingly picturesque feature of the Court.

As the Court thus described contains all that was erected before the Reformation, we may proceed to examine its history. The written records of building are unfortunately very imperfect, and the first notice does not occur until nearly a century after the foundation of the College, so that we must look to other sources for the origin of the buildings.

The Foundress lived for nearly thirty years after her first purchase of the site, and its extension southward was not made until six years after her death. The narrow width of the quadrangle makes it probable that the buildings were arranged, and the erection of the south side of the Court begun, in her lifetime, occupying as they do the portion which she had acquired; for if more ground had been at liberty southwards, it seems unlikely that the area would have been made so small¹. [In the absence

have been preserved as far as possible. The idea was suggested by a rough pen-and-ink sketch by Professor Willis.]

¹ [It seems not improbable that the Foundress lodged her scholars at first in the houses she found on the ground, and some foundations which were discovered a few

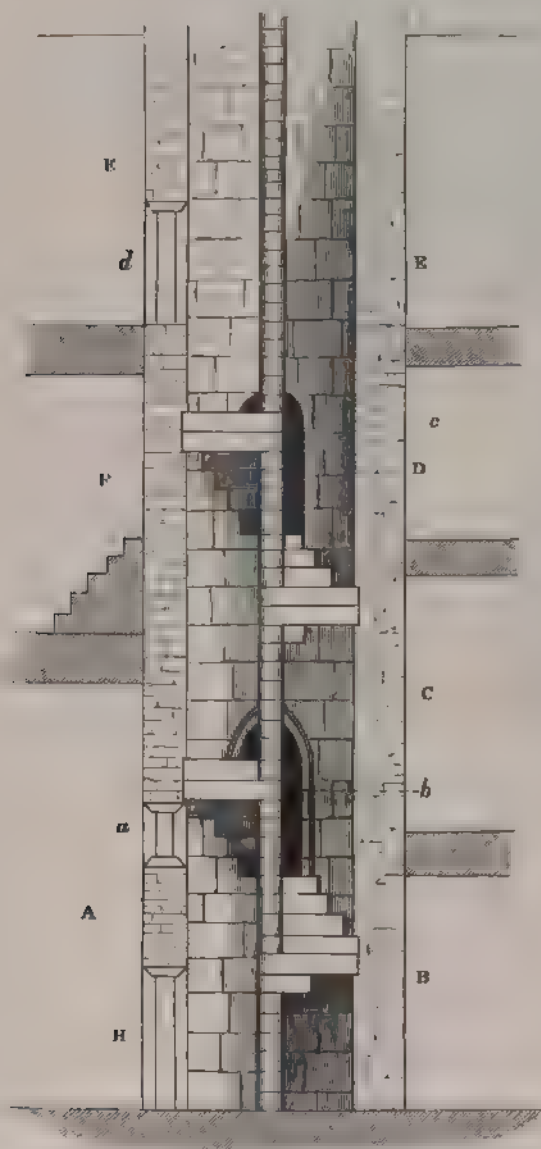


Fig 6 Section of the Turret, drawn along the line OP, fig 5. A Hall. B, Combination Room. C Audit Room. D Room above the last, occupied as a College Room. E E. Garrets. F Library. H Door leading into the Hall. a Window looking into the Hall. b Door leading to the Audit Room. c Door leading to the Rooms above the Audit Room. d Door leading to the Garrets above the Library.

of Bursars' Accounts it is difficult to ascertain when the building of the College commenced. There are indications, however, that it had certainly been begun before 1363, the year of the acquisition of the Orchard; for whereas University Hostel is described as abutting on "*Mesuagium nostrum*," meaning the tenement first acquired by the Foundress, the Orchard is said to abut partly "*in Aulam Pembrochiæ*," a form of expression retained in subsequent conveyances.]

This was one of the earliest Colleges in Cambridge into the plan of which a Chapel entered from the first. Previous Colleges had been placed as close to Parish Churches as possible, and had employed them for their devotions. Indeed the Countess of Pembroke herself had acquired the advowson of S. Botolph's Church, in which parish her first purchase was situated, but she afterwards surrendered it to Corpus Christi College, having determined to bestow upon her own the privilege of a private Chapel. She spared no pains to obtain even papal sanction for this project. Innocent the Sixth¹ granted permission "to the Masters and Scholars of the Hall of Valense Marie to build a Chapel with an endowment sufficient to maintain a Chaplain for ever" in 1355: Urban the Fifth² "to found and build within the walls of the Hall a Chapel, with Bell and Bell-Turret, wherein the Scholars of the College who are priests may either celebrate the holy offices themselves, or employ duly ordained priests to do so:" and Simon Langham, Bishop of Ely, in 1365 (July 17), to "erect a proper and suitable chapel or oratory", for the celebration of divine service in the presence of the Master and Fellows, or of

years ago beneath the floor of the Chapel may possibly have belonged to these buildings. On this Dr Ainslie remarks; "The Bull of Clement VI. (4 May, 1349) recites that the Countess '*quoddam Collegium pauperum Clericorum quod Aula de Valence-mane dicitur*' in solo proprio de novo fundavit assignando eis in perpetuum *certum locum cum domibus opportunis*." These '*domi*' must have been those standing at the time of her purchasing the first messuage, the College not being yet built." p. 205.]

¹ [College Treasury, A, 3, dated Avignon, x. Cal. April., Pontif. nostri Anno Tertio (March 23, 1355). The words are "*unam capellam cum sufficienti dote pro uno perpetuo Capellano*"]

² [Ibid, dated Avignon, viij. Id. Augusti, Pontif. nostri Anno Quarto (Aug. 6, 1366). The words are "*infra Septa diei Aule unam Capellam cum Campana et Campanili, in qua Scholares dicti Collegii qui sacerdotes fuerint per se uel alios sacerdotes ydoneos missas et alia diuina officia celebrare possint, fundare et construere*"]

³ ["*Capellam sive oratorium ydoneum et honestum erigere.*"]

any of them." [This was relaxed in the following year (May 7, 1366), so as to allow of its performance, "so there be any one of the Society within the precincts of the College."]

It is probable that the Chapel was begun about this time, i.e. in 1366—7, but we hear no more of it until 1398, when the Bishop of Ely gives license to celebrate in the vestry "of the Chapel annexed to the College." This may have been a temporary arrangement during some repairs in the Chapel itself; but it shews that the latter was in existence¹. The present state of the Court makes it impossible to determine its original style of architecture, for successive repairs rendered necessary by the antiquity of the walls have completely disguised and transformed their ancient surface. [They are probably at their original height, as there is a difference of nearly two feet between them and those of the range of chambers eastward of them, and the roof is at a different pitch. This difference, which, judging by Loggan's view, was once masked by a sun-dial, was accepted when the Court was ashlared in 1717, as is seen by the step in the parapet on the inside. The solitary relic of the original architecture that has come down to us is a somewhat rudely carved corbel (fig. 7), which may have supported part of the roof. It was found beneath the floor in the course of some repairs in 1862.



Fig. 7. Corbel of Chapel

Loggan's view, of which a copy is here given (fig. 4), shews the west window inserted by Robert Swinburne (Master, 1534—7) and the lanthorn. It is difficult to believe that this latter can be the "*Campanile cum campanis*" of the Bull of Urban the Fifth. A little research enables us to discover a relic of what appears to be the original bell-tower. The range of chambers that completes

¹ [A list of vestments and ornaments, made in 1408, is given in the College Register, which shews that the services were conducted with great pomp of ritual. It rehearses the contents of "*iv baculi pro vestimentis*," which are minutely described, and were extremely sumptuous. The "*summum altare*" and its different cloths are mentioned; also service-books, plate, candlesticks, and relics. Among the latter was "*unum capud unius undecim virginum coopertum argento cum coronula super apud*." *Registrum Magnum*, Fol. 11, N^o. 16.]

the Court on this side is built at a slight angle to the ancient Chapel. On ascending to the rooms on the first floor by the door at I (fig. 2), and entering the apartment above the ancient vestry, we find, next to the Court at the S.E. corner of the Chapel, over the door marked A on the plan, the remains of a circular turret, lighted by a narrow window, which was probably once used as a bell-tower (fig. 8); and the wall of the Court has been accommodated to its semi-circular exterior. In the same eastern wall of the Chapel, near its northern end, is a small window, now blocked and used as a cupboard. It is possible that this may once have been a hagioscope. There is no record to tell us when the turret was destroyed, but as no trace of it is shewn in Loggan's view, it must have been before 1688. It should be remarked that this view shews the top of one of the original buttresses. The garrets, above this range of chambers, now ruinous, and called "The Wilderness,"



Fig. 8 Interior of Bell Turret

afford some interesting traces of Studies, and will be described in the chapter on that subject.

It may be safely assumed that the five large Italian windows in the north wall of the Chapel, the four in the south, and the west window, are all of the same date, and replaced earlier ones in the same position when the building was converted into a Library in 1690¹. These windows are best seen on the north

¹ The new Chapel was consecrated in 1665; but the old Chapel continues to be mentioned in the accounts. In 1683 they "mended the Lanthorn of the 'old Chapel'". In 1688 they did other repairs to the *old Chapel*. But in April and August 1690 £36 are paid to the carpenter for work "in the New Library by order of the Master, D^r Coga'".

side, next Pembroke Street, where examination shews that the wall in which they are inserted is, as far as its facing is concerned, contemporaneous with them. This facing is of red brick, in the style of the time. These windows are all of the same plan, oblong openings divided by a vertical mullion into two round-headed lights, with the exception of the west window, which, owing to its greater size, has three lights instead of two, and the centre one only is round-headed, the side ones being square-headed, and divided by a transom near the top. The moldings of all are the same. The beautifully carved oak door by which the Library is now entered from the Court is clearly of the same period; and the ceiling of elaborate plaster-work, ornamented with wreaths of flowers, birds, and Cupids in alto-relievo, bears in two places the date 1690.]

An examination of the northern outer wall in Pembroke Street (ST, fig. 2) shews that it was erected at three several periods¹. The present condition of the walls of the Chapel (KT) has been already described. They were so patched and underpinned in 1690 as to make it difficult to determine whether the Chapel was built before or after the central part. This part (KL), extending from the buttery to the Chapel, is of ancient brick, and as it includes the wall (LU) of the kitchen and buttery, was probably erected before the kitchen building, which is of rough clunch rubble. [When this side of the College was repaired in 1863² this central portion was rough-cast as high as the

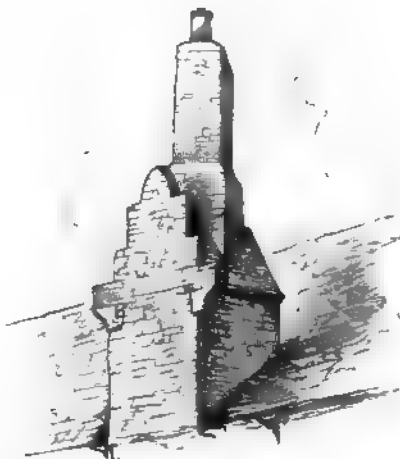


Fig. 9. Ancient chimney on N. side of Old Court.

¹ [The thickness is nearly uniform throughout the whole distance from Trumpington St. to the Hall; the northern wall being 3 ft. 6 in. thick, and the southern 1 ft. 6 in.]

² [This very judicious and careful restoration was done under the direction of John A. Cory, Architect.]

eaves; but the chimney-breasts shew the original red brick. One of these chimneys, almost unaltered, is here figured (fig. 9). At this time the windows were nearly all more or less repaired and altered. Professor Willis describes them as "various specimens of the original chamber windows, single lights with deep moldings, one being entirely of molded brick. Other windows of later insertion are mixed with them."]

The interior of the Old Court retains no architectural character to fix its date with precision, except that the archway at the south-east corner already mentioned appears to be late Decorated or perhaps early Perpendicular, as does the Hall.

[The early "computus" Rolls of this College have unfortunately perished, and the records of the architectural history are therefore extremely meagre. Dr Matthew Wren, Fellow (1605—25), who had access to many documents no longer in existence, has however left us a few notices in the course of his Biographies of the Masters of the College. These I proceed to translate and give in order¹.

John
Langton
[1428-47].

"[1] He built that elegant little Chapel for the Master, under which is a room of no small celebrity in our society, in which the poor scholars² take their meals. Moreover he enriched the common Chapel and the Library with numerous splendid presents.

Laurence
Booth
[1450-80].

[2] In the year 1452, by his wealth and energy, our new and magnificent Library is raised. He generously decorated the common Chapel with glass windows, and reestablished a due solemnity of divine service. A proof of this is, that in his time the charge for choristers in the Chapel commenced, and was continued every year, and also that for the repair of the organs, as our Archives shew. In his fourth year of office, money is spent upon the improvement of the Library. In his fifth year the garden is planted with saffron, to the public advantage of the College. In his twelfth, the Turret in the eastern angle [of the Court] is carried up to its full height. In his thirteenth, the Chapel fund is charged with an outlay of thirty pounds for the making of the choir (I use the expression of that age) and for a certain new work, to wit, the Roodloft (so they termed the place where the sacred images were set), and for figures of the Four Doctors of the Church and some other Saints. Lastly, in his sixteenth year, the great gates are painted, "le

¹ [Professor Willis had referred to most of these in different parts of his narrative but it appears to me better to print them *in extenso* here, and his criticisms upon them afterwards. I have numbered the sections, and added in the margin the names and dates of the Masters. Wren's MS. is preserved in the College Treasury.]

² The six minor scholars or discipuli of the statutes.

*stulps*¹," and the whole new piece of work is set up—(by which the line of posts and rails before the door is meant)—and the common garden is surrounded with a mud wall.

[3] In the year 1534 plate to the value of £70. 10s. 0d., and in the following year to the value of £31. 0s. 0d., is sold. Out of the proceeds the wall with which the garden is now surrounded is built at a cost of about £36. 0s. 3d.² A certain window in the Chapel (which must beyond all doubt and question be the West window) is inserted at a cost of £8. 0s. 0d. or more: an equal sum is spent upon the pavement of the Court; and a trellis made for our vines costs £4. 0s. 0d.³

Robert Swinburne
[1534-7].

[4] His private fortune being extremely slender (taking into consideration his dignity and his necessities, for he had, when elected, a wife and family to maintain), the question of providing some slight increase to his stipend, which before was a very small one, was considered as soon as he had taken office. In consequence, from that time forwards an additional yearly sum of £5. 0s. 0d. is paid to the Master, and moreover certain grounds are assigned to his use.

William Fulke
[1578-89].

In the year 1579 that range of buildings is erected, at his instance, which we still call University Hostel, because it stands on the same ground. To this work the Master gives £20. 0s. 0d., the rest of the cost falling on the College."]

All memory of the position of the small Chapel mentioned in § 1 is lost. The Library (§ 2) is recorded as the work of Laurence Booth⁴. Either therefore the Hall was in building in his time, and the plan was changed at his suggestion, which is most probable; or else the Hall had been finished long before, and was now unroofed, and the additional story raised on the old walls. The building of the Tower at this time of course refers only to the upper part⁵, but the disposition of the building shews that the Library story was an afterthought, for the buttresses of the Hall, arranged to resist the thrust of the roof, rise only to the level of the sills of the Library windows,

¹ ["Stulp. A short stout post put down to mark a boundary." Halliwell's Archaic Dictionary. "Stulp (pronounced Stoop) is commonly used in the north of England for a Gate-Post." Dr Ainslie.]

² [Part of this was kitchen-garden. "1558. A key to y^e Cooke's garden." Bishop Wren's small MS.]

³ In this Master's time the College sold the Hospitium of St Botolph, including the entire area between Pembroke Lane and the Churchyard. This property had been given to them by Laurence Booth. [I have not thought it necessary to translate the portion of the history referring to this transaction, as the piece of ground in question never formed part of the College site.]

⁴ [In Wren's small MS. occurs this entry, "1452. Summa totalis pro nova libraria £45 . 7 . 3."]

⁵ [This is shewn by the words used by Wren "Turris illa...ædificatur."]

and the latter are spaced at equal distances along the wall, as usual in Libraries, but without regard to the spacing of the buttresses, so that some of the windows are placed partly over the latter (fig. 4). The form of these small windows appears at first sight the same as that of the windows of the buttery and muniment-room, but there is this difference, that the arch-heads of the lights in the latter are simply pointed, but in the former are four-centred, which may indicate a later style. The buttresses, however, are necessary to resist the thrust of the braces by which the beams of the Library floor are sustained. The roof which Booth applied to his Library was like that of his work at the Public Schools, provided with a tie-beam so as not to require buttresses¹. [When the Hall was pulled down a portion of the head of one of the Library windows was fortunately discovered in its original position, behind a chimney which had been built against it when the Library was divided into chambers. Enough remained to determine the original form, as is here shewn (fig. 10). One of the lights of the window of the muniment room has also been drawn (fig. 11) for comparison with it. It was further discovered that the wall at the north end of the Hall, pierced by the three doors C, D, E, had clearly not been constructed at the same time as the east and west walls, for it was not tied in to them; but had probably been added at the same time as the upper story, in order to support the staircase by which it was to be approached. The Library was entered through a stone arch at its north end at the top of these stairs.]

The fittings which Booth put into the Chapel (§ 2) must have been remarkably good, for in 1516 the stalls and "Rodeloft

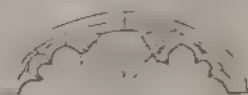


Fig. 10. Window in Library



Fig. 11. Window in Muniment Room

¹ [The share which Booth took, when Bishop of Durham and Chancellor of the University, in the building of the Schools' Quadrangle, will be related in the History of the Schools.]

and Candell-beame" of the new College of S. John's were directed to be made according to their pattern¹.

Wooden railings, and heavy tall posts, carved, and sometimes adorned with shields bearing coats of arms, are shewn in front of several of the Colleges by Loggan, but not at Pembroke, for it happened that there they had been removed in 1681, just



Fig. 12. South Gable of the old Lodge, now destroyed

before his view was made [The mud wall round the garden did not last long; for in 1482 we learn that it was replaced, at least at the east end, by a stone one². This is probably the wall

¹ [It is to some of the alterations made in this Master's time that the following extract (by Wren) from the accounts refers '1475 pro factura chori de novo 15h. 10s "]

² "Pro factura muri lapidei in extremitate magni gardini 1482." Wren's Extracts from the College Accounts.

made of large blocks of clunch which may be seen to this day along the eastern side of the garden next Tennis Court Road. It is returned beneath the south wall of the Tennis Court for about six feet.]

[It is difficult to determine the situation of University Hostel after the rebuilding by William Fulke in 1579 (§ 4). Richard Parker, writing about 1622, describes it as "That now call'd the Hostle, on the south side of Pembroke Hall, to the westward," and the plan of Hammond, 1592 (fig. 3), and that of Speed, 1610, shew a narrow quadrangle abutting upon the south side of the College, between the Master's Lodge and the street. This however was certainly called S. Thomas' Hostel. It is of course possible, there having been two hostels within the College precincts, that the name of the one might be applied to the other; or the same building be called by different names. But we are told that when the Hitcham building was erected in 1659, University Hostel was pulled down to make way for it, a statement which compels us to seek for the Hostel in some other situation than the former. Now a building is shewn by Hammond (fig. 3), and also by Speed, at the corner of Pembroke Street and the lane leading to Swinecroft, extending far enough southward to interfere with the erection of the building in question. This edifice, moreover, must have stood on a portion of the ground belonging to the ancient University Hostel which we know was acquired by the Foundress in 1351¹.

Hammond also shews the Lodge projecting southwards into the garden from the south-east corner of the College, and overlapped on its west side by part of the Hostel.] The building which now projects southwards into the garden and forms an extension of the Master's Lodge was probably erected in the reign of Charles I. It contains a kitchen below and a drawing-room above on the first floor, and chambers with a passage connecting the several rooms on the first floor. It was at

¹ [Parker's History, p. 30. Dr Ainslie, p. 13. The latter gives no authority for the statement that University Hostel was pulled down to make way for Hitcham's building, nor have I been able to discover any, though I have carefully searched the College records in the hope of doing so. He was however so accurate that we may rest assured he had good reason for making it. A note in the College Accounts for 1580 shews that the rebuilding was completed in that year. Wren says that it was only the Hall of University Hostel that was rebuilt.]

first entered by an external staircase¹. It has an oriel to the south, which has been rebuilt in later times of white brick (fig. 12).

[We obtain from the College accounts evidence of works of minor importance which may here be noticed. In 1537 mention is made of the Dovehouse. In 1552 Dials were set up. In 1559 the Wheathouse was roofed in; and in 1564 a Tennis Court was either built, or one already existing was repaired². We know from Lyne's map³, 1574, and from that by Braunius, 1575, that the Dovehouse stood in the Orchard. The Tennis Court is still in existence, and the Dials may perhaps be those shewn in Loggan's view of the Garden, but where the Wheathouse was is unknown.]

CHAPTER III.

BUILDINGS OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

WE now enter upon a new era⁴. Sir Robert Hitcham, by his Will, dated Aug. 8, 1636 (a week before his death), devised the manor of Framlingham in Suffolk to the College⁵. In con-

¹ This is shewn in Loggan (fig. 4), where an older narrow building projects westward at the south extremity of the additional wing. This part of the south wall now contains an Elizabethan doorway, but probably removed from its original site. [This doorway was in the centre of the west side of the wing erected in 1745, the south end of which is shewn in fig. 12.]

² The following extracts from College accounts, now lost, refer to these buildings. They were made by Dr Matthew Wren. [As the Dovehouse is not shewn either in Loggan's map or view, we may assume that it had been destroyed before his time.]

“1537. For y^e Dove-house £13 . 9 . 1.

1552. Dials made.

1559. For covering y^e whete house ut patet per billam, £9 . 18 . 4.

1564. Boards to make a tennyse court £1 . 0 . 0.”

³ [It has been reproduced in the History of Corpus Christi College, Chapter I.]

⁴ [This paragraph is taken in substance, and sometimes in language also, from Dr Ainslie, pp. 93, 4.]

⁵ [Dr Ainslie records that Wren had been the cause of Hitcham's bequest. His will is printed in “History of Framlingham; by R. Hawes. 4^o. Woodbridge, 1798.”

sequence of the Earl of Suffolk putting in his claim, it was long before the devise took effect; for the decree by which the estate was confirmed to the College was issued by the Court of Chancery 20 March, 1653, during the Commonwealth, and under the Mastership of Mr Serjeant Moses, whose proceedings in reference to this matter are best described in the words of his biographer, Dr Sampson.

"After the displacing of Mr Vines and death of Mr Simson who succeeded, the Fellows unanimously chose him for their Master, w^{ch} yet came under a great contrast at Whitehall. For the then called Protector would needs have imposed upon them another. But the fellows by representation of his worth and serviceableness to the College gained their poyn^t, and got a revocation of his Order.

In the five years of his mastership he bestird himself for y^e advancement of his College, as if it had been his onely business and proper estate. Hee brought to some issue and settlement y^e Estate of S^r Rob: Hitcham, w^{ch} had been so long contested for, got the monyes received from it into the College-hands, raised that building w^{ch} bears his name: That old and withered face of that ancient and pious foundation, he refreshed and made it look young agayn. The building over the Library, which was ready to tumble down, and the walles of the College w^h were so decayed, rufull and ill favoured that they would rather affright Students from them than invite them thither, hee brought to this pleasant aspect that they have ever since had: By his Interest and acquaintance hee procured many hundred pounds to be lay'd out upon them, And all this at a time when Universityes and Colleges were devoted to ruine in the desires of some, and apprehensions of most men^o.

The Hitcham building above referred to as bearing the name of the benefactor is the range of chambers which forms the south side of the second Court. This was erected in 1659, the University Hostel, rebuilt as above stated in 1579, having been pulled down to make way for it¹. The part of this range which

The wording of the following clause, considering the use that was made of the devise, with full consent of the "supervisor," as he calls it, of his wif, Dr Matthew Wren, is remarkable. "And this my Legacy, I w^{ill}, shall be employed for the Good of the College, as my Gift alone by itself, and not to be employed to the Increase of their Fellowships, or Buildings, or for any other Thing belonging to their House."]

¹ This refers to the Attics over the Hall Landing.

² "Memorials of Mr Serjeant Moses, Master of Pembroke Hall, who died Octob. 30, 1688, an. æt. 66, by Dr Henry Sampson." [Ms. in Pembroke College Lodge. He was Master from 1654 to 1660. The Society was at this time said to flourish "sub dispensatione Mosa cæ." Dr Ainslie, p. 93.]

³ Judging from the Treasury Accounts I think it was not all pulled down at once. "The Hostle that was" occurs Coll. Reg. iv. p. 3, Oct. 17, 1668.

lies next to the Hall fig. 13 has an ornamental façade of stone in the Renaissance style, and is separated from the remainder of the range by a thick wall. An escutcheon bearing the arms of Hitcham forms part of its decoration. It will be seen that the eastern part of this range is of a totally different style. It has square windows divided by monials into three lights



Fig. 13. West end of North side of Sir Robert Hitcham's building.

in the older Collegiate fashion. The north side of the Court is formed by a building of a similar character to that last described, but for which no date is recorded. Now in Fuller's plan, 1634, a building is roughly shewn to occupy the north side of this Court: but in Speed's plan, 1610, no such building appears. It is probable, therefore, that at the beginning of the reign of Charles the First, the north side of the Court was erected, about the same time as the "Brick Building" at Emmanuel (in 1633), to which its style corresponds; and

that the east part of the south side was built in imitation of it by Master Moses, as above recorded, in 1659. but subsequently completed at the western extremity after the Restoration in the favourite style of that time. Perhaps this part was intended for a Master's Lodge, for in 1679 a College order appropriated it to the Master¹, and it was originally entered by an ornamental doorway from his garden, now bricked up (fig. 2, R). It must be remarked that the north side as first completed was thirty-two feet shorter than at present, and that in 1670 it was lengthened eastward to its present extent with a view to make it of the same length as the south range. In reality, however (as the plan shews, fig. 1), the length of the north side is now as much in excess as it was before in defect. [To this eastern portion Dr Richard Ball², and Mr William Quarles, President, each gave one hundred pounds. The total cost was £300. 14s. 10d.

We now come to the building of the new chapel.]

On March 17, 1659, Bishop Wren was released from the Tower, where he had made a secret vow, that if ever it pleased the Almighty to restore him his paternal estate, he would "return unto Him by some holy and pious employment, that summe and more, which by way of His gracious providence was unexpectedly conveyed in unto me during my eighteen years captivity... from sundry noble and truly pious christians³." And in the words of the "Parentalia"⁴,

"Upon the glorious Scene and Alteration of Affairs in Church and State, by the long wish'd for Return of the King, the Bishop of Ely, with the Eight other surviving Prelates (who had out-liv'd the Persecution and Confusion of the Times), were restor'd. The first Money he receiv'd after his Restitution, he bestow'd on *Pembroke Hall*, and to the Honour of Almighty God, to whose service he had wholly devoted himself; for the Ornament of the University, which he always affected with a fervent and passionate Love; and in a grateful Remem

¹ [Register, iv. 107.]

² [He was Prebendary of Ely, Rector of Bluntisham, Master of the Temple, and sometime Fellow of the College.]

³ [Will of Bishop Wren, Le Keux, i. 214. Wren notes the curious coincidence of the day of his liberation with that of the consecration of Peterhouse Chapel.]

⁴ Parentalia, 33. Bishop Wren died April 24, 1667, and was buried in the vault under his Chapel at Pembroke. The whole cost of building the New Chapel, as appears by the general Bill given in to Bishop Wren, Dec. 1665, was £3658. 11s. 3d. (Dr Ainslie.)

brance of his first Education, which was in that Place receiv'd, and thankfully acknowledg'd, he built that most elegant *Chapel* there, at the Expende of above *five Thousand Pounds*, compleatly finish'd, and endow'd it with *perpetual Revenues* for Repairs. This, however noble and magnificent, is the least of those Monuments he hath left to Posterity."

In 1663 (May 16) Dr Franck, Master, entered into a contract for the brickwork of the new Chapel, and on Jan. 10, 1664—5, Dr Mapletoft, Master, agreed with certain joiners respecting the wainscoting which, "at least within the inner chappell," was to be finished so that "the said inner chappell shall be in a readinesse for the laying of a marble pavement before the dedication of the said chappell, which is intended to be upon the 21st of September next¹." On the stated day it was consecrated by the Bishop himself, being dedicated to the Saint who bore his own name, Matthew. The architect was his nephew, Sir Christopher Wren. [It is an oblong apartment in the Corinthian style, almost without external ornament. There was once a large clock above the west window (fig. 4). The interior is plain, with a flat plaster ceiling². The woodwork is the same that was originally set up. The organ, over the screen at the west end, was the work of Charles Quarles of Cambridge. By articles of agreement dated 6 Dec. 1707, he covenants to set up within eight months "in the place where the Organ now stands in the Chapel...a double Organ in two distinct cases of the best metal, timber and materials:" and to keep it in tune and repair: he is to receive £210; and to remove the old Organ to Framlingham and set it up in the Church there³.]

In the year 1664, when the roof of the Chapel was covered in, the College applied to Bishop Wren (as supervisor of Hitcham's Will), for leave to connect the Old Court with the Chapel by a cloister (surmounted by chambers) to be called Sir Robert Hitcham's cloister, at the expense of the Framlingham estate. This work was completed by Christmas, 1666⁴, and the cloister

¹ [These two contracts will be found in the Appendix, Nos. I. II.] The originals are in Pembroke Treasury "Collegium" Box, F. 2. 4.]

² [There is a view of the interior in Cooper's *Lé Keux*, i. 65. The clock is still in its original position, but is now used for striking only.]

³ [Pembroke Coll. Treasury "Collegium" Box, F. 5.]

⁴ It cost £466. 19s. 4d.

consecrated with a view to the interment of students of the College. It is worth remarking that the exterior wall of these chambers was built so as to range with, and correspond in style to, the front of the old College which it thus extended. The new work, however, appears to have been ashlarred when first erected. The old front was of rubble or plaster only, for in 1669 £1. 4s. was spent in plastering the College walls next the street; and it was not ashlarred until 1712, when (May 8) Mr Banckes' legacy is ordered to be laid out in putting a case of stone upon the front of the College next the street. If the present front be compared with its appearance when Loggan's view (fig. 4) was taken, before this ashlaring, it will be seen that as little change as possible was made in the design. A straight joint, O, fig. 2, separates the ashlaring of the first part from that of the second. Although the street front is in a debased Gothic style, the arcade of the cloister opposite to the Lodge is Italian, but unfinished. This style was doubtless chosen in order to make the new work harmonize as much as possible with the Chapel¹. The cloister being completed, the south side of the old College, "looking upon the Bishop of Ely's Chapel and adjoining to the North end of Sir Robert Hitcham's cloister, was repaired in 1668," at an expense of £112. 14s. 4d. In order to obtain an access to the cloister from the Old Court, M, fig. 2, it was necessary to sacrifice the chamber on the ground-floor at the south-west angle of the Court called "The Tolbooth." [The way to the Chapel from the Old Court had previously been by a passage at the side of the western staircase (*ibid*, N, fig. 2), called "The way to S. Thomas' Hostel²."]

The steps by which the Old Court was gradually transformed to its present aspect may be gathered from the College books as follows³. In 1664 a College order records the expenditure of a considerable sum on the repairs of the Old Court; in 1689 it was plastered inside and out; and in 1717, "the master and fellows subscribed £283 to ashlar the inside, and M^r Attwood, fellow, gave £28 to ashlar the gatehouse, and £68 more to ceil

¹ In 1743 Mr Mundy gave £50. 17s. for paving the cloisters. His arms are put up at the north end.

² [In 1666 the wall, part of the west front, from the Chapel to the end of the Master's stables was directed to be rebuilt, it being an eyesore.]

³ For these extracts I am indebted to Dr Ainslie.

the Hall, paint the wainscoat, alter the windows and buy new tables." This wainscot had been put up in 1634, with the screen and chimney-piece. The whole work is in the same style, and was evidently carried on at the same time. The above date is carved on the screen¹. The external doorcase of the Hall at B, fig. 2, seems to belong to the same period as the wood-work, as well as the dial which once occupied the centre of the parapet (fig. 4). The Master and Fellows further expended £398. 8s. 0d. in repairs before the year 1721, and in 1728 John Hawkins (Master 1728—33) gave all his dividends annually to the College, which laid them out in repairs, making a total of £555 at the end of his mastership.

The old Chapel appears to have remained useless for five and twenty years after the new one was consecrated. But about 1690, as previously related, it was fitted up as at present for a Library, and its ancient appearance entirely changed. A College order in 1693 (Feb. 15) directs "M^r Anthony, M^r Bankes, and Sir Crossinge to undertake the removal of the books from the old to the new library," and on Oct. 26, 1697, a payment of "£12 to M^r Bankes, Sir Crossinge and M^r Poulett for placing the Books and making Catalogues" marks the completion of this work.

In 1668 a new Bake-house, Stables, etc., were built in the Paschal-yard (fig. 4) [at the cost of the Hitcham estate, and Sir Robert Hitcham's shield was affixed to them as a memorial]; in 1692 a brick wall in the Master's and Fellows' garden; and in the following year a similar one between those of the Master and Fellows.

[It was during the Mastership of Dr Roger Long (1733—70) that the brick building at the north-east corner of the inner Court (fig. 1) was built, to contain a hollow sphere of metal eighteen feet in diameter, constructed by himself and an ingenious tin-plate worker of Cambridge named Jonathan Munn, to represent the appearance, relative situation, and motions of the heavenly bodies². The building was pulled down to make room for the new offices in 1871, and the model broken up.]

¹ [In earlier times the walls of the Hall had been concealed by hangings. In 1575 this entry occurs: "For turning y^e hangings in y^e hall 5^{li}." Bishop Wren's small MS.]

² [Le Keux, i. 220. A minute description of it is given by Dr Long in his *Astronomy*, 4^o. Cambridge, 1764, ii. p. iii. See also Wordsworth, *University Life*, etc., 662.]

In 1745 the front part of the Master's lodge was built, containing an entrance hall and staircase, to replace the open external staircase which had previously served to give access to the upper floors, and to provide also some additional bedrooms. [Carter, writing in 1752, when Dr Long was Master, says that the Lodge

"hath several good Apartments, some of which are stock'd with Musical, and others with Mathematical Instruments; and in a Ground Room he [the Master] hath a Printing Press with the Apparatus belonging thereto, wherein he is printing his Astronomical Works. But the chief beauty of this *Lodge* is (in my opinion) the Gardens, and therein the Water-Works, contrived by the present Master (and here let me tell you, he is a very great Mechanic), which supplies a beautiful and large Bason in the middle of the Garden, and wherein he often diverts himself in a Machine of his own contrivance, to go with the Foot as he rides therein¹."]

[The rebuilding of the older portions of the College was first contemplated, and a building fund commenced, in 1776, when "James Brown, Master, and William Mason, Fellow, each gave £50 to establish a Building Fund in memory of Thomas Gray the Poet, who had long resided in the College²." The buildings, more especially those in the Old Court, had become so ruinous by 1862 that the immediate execution of the design was seriously considered. It was found, however, that the fund had not accumulated to a sufficient sum, and it was therefore decided "that an Architect be consulted with a view to ascertain whether the exterior and interior of the College could be improved at a moderate expense³." The plans of Mr Cory, as mentioned above, were adopted, and nearly £4000 was spent, chiefly on the Hall and offices, on repairs to chambers, and to the northern external walls.

¹ [Carter's Cambridge, 78: Gray's Works, ed Pickering, iii. 58.]

² [Pembroke College Commemoration Book. Gray took up his residence in Pembroke in 1756, and died there 30 July, 1771. He is believed to have occupied the set of rooms on the ground-floor at the W. end of the Hitcham building (fig. 13), under those afterwards occupied by William Pitt. The fund was subsequently augmented by the donations of various persons, and especially of Sarah Lonsdale, who bequeathed to the Society in 1783 her estate of Barham-Hall, in the parish of Linton, Cambs., directing that one-third of the rents should be appropriated to this Fund. From the wording of the original College Order (Nov. 1776) it seems to have been intended at that time to erect a new building next the Garden, i.e. to the east of the New Court.]

³ [College Order, Nov. 18, 1862.]

The old Hall was 41 feet long within the screens, by 27 feet broad. There were three large windows in the western wall and two in the eastern, the space between which was occupied by a wide fire-place with an extremely picturesque external chimney (fig. 14). In the interior, original stone corbels existed on each side at about nine feet from the ground. They may have been intended to carry a high-pitched roof, such as is usual in dining-halls of the period before Booth's Library was planned. The tracery shewn in Loggan's view had been removed or fallen out from the windows and they were divided by a single



Fig. 14 Chimney on the east side of the old Hall, now destroyed

vertical mullion (fig. 5). The roof was ceiled, flat, with tie-beams at intervals. The original Jacobean woodwork, erected as above narrated in 1634, still existed over the dais and along the sides between the windows. There was also a singularly beautiful chimney-piece of the same period. The screens had been continued up to the roof by a lath- and plaster-partition, so as to contrive a room over the music-gallery used for kitchen stores. On removing this, traces of the original panelling of the roof were found, coloured, beneath the modern ceiling. From these indications Mr Cory was enabled to design a very picturesque wooden roof, divided into compartments and supported

by vaulting ribs resting on the stone corbels, with appropriate tracery in the spandrels. The panelling was cleaned and repaired; a pavement of encaustic tiles was laid down, and gas chandeliers were suspended from the roof. Pointed windows of three lights were also designed to replace those mentioned above. These were inserted into the old openings, and the original hood-molds were retained. Still, good as these windows were in themselves, their tracery could hardly be described as "restored to its original form from an old engraving¹," for the transom shewn in Loggan (fig. 4) was omitted. The doorway of the Renaissance next the Old Court was unfortunately pulled down, and replaced by one of pointed character.

On the appointment of the present Master in 1870 the College once more entered upon the question of providing additional accommodation for its members. It was decided, in the first instance, to pull down the row of houses in Trumpington Street called Pembroke Place, and to build a range of chambers on their site, from the designs of Mr Alfred Waterhouse, Architect. This work was commenced early in 1871, and completed in the following year.

At the same time the condition of the Lodge was discussed. The old Lodge appeared to be such an inconvenient residence, and so incapable of improvement, that it was decided to build a new one on a new site. The plans of the same architect were accepted, and the new Lodge was begun to the east of the New Court in 1871, some dwelling-houses being pulled down to make way for it. It was ready for occupation in the spring of 1873; and the old Lodge, together with the south side of the Old Court, were doomed to a speedy destruction. It was decided to pull them down on July 13, 1874, and Mr Waterhouse was instructed at the same time to prepare plans "for an extension of the Hall, and the erection of a new Combination Room." It will be seen from the wording of this order that the demolition of the Hall was not at first intended. The Lodge, however, including as it did so much of the south side of the Court, could not be pulled down without affecting other buildings. Deprived of structures that had so long abutted against it, the Hall wore

¹ [These are Mr Cory's own words in a letter addressed to the Editor of The Times, April 1, 1875.]

a singularly forlorn and desolate aspect ; and when the ivy was stripped from the west side, the ancient walls, whence the stucco had fallen off in places, looked patched and unsightly. Moreover, it is not impossible that the stability of the structure had been somewhat impaired by the excavation of cellars beneath it, which Mr Cory had been instructed to provide. It was therefore decided before long to pull it down. This decision did not pass without protest, and the reasons in favour of demolition cannot be better stated than in the answer of the Master to a memorial signed by several members of the College against the destruction "of a group of buildings of so picturesque a character, of such architectural value, and of such great antiquity."

"The original intention was, as the memorialists rightly supposed, to have lengthenied the hall, making also, of course, such alterations in the upper part as to leave it in a thorough state of repair, and not merely patching it up to last for a few years only, thus throwing upon our immediate successors a disagreeable task, which we were unwilling to undertake for ourselves. But on a closer examination of the state of the building (the opportunity for which was given by the removal of the old lodge and consequent exposure of the walls and other portions of the hall) we were convinced that no alternative remained for us but entire demolition. The roof and floors were found in such a state that they must of necessity be renewed. The walls (which are built of rubble, consisting of mortar and rough lumps of clunch in about equal proportions) were considerably out of the vertical, and some portions apparently in a dangerous condition. The walls rested, moreover, on no solid foundations, having been built only a few feet in the ordinary ground, and both architect and contractor expressed strongly their opinion that it would be actually dangerous to interfere with them in any way, although if left untouched they might, of course, remain standing for some time¹."

The advice of the Architect was followed, and on March 16, 1875, he was authorized to pull down the Hall ; and on May 19, in the same year, to proceed with the erection of a new one. On June 10 his plans for a building to contain a new Library, Lecture Rooms, Muniment Room, etc., were approved, and it is now, September, 1877, nearly completed.]

¹ [This letter, together with the Memorial, was printed in *The Times*, March 26, 1875. Further letters on the subject appeared in the same journal on March 29, and April 1. The Master's letter was addressed to the Bishop of Ely, who, with Sir Henry Maine, the Head Master of the Charterhouse, Canon Venables, and other graduates of Pembroke, had signed the memorial. The demolition of the Hall had, however, been commenced before the document was presented.]

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

- 1346—51. Purchase of site of Old and New Courts } by the Foundress.
 1363. " " Orchard
 1355—66. Papal and episcopal licenses for Chapel.
 1389. Purchase of "Cosyn's Place."
 1401. " southern part of Orchard.
 1419—30. " " Bolton's" or "Knapton's Place," and conveyance to the College.
 1428—47. Master's Chapel built, with poor scholars' dining-room below. Chapel and Library enriched by presents.
 1451. Lease of S. Thomas' Hostel from S. John's College.
 1452. New Library built.
 1462. Turret at S.E. angle of Old Court finished.
 1463. Roodloft, stained glass windows, and choir, of Chapel made or decorated.
 1534—7. West window of Chapel made.
 1549. Purchase of land belonging to S. Mary's Chantry.
 1579. University Hostel rebuilt.
 1609. Lease of "The Paschal Yard."
 1610—34. North side of second Court (western portion) built.
 1620. Lease from the Town of the lane leading to Swinecroft.
 1634. Wainscot put up in Hall.
 1659. South side of second Court (eastern portion) built with Sir Robert Hitcham's bequest.
 1663—5. New Chapel built.
 1664. Considerable repairs done to the Old Court.
 1664—6. Sir R. Hitcham's Cloister and building next to street built.
 1668. Tennis-Court road made, or enlarged.
 1669. Front of College next to street plastered.
 1670—1. Eastern end of north side of second Court built.
 1679. Western end of south side of second Court appropriated to the Master.
 1690. Old Chapel converted into Library.
 1712. Front of College next to street cased with stone.
 1717. Gate-house and inside of Old Court ashlarred. Hall ceiled, windows altered, and wainscot painted.
 1737. Purchase of "Crossinge Place."
 1745. Front of Master's Lodge built.
 1776. Building Fund commenced.
 1804. Lease of waste ground from the Town.
 1833. Purchase of "The Paschal Yard" from Corpus Christi College.
 1854—61. Purchase of land from Peterhouse to increase the Garden.
 1862—3. Repairs executed by Cory.
 1871—3. New Master's Lodge built by Waterhouse.
 1874. Old Lodge and south side of Old Court pulled down.
 1875. Old Hall pulled down; new Hall begun; and plans approved for new Library and Lecture Rooms by Waterhouse.

APPENDIX.

I. *Contract for the brick-work of the Chapel.*

May 16, 1663.

Articles of Agreement made between y^e R^t wor^t M. Franck D^r in Divinity M^r of P. Hall, and E. Stearne one of the Fellowes of the sayd Coll on the one part ; And George Jackson and Tho. Hutton of Cambridge Bricklayers on the other part, Concerning the Brick-work of a new Chappell to be built at y^e Coll. aforesayd as followeth.

It is Covenanted and agreed between y^e parties abovesayd, That y^e walls of the Chappell above the second Plint up to the Roofe shall contain in thicknes fower bricks in length ; and that the Heads and sides of all the Bricks w^{ch} shall appear outwards shall be all ground, and fine ioyns made.

That y^e work under the windowes shall be sett out 2 or 3 Inches to the thicknes of y^e second Plint, and so ordered that y^e Bricks shall rise in the midst after y^e forme of Stonework if the Modell so require it.

That for this work y^e sayd D^r F. or M^r S. shall pay unto the sayd G. Jackson and Tho. Hutton, fower pounds, fifteen shillings per pole for every pole of square measure, the windowes not reckoned to make up the measure. They y^e sayd Jackson and Hutton being at all charges of workmanship except y^e laying their materials by them.

That y^e Foundation work up to the second plint shall be reckoned at the same rate.

That y^e Brickwork the outside whereof shall be covered with Ashlaer shall be accounted for as inward work, at the Rate of 30^s per pole for a Brick and half thick proportionably.

II. *Contract for the woodwork.*

Articles of Agreement had made concluded and agreed upon the tenth day of January in the fifteenth yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles the Second, .. Annoque Domini, 1664 : Betweene the R^t. wor^t Robert Mapletoft Mast^r or Keeper of the Colledge or Hall of Mary Valence commonly called Pembroke Hall... and Nathaniel Coga Fellow of the said Colledge on the one part, and Cornelius Austine and Richard Billopps and William his sonne of Camebridge in the county of Camebridge Joyners on the other part, as Followeth, viz :

Imprimis it is agreed between the said parties ... First, that they the said Cornelius Austine and Richard and William Billopps ... shall at their owne proper cost and charge find, provide and prepare such a parcell of good cleane and substantiall wain-scott well seasoned all and without any cracks or flaws as may be everyway fit and sufficient for the Joyners work wh is to be done and sett up within the New Chappell at Pemb. Hall in Camebridge, and that whatever parcells of the said wain-scot shall be thought to be insufficient and any way defective the said Rob^t Mapletoft and Nath. Coga shall have liberty to refuse the same, and they obliged forthwth to supply better in the stead thereof.

Item it is agreed that they ... shall at their own proper cost and charges prepare work and sett up all the said wain-scott according to a certaine forme and draught of

Joyners work agreed upon between the said parties with 14 seates on each side the chappell, and two returning on each side the doore beneath the organ loft, and with a large Cornice all round that inner chappell and the whole work (at least within the inner chappell) to be finished, so as that the said inner chappell shall be in a readinesse for the laying of a marbe pavement before the dedication of the said chappell, wh is intended to be upon the 21st of September next after the date hereof, yf god permitt.

Item that they shall at their own charges provide all materialls of good wainscot for the two Rows of the lower seates descending from the upper seates and answering therunto, and for the carved work within the said chappell viz. for the Festoones and for the Capitalls.

Item it is agreed that the price to be paid by the said Robert Mapletoft and Nath. Coga unto the said Cornelius Austine and Richard and William Billopps shall be five pounds twelve shillings and six pence for every of the fornamed seates (being in all thirty two seates) with the two outer seates answering unto them, wh are included in that said price wh is agreed upon for the thirty two seates.

Item that they . . shall provide . . all the groundwork, ioices, stepps, and Floores of all the said seates unto the same rate and price of £5 . 12 . 6 per seate excepting onely some od remnants of oak y^e remaine about the work of the said chappell wh the said Robert Mapletoft and Nath. Coga are to allow them for the groundwork. Item that they the said Joyners shal make such a difference for the seates on each side the doore beneath the organ loft as the said Robert Mapletoft and Nath. Coga shall direct them.

Item that the price to be paid unto them the aforesaid Joyners for the said Cornice from the ends of the seates round the east end and also over the doore to the inner chappell shall be sixteen shillings per yard to be measured by the girt: they to find all materials and work belonging to it. Item the price to be paid for every round Colonne shall be three pounds for the materials of it and working and finishing all belonging to it except the capitall.

Item it is mutually agreed that they . . shall deduct and make allowance for the avenues and passages where the seates are to be interrupted at the rate of twelve shillings per yard girt measure. Item that the said Robert Mapletoft and Nath. Coga shall allow unto them . . twelve shillings per yard for the wainscot in the Corners of the Chappell next under the organ loft with the Cornice over it to be measured by the girt. Item it is agreed that the price to be paid for the wainscot in the outer chappell, to be wrought with large faire pannels and Balection molding shall be seven shillings per yard girt measure, and they the said Joyners to find all materialls belonging to it.

Lastly for the times of payment it is covenanted and mutually agreed that in consideration the said Cornelius Austine and William and Richard Billopps shall give good and sufficient security for the severall summes they shall receive untill their work be performed according to these articles, that then the said Robert Mapletoft and Nath. Coga shall pay unto them . . one hundred pounds the tenth day of March next after the date hereof and fifty pounds more the tenth day of Aprill, and fifty pounds more the last of June next comeing and the rest as soon as their work is in due manner fully compleate and ended. In witnesse whereof the parties above mentioned have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seales the day and yeare first above written.

Memorandum It was agreed before the sealing that the price to be paid for the Pillasters in the door passage and the outer chappell shall be 12^s per yard girt measure.

IV.

Gonville and Caius College.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE SITE¹.



THE present site of Gonville and Caius College is bounded on the north by Trinity Lane, formerly called S. Michael's Lane, on the south by Senate-House Passage, on the east by Trinity Street, formerly called High Street, and on the west by Trinity Hall Lane, formerly called Milne Street. Before the formation of Senate-House Passage, the lane from Milne Street along the north side of the University Library extended only to the Gate of Honour, and thence turned south into Schools Street. The remainder of the south boundary of the site was formed by the buildings and garden of S. Mary's Hostel², belonging to Corpus Christi College.

Before we enter upon the history of the site, it must be remarked that it was originally divided into a north and south portion by a narrow lane, which ran across it from High Street to Milne Street, leaving the former at a point opposite to S. Michael's Churchyard, and entering the latter opposite to the end of S. Gerard's Hostel Lane³. The western part of the north

¹ [This chapter can only be thoroughly understood by consulting the accompanying plan drawn by my friend the Rev. John Lamb, M.A., late Fellow and Bursar of Caius College. The portions of the text and notes contributed by him are signed J. L.]

² [For an account of this Hostel, see the History of the Schools.]

³ Annals, 7. The passage is translated and quoted below, p. 168. Amongst certain dues payable by Michael House we find: "Item Thesaurario ville Cantebr' ...

portion was the site acquired by Gonville Hall in 1353 from Corpus Christi College in exchange for the original site in Luthburne Lane. It was situated "in Henney," and contained the great Stone-house, or principal messuage, of Sir John de Cambridge, and the adjoining messuage of John Goldcorn, with the buildings, gardens, walls, shops, and schools appertaining thereto¹. This property was held of the Priory of Anglesey "in capite," and by an indenture dated 1354 (28 Edw. III.) an annual rent of 5s. was paid for it². Between it and High Street were some dwelling-houses, the history of which will be most conveniently related after the south portion of the site has been described.

At the south-west corner of the latter was a garden belonging to the estate of Sir John de Cambridge, which subsequently became the garden assigned to the Master, as indeed the greater part of it is to this day. Eastward of this, extending to the High Street, was the Stone-house of the Prior of Anglesey: between which, and the lane previously mentioned, was the Rectory House of S. Michael's Church and its garden. This, together with the advowson of the Church, had been purchased in 1323 by Hervey de Stanton, founder of Michael House, and conveyed by him to his college³. In position it is represented by the alley of trees that connects the Gate of Virtue with the Gate of Humility⁴. We must now investigate the history, and trace the acquisition, of these pieces of ground.

pro quadam venella ex opposito ecclesie Sancti Michaelis Cantebr' ijs." Otryngham, p. 75. [The chartulary referred to as "Otryngham," or "the Otryngham Book," is described in a note to the History of Michael House, and the MS. chronicle referred to as "Annals" in Chap. II. Note 1.]

¹ [Annals, p. 3. In the conveyance, dated 15 August, 1353, of the old site to Thomas de Eltisley, Master of Corpus Christi College, by John de Girington, Master (*custos*) of the Hall of the Annunciation, the site received in exchange is described as "capitale mesuagium domini Johannis de Cantabrigg, militis ... situatum ex opposito habitacionis collegii scolarium domus Sancti Michaelis, una cum toto illo tenemento quod quondam fuit Johannis de Goldecorne predicto mesuagio annexo, cum scolis schoppis gardinis muris et omnibus aliis pertinenciis suis." J. L. Corp. Christ. Coll. Treasury, Drawer 31, No. 62.]

² [This was paid regularly till 1611. J. L.]

³ [Otryngham, i b, p. 2.]

⁴ [Professor Willis is here speaking of the original position of the Gate of Humility. The Alley of Trees is however the same, and the new gate at the end opposite S. Michael's Church is still called the Gate of Humility.]

It appears that in the 7th year of Edward I. (1278—9) the convent of Anglesey¹ was already in possession, by the gift of Robert Hoberd, of a messuage in this parish, and also of a piece of void ground. The first is described as a stone messuage in the parish of S. Michael, lying between the land of Alured Rector of S. Michael and a certain highway on the north, and the land of Richard Bateman on the south: it extended on its south border from the great street to a certain highway on the west, and on its north border from the land of the said Alured to the same highway. This description plainly indicates the south portion of the ground in the plan, the highway which formed part of its north border being the lane mentioned by Dr Caius², and the highway on the west, Milne Street. The piece of void ground seems to have been the west part of the north portion, where the stone-house was subsequently erected (by whom is not known), which was purchased in 1311 by Sir John de Cambridge, and bequeathed by him to the Gild of Corpus Christi³.

¹ [Rot. Hund. ii. 360. Otryngham, 17 d, p. 39. Hailstone's Hist. of Bottisham, 228. The Priory of the Blessed Virgin and S. Nicholas, at Anglesey in the Parish of Bottisham, Cambs., was a Monastery of Regular Austin Canons, supposed to have been founded before the end of the reign of Henry I. The number of Canons appears to have varied between 8 and 11. There was a Prior and a sub-Prior. Barnwell Priory was another Convent professing the same rule. These two Convents had great influence in Cambridge in the 14th century. Besides that part of the present site of this College belonging to Anglesey Priory in the year 1280, as shewn by the plan, it appears also to have possessed a much larger piece of land adjoining; for, from a deed in the muniment room of Corpus Christi College, we learn that Walter de Wythersfield Prior of Anglesey and the Convent granted to John de Cambridge and his wife and sons: "placeam nostram vocatam Henneye cum pertinenciis in Cantebr' prout jacet in longitudine et latitudine usque ad ripam que se extendit a magno ponte ville predictae usque ad parvum pontem ejusdem." The deed is undated, but as Walter de Wythersfield was Prior from 1316 to 1338, this was probably the same John de Cambridge who bought the original site of the College in 1311. J. L.]

² [This lane appears from the above to have been public in 1280. We know, however, from what follows that it was closed to the public before 1337; so that it never, as a public way, divided the gardens from the College. J. L.]

³ Borough Report, p. 25. [Sir John de Cambridge appears to have bought from Adam Elyot de Cambridge, so that the Priory must have alienated the site between 1280 and 1311, in which interval the original house which became the first home of the College on its new site must have been built. In the deed conveying the house from Adam Elyot to Sir John, which still exists in the muniment room of Corpus

We next find that in 1337 the Priory of Anglesey leased to Michael House for 40 years a curtilage (BCG, fig. 1) extending lengthwise from the Rectory messuage on the east to that of Sir John de Cambridge on the west, and in breadth from the stone-house belonging to the Priory to a certain lane, "once public," on the north¹. This piece of ground, as the Otryngham book informs us, became part of the garden of the Rectory House. We may therefore conclude that the lane was by that time enclosed as a private road to the tenements on the site.

The property between S. Michael's Lane and the wall of the stone-house belonging to the Priory was bought by Dr Caius from Trinity College in 1564. It consisted then of four tenements called Ansel's, Houghton's, Talbot's and Smythe's, alias "The King's Arms," or, in the words of the conveyance from Trinity College (dated June 1, 5 Eliz. 1563),

"fower mesuages ... in the parishe of S. Michael ... over agaynst the churche and churchyerd of the same parishe, betwene the lane called Michael lane of the northe and the tenemente of Robert Lane baker of the south, and abuttinge upon the king's highway or high strete there on the easte, and the gardeynes and ortesyerdes belonging to Gonevill and Caius College ... on the west."

It may be presumed that all these tenements had become the property of Michael House and had thus passed to Trinity College². A few particulars may be recovered about them. The King's Arms was the same as the Rectory House: it is described by Dr Caius thus³:

Christi College, the property is thus described: "*Messuagium meum quod vocatur le Stonehalle quod jacet in Cantebr' in parochia sancti Michaelis simul cum alio messuagio meo adjacente, et abuttat super messuagium Reginaldi de Comberton in predicta parochia.*" J. L.]

¹ Otryngham, 32 b, p. 48. The glebe of S. Michael is described in 1324 (*ibid.* 1 b, p. 2), as bounded on the west by the estate of Sir John de Cambridge. It must therefore at that time have included this curtilage or garden: and as the northern abuttal is stated to be the house of Adam de Trumpington, the lane must have even then ceased to be public. The Priory at the same time remitted to Michael House their rights to the glebe.

² Annals, A.D. 1564, 56—65. "*Sumptibus Johannis Caii acquisita sunt a Collegio Sancte Trinitatis quatuor tenementa vocata Ansel's, Houghtons Talbots, et Smythes alias Arma Regis, in parochia Sancti Michaelis.*"

³ Annals, A.D. 1569, 76. [The site of this tenement was employed by Dr Caius in building his court in 1565, and making the new approach to it from Trinity St. It extended from the Gate of Humility to the west end of the Chapel. J. L.]

"The space between the gate of Humility and the gate of Virtue was formerly occupied by a tenement called the King's Arms. This was once the residence of John Sibert, alias Siberch, the University Printer, who printed some books of John Lydgate and others, and of Erasmus when he was residing at Cambridge and publicly lecturing on S. Jerome."

The next tenement to the north had been bought by Hervey de Stanton and Walter de Buxton in 1326, from Adam de Trumpyngton, formerly Rector of the Church of S. Michael. It was situated opposite to the west end of that Church on the north side of the glebe, and had become a principal part of the messuage of Master William Syda, when the Otrynham book was written¹. The messuage to the north of this had been given to S. Michael's Church in ancient times by Johanna, daughter of John, a fisherman of Benewyk, on condition that mass should be celebrated there twice a year for the souls of herself and her relations². The history of the two tenements to the north of these is related in a note³.

¹ Otrynham, 34: and 36, 8 d. Adam had bought the garden (June 27, 18 Edw. I. 1290) of Richard Wombe. It is described as 32 feet long and 21 feet broad, lying between land of John de Wynepol on one side and of Wombe on the other, and abutting on the houses of John and the land of Adam. In the deed of sale of the above tenement dated March 19, 19 Edw. II., 1326, the description is "a messuage in the High Street opposite the Church of St Michael, next to a House of the Masters and Scholars of Michael House on the south and a messuage belonging to the Church on the north, abuts eastward on the Highway (*regia strata*) and westward on the messuage of John de Wynepol" (*ibid.* 9 d). A marginal note in a later hand adds "ubi nunc est gardinum aulae de gunwill."

² [The grant is without date. It has been preserved in Otrynham (p. 4, 6 b), "Johanna, daughter of John Piscator de Benewyk grants to the Church of S. Michael her mansion in that parish, 24 feet in length from the great street to the land of R. Wombe, and 17 feet broad in front, between the land of William de la Bruer and R. Wombe aforesaid, in the middle 20 feet, at the end 24 feet." The rubric is as follows: "Sequitur carta per quam ab antiquo fuit collatum ecclesie sancti Michaelis illud mesuagium vbi modo situatur shoppa magistri Willelmi Syda." The inquisition of Edw. I. (Rot. Hund. p. 389) states that Master Stephen de Aseligfeld Rector of the Church of S. Michael holds a messuage in the same parish which John de Benewyk had given the said Church in pure and perpetual alms. This pays a rent to the Prior and Convent of Anglesey of 12d, but by what right the Prior is ignorant. "Benewyk" may possibly be Benwick in the Isle of Ely near March.]

³ [The deeds in Caius College Muniment Room relating to these four tenements, reveal the following facts about their history previous to their coming into the possession of the College: Ansell's, which was the corner house (*domus angularis*), belonged in the reign of Edward III. to John de Leveryngton and Margaret his wife, who con-

The walls of Gonville Hall gardens were built with sums given in and about 1481 and 1498 by various benefactors, as will be told in the next chapter. The narrow lane which had ceased to be public in 1337 appears to have been now absorbed: and the map shews that the wall CG separates the ground of Gonville Hall from the garden of the Rector of S. Michael's. At the time these walls were building the College purchased of the Priory of Anglesey a piece of ground 40 ft. wide to enlarge the Master's garden, at a yearly rent of 8*d.*; and at the same time the Priory agreed to release the College from this rent and from the rent of 5*s.* paid of old for their site, as above stated, when they shall have settled lands to that value upon "the said Priory near Botsome," or have given them 6 pounds in lieu thereof¹.

The new Court which Dr Caius made, was, as he himself relates, "previously occupied by four gardens divided by three walls and a wooden paling. Two of these gardens had been for many years in the possession of the College; the other two were bought by myself from Robert Lane and Trinity

veyed it, with its garden extending back to the property of Gonville Hall, in 1362, to William de Brokedyssh of Cambridge. In 1396, Margaret Yonne, widow of John Dunton, conveyed the same to Simon Bentibowe. In 1428, Thomas Hamelin, Vicar of Grantchester, executor of Simon Bentibowe, and William son of Simon, conveyed the same to Katharine Cristin, Simon Derwind and Christiana his wife. In 1444, William Ronaldson conveyed the same to Roger Levessey and others. The property then appears to have passed by various releases entirely into the possession of Roger Levessey, whose widow Helen, by will (proved at York, 4 March, 1492), left it to her daughter Alice for her life, and after her death gave it in perpetuity to the Master or President and Fellows (*consocii*) of the College of S. Michael, who were to celebrate an annual obit "*cum nota*" for the souls of Roger Levessey and Robert Astley and the souls of "our children." Houghton's, which was the next tenement to the south, appears to have consisted of two messuages in 1326, when it was bought by Michael House from Roger son of Guy Buttecourt, for 100 marks. J. L.]

¹ [College Treasury, Box i. No. 33 (a), dated 3 April 13 Hen. VII. It is described as "a parcell of a gardeyn as it lyeth in length nexte to the grounde of the saide Colledge ... abutting upon the gardeyn of Seint Marie hostell ... ageinst the South and conteynyng in brede from the saide grounde of the saide Maister and ffellawes xliij feete of the Kinges Standerde." (The number xl is rather obscure and somewhat defaced. The north boundary is not mentioned, but it must have been the Rectory garden.) The right of way to this garden was probably by the lane, and it was the purchase from the Priory which made it possible for Gonville Hall and Michael House to absorb the lane between them. J. L.]

College¹." One of the former two was on the east side of the path which leads from the Gate of Honour to the Chapel, and divides the Court into two parts. This, the one obtained from the Priory of Anglesey, he took possession of for the Court, and "instead of it"² inclosed a good part of the ground he had bought of Lane, building a wall (AD, fig. 1) to separate it from the other portion of Lane's ground which he had not bought, thus forming the President's garden. This wall remained until 1854. The other of the former two gardens was part of the original Master's garden. Lane's garden was a portion of the orchard of the "Stone House" of the Priory of Anglesey. This property had passed after the Dissolution into the hands of William Allinson, citizen and alderman of Lincoln, who sold it (March 6, 36 Hen. VIII.) to Robert Lane, a baker of Cambridge, as appears from the deed between him and Dr Caius, in which it is called "*le lambe aliter le Stonne house*," formerly belonging to the Priory of Anglesey. Dr Caius purchased a portion of the orchard minutely described as being seventy-three feet two inches and a half long on the north border, and sixty-five feet six inches and three quarters long on the south border, lying between the tenement lately called "*Saint Mary Ostle*" now in the tenure of Thomas Pede on the south, and a parcell of the tenement or house called "*le Kinges armes*," formerly belonging to Michael House and now to the College of Gonville and Caius, on the north, and abutting on the remainder of "*my orchard*" [i.e. Lane's] to the east, and on part of the garden of Gonville to the west³.

¹ [Annals, 66. This garden was the one leased by the Priory of Anglesey in 1337 to Michael House. It was probably used as a garden to the Rectory, and must have become the property of Michael House or of Trinity College previous to the time of Dr Caius, as it appears to have passed to him with the Rectory House, then called the King's Arms and occupied by Smythe J. L.]

² [This garden had possibly been appropriated to the use of the President. J. L.]

³ The Annals (68) contain a transcript of the deed in question. The dimensions enable this piece to be laid down to scale with precision. [From a bond given by Dr Caius to Corpus Christi College (Corpus Treasury, Box 31, No. 49), dated 10 March, 1566, it appears that he bound himself in £20 that neither he nor his successors should "open any wyndowe or windowes of the gable ende of that their colledge abutting uppon the garden of the howse or tenement latelie called Sayncte Mary ostell ... during the terme of 63 yers next insewing:" and further to "make three seates betwene the saied gable ende and the ould wall of the saied colledge of

Lastly, in 1566, Dr Caius bought a small slip of the ground of S. Mary Hostel from Corpus Christi College¹ to enable him to carry the south wall of his Court in a direct line. This piece was only 3 feet 4 inches wide at the west end, and 3 inches wide at the east end, and cost him 20 shillings. [The fourth garden was the western portion of the Rectory Garden of Michael House: which passed with the Rectory House into the possession of Dr Caius in 1564.] Besides these four gardens, out of which the Caius Court was composed, there was the "herbarium," or "cook's little garden²," to the east of Gonville Court, originally part of the property of John Goldcorn. To this Dr Caius added portions of the gardens of the tenements bought from Trinity College (as the plan explains), thereby doubling it in size, and converted it into a garden for the fellows. [It was enclosed by a high wall until 1868.]

[The history of the whole site occupied by the College Buildings in the year 1857 is thus complete. We have now to finish that of the south-east corner, which we have already traced down to 1545. It became the property of the College in 1782, but, as the earliest of its existing title-deeds is dated 1675, there remains a period of 130 years during which we are without any information respecting it. In 1675 it was in the possession of Thomas and Richard Prior. It is described as a messuage, sometime an Inn, called "the Stone House," divided into two, between St Mary's Hostle on the south and Gonville and Caius College on the west, "parcel sometime of the Priory of Anglesea." Thomas and Richard Prior sold the western portion in 1675 to William Morden for £440. This passed to Conyers Middleton in 1738, to Charles Finch in 1761, and from him to the College in 1782³. The eastern portion appears to have been divided into two houses before 1711, when we find the corner house in

Gonville and Caius." The "ould wall" is the west wall of the Priory garden (fig. 1): and the 3 seats, now blocked, may be seen in Senate-House passage between the Gate of Honour and the south gable of the eastern building of Caius Court. They have usually been mistaken for windows.]

¹ Annals, 1566, 74 and 76.

² "Hortulus coci."

³ [This was the large redbrick house of which the lower floor was used, first as a book shop (Barraclough's) and afterwards as a stationer's shop (Macmillan's), till the year 1854, when it was taken into the College to be used for lecture-rooms. It was here that Conyers Middleton lived. J. L.]



Fig. 2. Gonville Court, and the north side of Caius Court, from Logan's print, taken about 1688.
 A, Chapel B Library C, Hall D, Master's Lodge E, Gonville Court F, Caius Court,
 with the dial set up by Theodore Havens of Caves.

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the possession of John Richardson, who sold it to Mary Heath for £114, on Dec. 8, 1711. It then passed to Mary Collet, granddaughter of Mary Heath. She sold it for £210 in 1758 to the above Charles Finch, who conveyed it together with the western portion in 1782 to the College. The remaining house in 1761 belonged to Trinity Hall. It passed at the same time as the others to the College. These houses were used as part of the College from 1854 to 1868, when they were demolished and the entrance tower built upon their site. J. L.]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF GONVILLE COURT. WORKS OF DR CAIUS.

GONVILLE and Caius College contains three courts, termed "Gonville Court," "Caius Court" and "Tree Court," besides the Master's garden, yards, etc.

The first-named court (fig. 2) was for two centuries the only one, and it therefore contained within its circuit the essential buildings of the College, the Hall, the Chapel, the Library, and the Lodge. It had an entrance gateway from Trinity Lane which was abolished in 1754. The two latter courts were added in the reigns of Elizabeth and her successor to increase the accommodation for Fellows and Students.

The College possesses a volume containing the annals of its early history drawn up by Dr Caius from documents which have for the most part disappeared¹. In this book, after recording

¹ The "Annals" are written in Latin, on vellum, in the form of an annual register of events from the foundation of the College, interspersed with copies of documents in latin and english. The work was begun by Dr Caius, but continued by Dr Legge, his successor, to the year 1603. In 1655 a College order was made for its transcription, from which resulted a paper copy. "A payment to Mr Horne for wrighting the Annals £5. 6s. 10d." in the Bursar's Book, Michaelmas, 1658, shews the conclusion of the work. This copy contains not only the whole of the original, but a continuation of the history to the year 1648, compiled by Mr William Moore,

that the episcopal executor of the founder had exchanged the Hall in Lurghburne Lane for "Le stone house" with its appurtenances and other tenements adjacent thereto late of John Goldcorne he proceeds¹:

"A. D. 1353 Thus was the Hall of Goneville, otherwise of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, converted into an orchard for the College of Corpus Christi, the ancient walls still remaining, and the gates, one opening into Lurghburne Lane, the other into the churchyard of S. Botolph. By altering the messuage of John de Cambridge, and the tenements of John Goldecorne, the Bishop made the north side of our College, with a kitchen for the use of the Master and Fellows. The Master's Chamber was over the north gatehouse, the fellows' chambers on either side². To this Hall of the Annunciation thus lately founded, Thomas Bishop of Ely, and Alan Prior of that Cathedral Church granted licence in 1353³, that divine service might

University Librarian 1653-9, at the latter date. No attempts have since been made to continue this chronicle. [An interesting notice of both the original and the copy is to be found in the Cambridge Portfolio (J. J. Smith), p. 44 sq. There is also in the College an older volume entitled "Evidences of the College." This book was written by Edmand Sheriffe (Master 1472-1475) and contains copies of the oldest deeds, charters, licenses in mortmain, etc., and much information about the College property. It is partly copied, MSS. Baker, xxix-263 sq. Dr Caius was probably indebted entirely to Sheriffe's Evidences for the earlier part of his Annals, and as he entered in 1529, only 54 years after the death of Sheriffe, information about the interval between Sheriffe's time and his own could easily be derived from conversation with living members of the College. A very imperfect copy of this book exists in the College Library (MSS. 621), but the Editor of the Catalogue does not appear to have been aware of the existence of the original. Until 1874 it was kept in the Lodge in the care of the Master; but it was then removed to the Library, where it is now placed with the other MSS. This most interesting volume appears to have escaped the notice of Professor Willis.

It will be convenient to describe here another volume which will be referred to in the following pages, and which also appears never to have come into the hands of the author. This is the oldest "Computus," or Bursar's account book. It is a small folio paper volume of 292 pages, containing the College accounts from 1423 to 1436, 1488 to 1493, and 1508 to 1524. The early pages contain several accounts of expenditure of money in College for repairs and general expenses, some of which will be quoted below, but the book soon becomes a mere record of stipends paid to the Master, Fellows, and Scholars, and the entries in which this history is more particularly interested disappear. J. L.]

¹ Annals, 4-7. [For the history of the foundation see Historical Introduction.]

² It is possible that the space separating the two houses may have been taken for the gateway. J. L.]

³ This license still remains in the Treasury. [It is sealed by Bishop Thomas de L'Isle, and by the Prior and Chapter. The Prior was Alan de Walsingham. The Bishop's seal was affixed on April 1, 1353, that of the Chapter two days afterwards.

be celebrated in the private Chapel thereof. From this we may gather, that a Chapel existed at that time, but that it was unfinished. That it was not completed until 1393 we learn from the letters of Pope Boniface¹, who in that year authorised the fellows to celebrate therein.

"The Hall, the Master's chamber, the Library, the West side of the College, and the south side from thence as far as the Chapel, were built in 1441 at the instigation, expense, and contrivance of that worthy man and liberal benefactor Thomas Atwood², then Master of

The license is however for the erection of a Chapel, and does not imply that one was then commenced. Indeed considering that the first agreement with Corpus Christi College, about the exchange of site, is dated June 1, 1353, just two months later than the Bishop's license, it is evident that a chapel on the present site could not then have been commenced. We have no record as to when the Chapel was commenced. Blomefield (Collect. p. 43) says, but with what authority is not plain, that the North Isle of S. Michael's Church was the Chapel to Gonville Hall. J. L.] Another license, to be in force for three years only, was granted in 1389 (Nov. 22) by Bishop Fordham "in capella sive oratorio infra collegium, ... si ad hoc decens fuerit et honestum, divina licite celebrare." MSS. Baker, xxxi. 209. [This license does not exist in the College, nor is there any mention of it in the Annals. Baker copied it from Fordham's Register. At the end of the three years the Pope's license took its place. J. L.]

¹ The Bull of Pope Boniface the Ninth is transcribed at length in the Annals p. 19, where it is dated by error 1384; but the fifth year of his pontificate, which is also given, shews that the date should be 1393. [Baker copies the correct date, Nov. 13, 1393, from Sheriffe's Evidences. MSS. Baker, xxix. 275. J. L.]

² Thomas Atwood, 6th Master (1426—1454). [The following building account, undated, is entered on the back of the first sheet of the oldest computus book, and may be of any date subsequent to 1423. Is it not probable that it is an account of the work done through the liberality of Atwood, Warrocke, and Preston in 1441? The items and the amount point to such a work as building one side of Gonville Court in a plain style would have cost about the middle of the fifteenth century. For we know (Rogers' Hist. of Prices, i. 259) that in 1448 Merton College rebuilt their Bell Tower at a cost of £141. 19s. 4½d.; and such a work would certainly cost now upwards of £4000; so that the building to which this account refers would cost about £1100 at the present day.

"Expense pro communibus latomorum et aliorum et aliorum necessariorum in edificacione domus

In primis	xxvijs vd
Item pro cariagio meremii in die trinitatis	v marc
Item pro communibus latomorum et aliorum	iiij li xs iiij d ob
Item pro meremio et cariagio et lapidibus	v marc
Item pro monyels et aliis lapidibus	xiijs iiij d
It' pro lapidibus de baryngton	vijs viij d
It' pro leyers et seru'	xs
It' pro lapidibus	vijs viij d
Item pro communibus et aliis	viii xvijs iiij d
It' debet magist'	ix li xiijs ob
It' pro coibus pro tempore furbish'	xli ijs viij d ob"

the Hall, aided by the contributions of John Warrocke, John Preston, and other good men. Before this time there existed only the north side, altered from the houses of John de Cambridge and John de Goldcorne as above related. Neither was there a library, but in lieu thereof a strong-room, as the documents of the College as well as the statutes of the Episcopal Founder attest¹. I find among the ancient maniments a license from William, Bishop of Ely, dated Sept. 5, 1470, to enable the Masters and Fellows to celebrate divine offices in the oratory near the Master's Chamber². The Chapel however, which occupies the remainder of the South side of the College, commenced many years before, was completed about 1393 by William Rougham, Professor of Medicine, at his own expense³. To perfect the work Thomas Drantalle, formerly fellow of the College, gave the sum of £14. 13s. 4d. But for the construction of the eastern side of the College that excellent woman, worthy of all praise, Elizabeth Clere, widow, formerly the wife of Robert Clere, Esquire, gave two hundred marks about 1490. The chamber in that part which is nearest to the Chapel was finished at the expense of Nicholas Buckenham, who besides conferred upon the College his estates in Haddenham. In this manner, and by the help of these persons, our College obtained a complete quadrangle. It has remained as they left it to our own days, except that the gardens have been enlarged; a stable and a dovehouse have been built: it has been surrounded with walls, and suitably ornamented.

"For the completion of the College, Henry Costeley, Master⁴, John Awbrey, senator of Norwich, and John Owdolfe, clerk, gave £200. in 1481; Henry John Drolle and Richard Browne, also senators of Norwich, gave 240 marks. With these latter sums were built the walls of the gardens, the stable, and the fuel-house. This was afterwards divided in 1536, and the dovehouse built out of it at a cost of £7. os. 16d. With

The account is not summed, but the total appears to amount to £40. 11. 9½d. The last item but one may represent Thomas Atwood's contribution towards the expenditure, the rest being provided for by the gifts of Warrocke and Preston. J. L.]

¹ [It is certain that the College possessed books before 1441, but it does not appear from any documents how they were kept. The Bishop's statutes throw no light on the subject, as the statute "de libris" is a copy verbatim of the statute he had previously enacted for Trinity Hall. The following entries occur in the old computus book under the year 1423:

"Item pro redemptioe librorum norgate xx s.
Item pro prandio thome norgate et socii sui deliberantis predictos libros. iiii d."

J. L.]

² [This license from William (Gray) Bishop of Ely "to the Chaplains and Scholars in the Hall of the Annunciation" "ad suam beneplacitum daratura" is dated Sept. 5, 1476. It applies to the Master's chamber in a new position, the first position having been over the gateway. J. L.]

³ [William Rougham, M.D., was 2nd Master (1360—1393). The date 1353 in the Cambridge Calendar for the end of John Cobton's Mastership is incorrect; as there is a deed in the Treasury of the date 1360 in which he is named as the Master. J. L.]

⁴ [9th Master (1475—1483).]

the same money were purchased the hangings of the College Hall, of the Master's bedchamber and inner chamber, together with linen cloths and ornaments for the common table. From the same fund was built the north part of Fishewicke Hostel¹, and the south part (as far as the gate) with the walls of the same.... Towards building the College walls, John Barly, Master², gave £5, and also remitted a debt of £50 due to him from the College, for sums which he had formerly expended in their service. James Goldewell, Bishop of Norwich³, gave £9. 19s. besides books, and two small chalices; Agnes Thorpe, 6s. 8d.; Anna Rede 10s.; and Sir Thomas Lovell £30, for the building of the walls which extend from the Chapel to the Lane and the Street. For there formerly existed a lane which led from S. Michael's churchyard along the south side of our Chapel, dividing the gardens from the College and extending as far as S. Gerard's Hostel's lane.

"While these walls were in building, leave was given to S. Michael's College [Michael House] that certain buildings of theirs situated to the south [of the College] might rest upon them: provided they were willing to cover them in such a way as not to injure the masonry of the walls."

[Dr Caius further relates how the windows of the Hall, Library and Chapel were glazed by successive benefactors: and then, coming to the events of his own Mastership, proceeds as follows:]

"In the same year, 1559, all the buildings of the College, which through negligence and improvidence, had been in past years damaged by storms, wind and rain, were repaired at an expense of £20. The pavement of the court, broken and uneven, and covered with mud and sand, was mended. Straight paths were laid down: and an iron grating, to keep animals out, was placed within the northern entrance gate. In a word, everything was cleansed. Before, you might have thought it was the stable of Augeas. This took place in the month of March⁴."

This detailed narrative is extremely interesting on several grounds. It was written by a person intimately acquainted with the history of his College, for which he had a strong affection, and to whose documents he had complete access. It shews too the very gradual way in which the quadrangle of this early College was completed, by the gifts of benefactors from time

¹ Fishewicke Hostel will be described in the history of Trinity College. [An endorsement on the deed of gift of Costesly, Awbrey, and Owdolfe takes credit for all the above expenditure, as having been made from the £200 given by them. J. L.]

² [10th Master (1483—1503).]

³ 1473—1498. [The present lofty clerestory and stone vault of the presbytery of Norwich Cathedral are due also to this Bishop's liberality. J. L.]

⁴ Annals, 45, A. D. 1559.

to time. The Court in question, which still subsists although utterly transformed, is only about 84 feet square, and the buildings were of the plainest description. Nearly 140 years passed from its foundation to its completion. It must be remembered that the number of persons to be lodged was small. Gonville left only a master and four fellows, to which three other fellowships were added in the years 1393, 1478, and 1487 respectively¹. As there were few or no pensioners in those days, it is evident that the community might well reside for 90 years in the north side of the quadrangle, which contained 8 or 9 chambers². These however were not all lodging-rooms, as some of them were employed as strong rooms, dining-hall, kitchen, and for servants³.

This quadrangle (fig. 2), completed as above related by Dame Elizabeth Clere, and having a single entrance in S. Michael's Lane, a courtyard, kitchen, stable, etc. on the west side⁴, a small herb garden for the use of the cook on the east side, and a large garden on the south-west side⁵, remained until the reign of Elizabeth, with the exception of necessary repairs and alterations, as when in 1564 the eastern gable of Gonville Hall next the herbarium was repaired, and three new stone windows inserted in lieu of three wooden windows which were rotten from age. [One of these was put in at the expense of Dr Busby⁶.]

¹ [The number of fellows appears to have varied according as the income of the College was found sufficient. This was intended by Bishop Bateman's statutes. Thus in the year 1423, the earliest date to which our computus books go back, there appear to have been 4 fellows, and the income was £30. 0s. 11d. In 1427 the income had increased to £60. 13s. 7d., and we find that in 1426 there were elected 5 additional fellows, making 9 in all. In 1434 the number of fellows was 6, and in 1447 it was again reduced to 4. In 1465 it was only 2. In 1466 it was 5, in 1488 it was 6, but as the accounts were not kept in the interval, it is impossible to say what was the immediate effect of the foundation of the fellowships in 1478 and 1487. J. L.]

² [Besides this accommodation, there was after the year 1394 Physwicke's Hostel on the other side of S. Michael's Lane. J. L.]

³ [In Bishop Bateman's statutes provision is made for 2 "Officiarii," viz. "Pistor" and "Dispensator," and 2 "Garciferi" for the "Pistrina" and "Coquina." Only two servants, "Coquus" and "Dispensator," appear in the accounts of the 15th century. J. L.]

⁴ [Part of this is shewn in fig. 4.]

⁵ [This appears to have been separated from the College by the lane which used to run on the south side of the Chapel.]

⁶ [Annals, 65. In the account of College affairs compiled by James Hicks, M.A. (MS. Caius Coll.), it is mentioned that "on rebuilding that north side of the Coll. in 1753, in the middle window of the said east end was found a stone with this inscription, HUMFRI. BUSBI. FECIT. H. FENESTRAM.]

Dr Caius however (Master 1559—1573), having added 2 fellows and 12 scholars to the ancient foundation, purchased additional ground as already explained, and commenced a new Court.

[The following extracts from a Commission from Queen Elizabeth, dated Aug. 1, 1564, "to all and singuler our Justices of peace, Mayers, Sheriffs, etc." indicate the time when he first began to entertain this idea :

"Wheras we are gyven to understand that our loving subiect John Caius...entendeth with expedition to buyld upp and fynishe the College of Gonevill and Caius...for w^{ch} purpose he hath prepared tymber stonne lyme bricke slate leade and other necessaries, and more entendeth to prepare as for the sayd worke and buyldinge are requysyte, mynding his furderaunce in that behalfe, and to take away suche occasions as may seme to be a lette unto the same, We haue ordeyned...that no maner of tymber stonne or other the premisses, nor any workeman or laborer hired or to be reteyned in the said worke, nor any cart cariage horses or other thing whatsoeuer appoynted and provided for the same, nor the tenants, servantes, or fermors of the said College, or their servantes, nor any of their provisions for carriage be in any wise taken or withdrawne from them attending the said worke by any of our officers or servaunts nor any other; but that suche cartes...together with workemen...to remayn and continew in the said worke so longe as they shalbe hyred or appoynted in the same. And all other the prouisions and necessaries aboue mencyned...to be free from all and every our purveyours and servautes duryng the space of the yeares hereafter folowyng, if the said College shalbe so longe in buylding, any thyng to the contrary notwithstandinge. And therefore we woll and command you and every of you to be ayding helping and assisting the sayd doctor Caius, and all others for him traveling about the accomplishment and expedition of the sayd workes and buyldinges, As ye and every of you tender our pleasure and woll answeare to the contrarie. And our pleasure and commandement ys that this our speciall licence and graunte shalbe good and continue during fyve yeres next ensuyng the date hereof"....]

The foundation stone (fig. 3) of the New Court was laid by Dr Caius on the west side, on Saturday, May 5, 1565, at 4 o'clock in the morning. After solemn prayer to God that the new College might be fortunate in its beginning, continuation, and end, and that all who dwelt in it might be virtuous, given to study, useful, godfearing citizens, he pronounced these words : "*Dico istud ædificium sapientiæ: pono hunc lapidem in fundamentum ædificii, in incrementum virtutis et literarum, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.*" The said stone is laid in the

¹ [Annals, 56.]

middle of the wall next the Master's garden¹. In digging the foundations of these buildings in the gravel it was observed that they came upon water everywhere at a depth of six feet. It also happened that whereas rain had fallen almost without ceasing for two months previously, yet from the fifth day before the commencement of the work to the nineteenth day of the same month, during which time the foundations were so far advanced as to be safe from injury, there was a continuance of fine weather, which the Doctor piously records as an instance of divine favour. The highest and last stone of the west side of the Court was laid on the first of September, 1565, at the third hour after noon. The digging of the foundations of the eastern side began on the 25th of September of the same year, and on the 13th was laid the foundation of the wall dividing Mr Lane's ground from the piece which Dr Caius had bought from him to form the President's garden. [No architect's name is mentioned, and the claims of John of Padua and Theodore Haveus of Cleves are hardly strong enough to warrant the rejection of the more agreeable tradition that Caius was his own architect, and brought the design with him from Padua.]

In the next year², 1566, Dr Caius gave to the College the stipend of his office, from the feast of the Nativity 1559 to the same feast in the year 1566, for the following purposes: That at the door of the College, which opens to the western garden, should be erected a turret staircase (*turris scalaris*), ascending from the garden to the three chambers of the Master (fig. 4), and that the end wall of his chambers should be raised vertically into a gable, so as to enlarge the upper room³; also that the

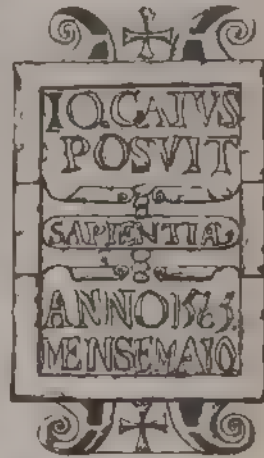


Fig. 3. Foundation Stone of Caius Court, traced from the representation of it in the Annals.

¹ Annals, 66. The position is thus described: "Lapis iste positus est in ipsa media longitudine parietis nostri Collegii, qui proximus est horti occidentali, hac figura et inscriptione." Then follows the drawing of the tablet and inscription given above. The history of the foundation is translated almost literally from the Annals. [11.]

² Annals, 74. ³ The words are "Utque paries finalis easdem cubiculi perpendiculariter in eam ascendat ad supremum cubiculum amplius."

steps ascending from the Chapel to the treasury should be finished; and lastly, that a new gateway of squared hard stone should be raised where the door to the schools is placed. All that related to the form and ornament of these works was to be left to his own judgment and direction. They were commenced in May 1566, and the Master's turret-staircase, with the wall abutting upon it, was completed by October in the same year. In 1570 the Chapel-door which opened into Gonville Court was removed, and a new door opened into the passage which connected the two Colleges (as Dr Caius calls them), or as we should now say "the two Courts." A door was at the same time made on the opposite side of the passage into the Master's lower chamber, so that he might pass from his chamber to the Chapel dryshod. But the Chapel Tower and the Gate of Honour were not built until after Dr Caius' death, which happened July 29, 1573. The exact dates of these works are shewn by an account called "A further summarie table of the whole charges aboute the buildinges of Porta honoris, the Chappell towere, and our founder's Mr Doctor Caius Tombe a 27^o Junii 1573^o vnto the fynishing of the same 1575^o." The Chapel



Fig. 4 Master's Turret Staircase, after Loggan

¹ [The portion relating to the Gate and the Tower runs as follows (Annals, 138):

Item for free Stone from Kings clyffe and white Stone from		
Hasehogfelde, digging and cariage	18	9 4
Item to free Masons and rough Masons for porta honoris and		
the tower	73	7 4
Item for Lime from Hinton	8	18 0
Item for Sande	1	19 6
Item for Iron worke for porta honoris	1	7 0
Item to Laborers	24	8 3
	<hr/> £128 9 5 ¹	

Tower was an ancient turret stair on the south side, at the junction of the Antechapel with the Chapel, and leading to the chamber over the Antechapel, which at that time and long after was used as the College treasury. According to the Annals "it was now completed by the addition of the upper part; for before it rose only to the eaves. On the vertex a weathercock, in the form of Mercury, was placed; and, on account of its position, Dr Caius named it the Sacred Tower¹."

[Dr Caius resigned the Mastership of his College on Jan. 27, 1573: but before he did so, he caused the following account of the cost of the new buildings to be prepared. It precedes in the Annals the account for the Gate and the Tower given above.

"A table summarie of all the expenses of our founders Mr Doctor Caius buyldinges from the feste of Ester 1564, vntill the natiuitie of St^t John Baptist 1573.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Imprimis for trees bought of Sr Henrie Cromwell out of Warboys and Ramsey woodes in number 510.	66	5	0
Item for hewing, marking, felling, lopping, squaring, drawing, and carriage by land and water from thens to Cambridge.	46	4	8
Item to Thorne, Raynsforth and Rothery for the fyrst and weste frame, part by great part by daye.	84	10	9
Item to Rothery and his men for their worke by daye from Midsomer 1566, vntill Midsomer 1573.	123	6	3
Item for bourdes bought and brought in to the Colledge.	29	15	10
Item for staging tymber, hardles, lathes, lyne, cordes and nayles.	31	16	6
Item for Ramsey stone free and ragge, culling, and carriage by land and water.	254	19	8
Item for freestone from kynges Clyffe and Welden, digging and carriage parte by lande parte by water.	101	3	5
Item for whyte stone from Haslingfeld and Barrington digging and carriage.	91	3	5
Item for stone from Barnewell, digging and carriage.	6	5	2
Item for lyme from Reche, Hinton and elsewhere.	54	10	1
Item for Sande and Claye by Barnes, Thomson and others.	11	6	6
Item for Ironworke for wyndowes dores etc.	24	8	10
Item for Leade and to the plommer for casting and laying it.	46	15	7
Item to free Masons from Michaelmas 1564, vntill Midsomer 1573.	337	11	7
Item to the Carver.	7	4	11
Item to roughe Masons.	97	8	2

¹ [This tower is shewn in fig. 2. The two suits of moldings that are carried round it at the level of the eaves mark the junction of the old and new work. See Annals, 140.

Item to Laborers.	219	8	5
Item to Slatters for slatte, tyle, and the workemanshippe.	161	8	6
Item for charges extraordinarie.	37	15	2
The hole summe of all theis expenses ordinarie and ex- traordinarie.	1834	4	2

Besydes the expences omytted by negligense and expences also yet to come for the perfection of the building of the College, and paving of the Courtes of the same¹.”]

The buildings which Dr Caius had erected consisted of two parallel ranges of chambers in two stories with garrets above. The western range extended in continuation of the ancient west side of Gonville Court, 114 feet in length, abutting upon the lane on the south² (fig. 1). The eastern range was parallel to the former at a distance of 90 feet, and was 7 feet longer on account of the irregularity of the ground. A new quadrangle was thus formed, having these ranges of chambers on the east and west, the ancient Chapel and Lodge on the north, and a wall on the south. In this wall a gateway was placed, the unsymmetrical position of which is determined by the direction of the ancient “Schools Street,” to which, as its name imports, it was intended that it should give direct access. A second gateway tower in the east range communicated by an avenue of trees with High Street, where there was a third gate.

[The ranges of chambers are 20 feet high to the eaves, and 36 feet high to the ridge of the roof. The windows are pointed, with square heads. They are each of three lights on the side next the Court, except those which light the staircases, which are of a single light (fig. 8). Those which look into the Tree Court (fig. 7), or into the Master’s Garden, have never more than two lights. The garrets have no windows towards the Court, but lofty dormers on the opposite side, with windows of two lights (fig. 7). The southern gables are each pierced by two windows of a single light. The chimney flues rise through the ridge of the roof (fig. 4): the slender stone chimney-shafts,

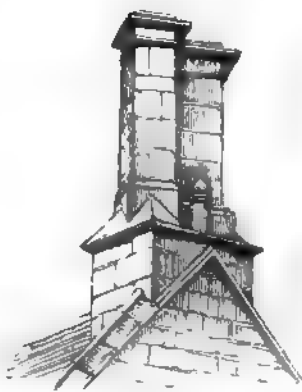


Fig. 5. South Gable of the west range of Caius Court, with original Chimney.

¹ Annals, 136.

² Now Senate-House Lane.

square in outline, are set diagonally on the flue, in clusters of four, except at the gables, where two only occur together (fig. 5). A small ornamental shaft is inserted in the angle between each pair of shafts. Most of these singularly picturesque structures have unfortunately been altered.

A peculiar system of masonry, consisting of stones in large and small courses alternately (fig. 6), was adopted in some parts of the building, as in the wall facing the Tree Court, and in the west wall of the Lodge, near the Turret stair case.]



Fig 6. Lines of Masonry

The absence of buildings on the south side is a proof of the care and forethought which this skilful physician bestowed upon the plan, as he has attested by his 30th statute, which forbids the erection of any building which shall completely close in the south side of his College, "lest the air, from being confined within a narrow space should become foul, and so do harm to us, and still more to Gonville's College." The same anxiety for cleanliness appears in his 78th statute (*De Atrii munditie*), which enacts that any one who throws dirt or offal into the Court, or who airs beds or bed-linen there, shall be fined three shillings and fourpence. The following curious passage in his will illustrates this part of the subject :

"Item, I will y^e there be maynteyned a lustie and healtie honest true and unmarried man of fortie yeares of age and upwardes, to kepe cleane and swete the pavementes and gutters without the gates, so far as the necessarie places do nede, and likewise within my Colledge, and doe safely loke and attend to the gates to open and shutt them at lawfull and due tymes, and to light the lanternes in wynter in places appoynted in the sayd Colledge, and he to have for his stipende fortie shillings by the yeare, with his chamber free, and once in a yeare to give him a gowne and rug with my armes in a scutchion to be sett thereon, as my almes man'."

[The Statutes and the Will are printed in *Commiss. Doct.* ii. 241. 365.]



Fig. 9. Restoration of the Gate of Honour, Caius College, as seen from Caius Court

To face p. 177

Vol. I.

The gates were designed with great architectural skill, and with that singular attention to symbolism and classical allusions, which belonged to the reign of Elizabeth¹. The entrance gate which gives admission to the College from Trinity Street was termed the Gate of Humility. It is merely a doorway in a wall, ornamented with classical moldings. On the inside it had a pediment, and detached columns bearing an entablature now destroyed². [On the frieze is the word "HUMILITATIS."] This by a long avenue leads to the Gate of Virtue (*Porta Virtutis*), lofty, ascended by steps³, and designed in as noble and simple a style as that period was capable of affording. It is a very elegant specimen of the Elizabethan classical style. [The word "VIRTUTIS" is inscribed on the frieze above the arch on the eastern side, in the spandrels of which are two female figures leaning forwards⁴. That on the left holds a wreath in her left hand, and a palm-branch in her right: that on the right, a purse in her right hand, and a cornucopia in her left. The western side of this gate has on its frieze "IO. CAIVS POSVIT SAPIENTIÆ 1567," an inscription manifestly derived from that on the foundation stone laid by Dr Caius. Hence this gate is sometimes described as the Gate of Wisdom, a name which has, however, no authority. In the spandrels on this side are the arms of Dr Caius, as on the Gate of Honour. The two aspects are shewn in figures 7 and 8.]

The gateway that faces the south and leads from the College to the Schools was termed the Gate of Honour (*Porta Honoris*, fig. 9), a singular and pretty example of florid ornament in the manner of the sepulchral edifices of the ancients, but with certain characteristic mixtures of mediæval origin. The archway is four-

¹ [See Fuller, 253: and also Dr Caius' 52nd Statute, *Commiss. Doct. ii. 274.*]

² [The last traces of the original stone were probably removed at the beginning of this century, when (*Gesta Collegii Jan. 10, 1815*) "it was agreed that the buildings in the Tree Court be plastered with Roman cement next summer and repaired." When the gateway was removed in 1868 to the position it now occupies in Senate-House Passage, the entire surface was of cement and the appearance exactly as it is now. J. L.] [A good view of this gate in its original state is to be seen in Loggan, and in Le Keux, i. 177.]

³ [Four steps ascend from the level of Caius Court to the floor of this gate. The level of the Tree Court is evidently higher now than it was when the gate was built, so that no steps are now to be seen on that side.]

⁴ [One of these is figured in the *Cambridge Portfolio*, 212.]

centred, although it has classical architrave molds, and lateral obelisks do duty in the manner of pinnacles. "It was built" the Annals say "of squared hard stone wrought according to the very form and figure which Dr Caius in his lifetime had himself traced out for the Architect¹, and has at its apex a weather-

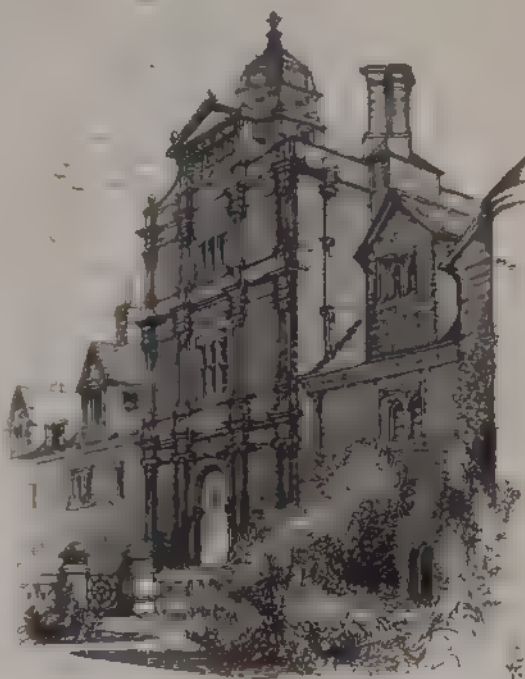


Fig. 7 Gate of Virtue, from the Tree Court

cock in the form of a serpent and dove." [The friable nature of the materials of which it was built, namely freestone from King's Cliffe, and white stone (i.e. clunch) from Haslingfield², has

¹ Annals, 140. Architectural drawings of this gate by William Wilkins, Architect, and Fellow of the College, were published in the "Vetusta Monumenta," London, 1747-1842, Vol. 4. They should be compared with Loggan's view, which shews the dove and serpent, and the original terminations of the lateral obelisks. When Storer's view was taken these latter were all in their places except the one at the N.W. angle.]

² [King's Cliffe, or Cliffe Regis, is in Northamptonshire, six miles N.N.W. of Oundle. Haslingfield is in Cambridgeshire, about 5 miles S. of Cambridge.]

unfortunately caused the surface to peel off to such an extent that it is difficult to appreciate the delicacy of the carvings with which it was once ornamented. Moreover, the cornice is much broken, and several interesting features have wholly disappeared. It has therefore been thought desirable to attempt a restoration



Fig. 8 Gate of Virtue, from Caius Court

of the entire composition, and to figure the details, before they become utterly obliterated.

In the spandrels of the arch next the Court (fig. 10) are the arms of Dr Caius on an oval shield, "two serpents erect, their tails nowed together Azure, between them a book¹." From this

¹ [Arms were granted to Dr Caius (2 Jan. 1561), in the following terms: "Arms: Or, semee with flowers gentle on a square marble stone Vert, two serpents erect their tails nowed together Azure, between a book S. bossed O. garnished G. and in the middle chief a sengrene proper Crest: a dove A. beaked and membered G. with a flower gentle in his mouth. betokening by the book Learning, by the two Serpents

shield a branch extends into the angle, bearing a pomegranate with other fruits and flowers. Four fluted columns support a projecting cornice, profusely ornamented with classical moldings, and supported, over the arch, on brackets instead of pillars (fig. 11). The capitals of the latter (fig. 12) have classical enrichments, and the abacus is cut out at the angles, instead of being, as usual, square. On the side next Senate-House Lane the pillars are replaced by pilasters, supporting a Doric frieze with Tudor roses in the metopes, and a slightly projecting cornice.

The main mass of the gate is square, divided on both sides into three compartments by four columns supporting a pediment. There are similar pediments on the east and west sides, which, instead of being vertical like the others, present plain curved surfaces of stone, serving as buttresses to the superstructure. Each of the compartments (fig. 13) is occupied by a balustrade, above which is a small niche, decorated with ornaments in low relief, within fluted pilasters, supporting an entablature, and surmounted by a pediment.

The superstructure is hexagonal, resting on a square base, from which rise eight square pilasters. Each of the six surfaces above had originally a sun-dial affixed to it.

Dr Caius left the most precise directions respecting the care that was to be taken of these Gates, and between what hours they were to be open or closed. Nothing was to be laid on the leaden roof of the Gate of Virtue (Statute 29) : nor was anybody to set foot upon it, except when repairs were necessary. The Gates of Humility, Virtue, and Honour, were all to be closed at twilight, and not to be re-opened until the following morning (Statute 52). The gate of Gonville College was to be closed at the same time as the others ; but it might be opened by a porter until 8 o'clock in winter and 9 o'clock in summer. All the gates were to be closed at the hour of dinner and supper. A sub-

resting upon the square Marble Stone, Wisdome with grace founded and stayed upon vertues sable stone ; by Sengrene and flower gentle Immortality that never shall fade, as though thus I should say, *Ex prudentia et literis, virtutis petra firmatis, immortalitas* : that is to say, 'By wisdom and learning grafted in grace and virtue Men come to immortality'. "Sengrene" is Houseleek ; "Flower gentle," Amaranth. Gerarde's Herball, 1633. See also Fuller, 253.]

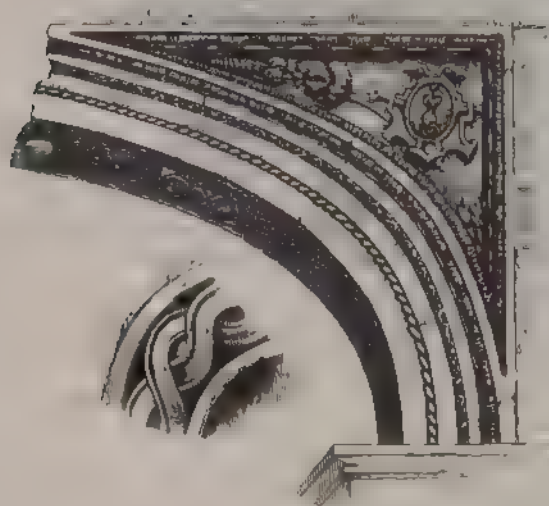


Fig. 10. Spandrel of arch towards the Court, Gate of Honour



Fig. 11. Bracket, with a portion of the architrave, frieze, and cornice, Gate of Honour

sequent paragraph in the same statute directs that the Gate of Honour shall be kept closed during the entire day, if possible: and above all, while exercises are being kept in the Schools, "lest persons passing through the College should invade the privacy of students, and disturb them at their work: render the courts foul and muddy: injure the buildings; purloin articles of property that have been left lying about; and turn a private path into a public thoroughfare by the prescription of long use."

The College buildings having been completed, both courts were paved with stone, and a new bell hung upon the Hall-roof, to serve for both Chapel and Hall, in the room of an old and broken one which had originally been placed close to the ground within a railing, between the kitchen and the Buttery, but had subsequently been hung up over the Hall roof.]

It is next recorded that

"A column was set up in Caius' Court, on which a stone was placed, wrought with wondrous skill, containing 60 sundials. It was the work of Theodore Haveus of Cleves, a skilful artificer, and eminent architect. He ornamented it with the coat-armour of those of gentle birth (*generosi*) who were at that time in the College, to which he dedicated it as a memorial of his goodwill. On the summit of this stone stands a figure of Pegasus, to serve as a weathercock¹."

The column of this dial, with the base on which it stood, are shewn in Loggan's view (F, fig. 2), but the dial had unfortunately disappeared before his time. A regular dodecahedron is represented in the portrait of Haveus, which now hangs in the College Library². A copy of this is here given (fig. 14). By raising a low pyramid of five faces upon each face of the regular pentagonal dodecahedron we obtain a hexecontahedron, as nearly regular as possible, all its faces being equal and similar triangles (fig. 15, where these pyramids are indicated by dotted lines). This is the most probable form of the Caius dial.

¹ Annals, 141.

² This portrait is thus described in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (i. 321, ed. 1826): "in the same room [Combination room] hangs an old picture (bad at first and now almost effaced by cleaning) of a man in a slashed doublet, dark curled hair and beard, looking like a foreigner, and holding a pair of compasses, and by his side a Polyedron composed of twelve pentagons. This is undoubtedly Theodore Haveus himself, who, from all these circumstances seems to have been an architect, sculptor, and painter, and having worked many years for Dr. Caius and the college, in gratitude left behind him his own picture." J. L.]

Caius Court was decorated with a variety of sun-dials, as the Annals shew. They record that in 1614, upon occasion of the visit of King James to the University, Mr Oliver Green, a student of the College and Inceptor in Medicine, voluntarily undertook to repair the sundials at the Gate of Honour and other parts of Caius Court: namely, that on the north side under the Master's chamber (fig. 2, D) and those round about the column in the middle of the Court. All these, from length of time, had become defaced and nearly obliterated; but he restored them to their pristine splendour. The annalist adds that on this gentleman's estate, the street, which from his name is called Green Street, had been recently erected. The dials are again described in the Bursar's Book, 1625, when Russel the painter was paid, "for gilding and working y^e great Murall diall £4; for gilding and working the sixe dialls over Hon. gate, £3; for colouring all y^e stone worke of porta Honoris and gilding y^e armes and roses there, 20s; for gilding and working y^e globe dialls £3; for gilding y^e pegasus, gilding and working the concave diall, and colouring all the rest, with the roundles there, 20s"; also "y^e free mason for his worke there and at y^e top of y^e globe dialls"....."sundry ingredients to make cement to fill and square y^e moulded and decayed sydes of y^e globe dialls ἐξήκοντα ἑδρῶν 2s. 6d."; "for pegasus and his basis 8s."; "the great style for ye concave diall and 6 terse stiles for ye globe 3s."; "4 pounds of leade to fasten the basis to pegasus, the concave diall stone &c". They were repaired again in 1658 and 1662. The last notice I have found is for "painting and gilding the six dials over Honoris gate" in 1696.

In 1578, a year of great drought, the kitchen well failed, and a pump was set up in the middle of Gonville Court.



fig. 12 Capital of one of the columns towards the Court, Gate of Honour

On the top of it was a figure of Aquarius; and "for greater neatness and elegance," say the Annals, "it was surrounded with wooden palings, *anglicè* 'Le Rayles.'" [In 1579 it was decided that it would be for the interest of the College to abandon the practice of buying bread from the townspeople. A suitable oven was therefore constructed in the kitchen, with a store-room for flour, and a place to keep weights and measures in.

In 1583 it was decided that

"In order to enhance the splendour and elegance of Caius' Court it should be surrounded with wooden railings of the large and ample design which is now to be seen there. This was completed out of the common funds of the College on July 5th."

These rails had been removed before Loggan's view was drawn. A similar arrangement however is shewn in Gonville Court (fig. 2,.)

The unique and picturesque composition of Caius Court and the care and pains which the founder bestowed upon every part of the detail as evidenced by his Annals, added to his expressed wishes as shewn by his 28th statute¹ "That no one under pain of expulsion should make any alteration or mutilation in the form of the fabric of his College as he had in his lifetime made and left it," ought to have protected his architectural works from wanton change. But unfortunately when the interior of the Chapel was refitted in 1717 and its exterior reashlared, the buttresses were transformed into the heavy rococo form they now exhibit, the fashion of the windows changed, and the Sacred Tower demolished². Thus the north side of the Court, which



Fig. 14. Dodecahedron from the portrait of Theodore Haveus.

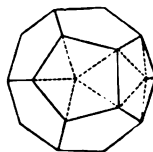


Fig. 15. Diagram of a hexecontahedron.

¹ Annals, 142.

² Commiss. Docts. ii. 260.

³ The contents of the Treasury were upon this occasion removed from the old

the founder had taken so much pains to bring into conformity with his own buildings, was reduced to its present extremely



Fig. 13 One compartment of the upper story, Gate of Honour

ugly and incongruous state. The remainder, I am bound to say, has been tolerably respected up to the present time.

room by College order (July 15, 1717) to the upper room of the Porta Virtutis, which is still devoted to the purpose of a monument room; and the old Treasury over the antechapel was added to the Lodge. [The monument room has been again changed since this note was written. In 1870 the upper room of the Entrance Tower of the New Buildings was devoted to this purpose: and in connection with the alterations then made in the Chapel (see below) the room over the Antechapel, which had been a bedroom of the Master's Lodge since 1717, was converted into an organ gallery J. L.] [The upper room of the Porta Virtutis is now (1877) a "Biological Lecture Room."]

CHAPTER III.

BUILDINGS OF DR PERSE AND DR LEGGE. WORKS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. RECENT CHANGES AND ADDITIONS.

IN 1594, it was found that the buildings of the College were no longer sufficient to accommodate the increasing numbers of fellows and students. Therefore the three tenements which Dr Caius had bought from Trinity College were employed as lodgings for them, leaving some of the offices to be still let to the townsmen; and a door was made in the long north wall which then extended from the Gate of Virtue to the Gate of Humility, to give access to them. These tenements when they had been thus converted were called the Pensionary¹.

In 1615, Dr Perse founded by Will six fellowships, and as many scholarships, in the College of which he had been a fellow. He also bequeathed £500 for erecting a convenient building for Lodgings and Chambers for "Fellowes and Schollers, in such convenient place either within or adjoining to the said College where the Master and Fellows shall appoint, so that they doe continually allow to my Fellows and Scholars sufficient and convenient Lodgings within the said buildings rent free²." Accordingly, on the 16th of March, 1617, a contract was made between his Executors and John Atkinson of the Town of Cambridge, for the building in question, which was erected on the north side of the Entrance Court at a cost of £660. In the following year³ it was determined to erect a similar range of chambers, continuing the previous one at right angles, along the east side of the court next to Trinity Street;

¹ "Item for the rent of the Pensionary to make good the ould rent of those tenements, ad festum Michaelis, 48.s." (Bursar's Book, Mich^l. 1608.) But in 1621 "the chambers in y^e late pensionary" are mentioned. The name seems to have passed from the tenements to Dr Legge's building, for in 1695 we find "Mr. Grimbold for new freestone windows in the Pensionary £14 13s. 6d." also "tyling the Pensionary, &c."; and in 1698, "...stone for y^e Battlements in y^e Pensionarie towards the Street." In 1709, however, it has become "...Leg's building."

² Annals, 194. ³ [The decree, dated Jan. 15, 1618, is printed in the Appendix, No. II.]

and a contract was made with the same builder, dated 18 Jan. 1619, for this purpose, at a cost of £500¹. These two contracts, which I have fully analysed in the chapter on College Studies, give most valuable information concerning the arrangements of the chambers, and many curious technical words; and for interpreting them there is this great and uncommon advantage, that the buildings to which they refer are still in existence. The three tenements above mentioned were pulled down to make way for these buildings, and from the material of which the latter were constructed the Court took the name of the Brick Court, but was afterwards called the Tree Court². As the eastern range was erected from a bequest by Dr Legge, his name was attached to it³.

In 1635 the increasing number of students again pressed for enlarged accommodation; and an old and useless building between the Kitchen and the Hall was then replaced by a brick edifice, joined to the lower end of the Hall by another. The whole was divided into four cubacula and provided with ten studies⁴. At the same time the cellar was enlarged 26 feet eastward. These works cost £180⁵.

¹ [Both these buildings were pulled down in 1868 to make room for the New Buildings. It has, however, been thought better to leave the paragraph as Prof. Willis wrote it. The contracts, preserved in Caius College Treasury, Box iv. 3, are printed in the Appendix, Nos. I. III.; and Loggan's view of the two buildings is reproduced in the chapter on Studies.]

² The trees were not planted till 1658, so that it could not have acquired its present name until then.

³ [A stone was inserted in the south and west faces respectively of the buildings with the following inscriptions:

HOC ÆDIFICIUM
EXSTRUCTUM EST
SUMPTIBUS
DOCTORIS PERSE
ANNO DOM
1618.

HOC ÆDIFICIUM
EXSTRUCTUM EST
SUMPTIBUS
DOCTORIS LEGGE
ANNO DOM
1619.

These stones were in 1868 removed to the garden of the Master's Lodge. J. L.]

⁴ This building, shewn in Loggan's view, was pulled down at the end of the last century, and a range of buildings erected under the direction of Wilkins in its stead, extending along the lane from the Hall to the N.W. corner of the College, containing new kitchen offices and a coal house, with a floor of chambers above. The whole of these were in turn pulled down in 1853, and replaced by the lofty range erected by Salvin.

⁵ Annals (paper copy), p. 323.

No changes of importance in the general state of the buildings occur after this for a long period. Several repairs are recorded¹; and the wainscoting of various chambers in 1694 and 1729. In 1728 the west side of Gonville Court, including the Combination Room and Lodge, underwent a general repair; upon which occasion the present cupola over the Combination Room roof was made. Essex, the builder, was paid £41 for work about it; but as Mr Burrough² was Bursar, and appears as directing the payments and repairs, the design of it was probably his.

In 1749 Mr Bartholomew Wortley bequeathed £400 towards casing Gonville Court with free-stone, and rebuilding the north side of it. The latter, it will be recollected, was the oldest part of the College; and Dr Caius himself tells us how different it was from the other sides of the quadrangle in age, lowness of structure, and in the form of its chimneys³; so that by this time we may judge it had become too ruinous to be allowed to remain. The sister College of Trinity Hall had been already Italianised by means of an ashlar casing, five or six years before the date of this legacy, under the direction of Mr Burrough⁴, and Gonville Court was now condemned to a similar disguise.

In 1751 it was agreed "to case the west side of Gonville Court with free-stone, and to rebuild the walls of the Library and the rooms under it, as far as should be found necessary;" and in 1752, "to case the east side with freestone, and to rebuild the north side:" but the latter work was first to be undertaken. In 1754, the rooms of the new building were ordered to be ceiled, and floored, and the windows furnished with shutters; and in the next year they were wainscoted. The Court was then laid with grass in the middle, and surrounded with iron posts

¹ I quote the following entries, as affecting the appearance of the buildings:

In 1662 the chimneys in Perse's Court were rebuilt. At Mich. 1684, Grumbold was paid £18. 15s. "for casing Gonvil gatehouse with freestone." In 1695 "Grumbold for new freestone windows in the Pensionary, £14 13s. 6d. It was tyled at the same time."

² [Afterwards Sir James Burrough, Master 1754—1764. The Senate-House is his chief work. J. L.]

³ Hist. Cantab. Acad. 65.

⁴ See History of Trinity Hall, Chapter III.

and chains as at present¹. Sir Thomas Gooch was Master when these works were undertaken, and bequeathed in 1754 £200 for carrying on the new building, which was undertaken at his instance, and cost the College, with the casing of the east and west sides, £3,390. 17s. 2½d.²

In 1815 (Jan. 10), "it was agreed that the buildings in the Tree Court be plastered with Roman cement next summer and repaired." I do not know whether it was at this time or earlier that the picturesque gablets of the original were converted into a row of battlements, and the plain chimneys built³.

From this time nothing has been done to change materially the appearance of the courts. It should be recorded however that the wall of separation between the College and the houses at the south-east corner of the site has been partly pulled down, and thus the Entrance Court enlarged, and the large brick dwelling-house on the east side converted into chambers⁴. A project has existed for many years of clearing away the Legge and Perse buildings and all the houses at the south-east corner, to make room for an entirely new building. William Wilkins prepared designs for this purpose, which were not acted upon, and the same idea was revived a few years since. But meanwhile an extensive and most effective improvement has been made,

¹ *Gesta Collegii*, 1751 Nov. 19, 1752 Oct. 27, etc. Extracts from the Bursar's book, MSS. Caius Coll. Library, 621, p. 341. The master workmen employed are designated as Tompson the mason, Tucke the bricklayer, Iver the painter, and Essex the joiner. The latter was the father of James Essex the architect, who was too young to have been concerned in these designs.

² [The old gateway was now built up. Its position is marked in the present buildings by a staircase of double width; so that if the north side of the Court was really rebuilt the partition walls probably stand on the foundations of the older ones. It may be convenient here to notice that in 1715 the present Senate-House Passage was made by continuing Gonville Hall (or Caius) Lane to the High Street. Loggan's Map of Cambridge represents the state of things before this alteration, but his view of the College represents it as carried out. Perhaps, as he represents the new street as a carriage road, the alteration was not really carried out when his view was taken, and he was led into an error by endeavouring to anticipate its completion. J. L.]

³ In 1693 "The battlements of the Pensionarie next the street" were repaired, or made. Bursar's Book.

⁴ [This is the house formerly occupied by Conyers Middleton, afterwards Barraclough's book-shop, as related in Chapter I. J. L.]

by building an entirely new Hall and Library, with additions to the Lodge, from the designs of Anthony Salvin, Esq., under the influence of the present Master, Dr Guest. But as these buildings affect the above-mentioned official structures, I reserve their description for the history which follows. The old Hall and Library were appropriated for chambers, and thus great additional accommodation was obtained for the College.

[In order to bring this history of the courts and rooms down to the present date, it is necessary here to record that in 1868 the idea mentioned above was carried out by the erection of an extensive range of new buildings from the designs of Alfred Waterhouse, Esq. The Perse and Legge Buildings were demolished, together with the four houses at the corner of Trinity Street and Senate-House Passage, and the present range of buildings, in a style derived from the French baronial mansions of the time of Francis I., was erected on their site. The east side of Gonville Court was at the same time taken down and rebuilt, with the exception of the wall facing the Court. J. L.]

CHAPTER IV.

SPECIAL BUILDINGS. CHAPEL. HALL. COMBINATION ROOM. LIBRARY. MASTER'S LODGE.

CHAPEL.] The Annals have informed us that a chapel was contemplated from the beginning, and completed by the second Master about 1393. But in addition to the licenses and papal Bull there quoted, there was a formal consecration in 1493, by Bishop Alcock, who celebrated a solemn mass in full pontificals¹. It had been previously a licensed oratory. In 1500 a Bull of Pope Alexander VI. (transcribed in the Annals) permitted the

¹ "Anno 1493 Febr: 25, Dominus Johannes Episcopus Eliensis dedicavit quandam Capellam etc: in Aula de gonyll Cantebr. in pontificalibus solenniter celebrans etc:" (Register of Bishop Alcock, MSS. Baker, xix. 39.)

College to celebrate divine offices in the chapel, in presence of the scholars of the College and those of Fischwicke Hostel, and also to reserve the Eucharist, to minister the sacraments, and to bury the dead¹.

[The exterior of this chapel, as it appeared at the end of the 17th century, is shewn in fig. 2 (A), which gives nearly the whole length of it, as may be seen by reference to the plan. The principal ornament of the interior was the tomb of the founder (fig. 16), of which the Annals (p. 137) record that

“Johannes Caius, waiting upon the will of God, being stricken with years and disease, on the 2^d, 3^d, and 4th July, 1573, gave orders for the construction of a chambered tomb (*sepulcrum concameratum*), in which his body should be laid to rest, to be placed under the canopy of the Annunciation of S. Mary, near the most northern altar in the Chapel of the College.

THE SEVERALL CHARGES OF THE TOMBE.

Imprimis for Alabaster and carriage	10.	10.	0
Item to Theodore and others for carving	33.	16.	5
Item to Laborers		18.	1
Item charges extraordinarie	2.	0.	2
	47.	4.	8

The elaborate workmanship of the tomb had probably occupied two years: for it is not until 1575 that we find the following entry:

“There was set up to John Caius a monument of alabaster of the greatest beauty, and most consummate workmanship, in the same place in the chapel where his body had before been laid. Upon it were afterwards carved his arms, with the date of his death, and the number of his years, according to the directions which he had himself given to his executors when alive. We inscribed upon it two short sentences only—“*Vivit post funera virtus*” and “*Fui Caius.*”

In 1583 it was enclosed by a cage of painted ironwork, to

¹ Annals, 21. In 1570 William Barker formerly fellow expended £20 in making duplex seats in the choir. The old simple low seats were transferred to the lower end of the Chapel for the younger members. All the ornaments of the Chapel were destroyed in 1572, by the authority of Thos. Byng, Vice-Chancellor. Ibid. 163. [He wrote an account of his proceedings to Lord Burghley, printed in a note to Fuller, 254. There is an inventory of the church furniture in Caius College Library taken in Queen Mary's reign. It was apparently very rich and costly.]

protect it from any objects that might fall upon it from above. This was removed during the alterations of 1637, and sold¹

It is difficult now to ascertain precisely the original position of the tomb, which we know from the above extract was placed on the floor of the Chapel, over the grave; and though, strange to say, the grave itself is not marked in any way, we may conjecture that it was a little to the west of the present position of the monument, for we know that it was on the



Fig. 16. Tomb of Dr Caius, in a recess on the north side of the Chapel.

north side of the Chapel, and the following narrative by Dr William Warren shews that the monument was not removed to any great distance from it.

"This brings to my mind what I saw about A.D. 1719, in Caius College Chapel. I remember that when they were then repairing and beautifying that Chapel, ye workmen had broke a hole either by accident or design into Dr Caius' Grave, wch was a hollow place lin'd with brick on ye North side of ye Chapel at a little distance from his

¹ "Crates ferrea decolorata in tutiorem Monumenti fundatoris Caii a nocumentis incidentibus custodiam et defensionem fabricata est." *Annals*, 142. [For the removal and sale see the extracts from the accounts given below.]

Monument wch is a mural one. The Lid of ye Coffin was off when I look'd in with a Candle fixed in a long cleft stick wch ye workmen furnish'd me with, and with wch I cou'd survey ye Sepulchre very easily. The sides of ye Coffin were remaining, tho' in a disjoynted and rotten condition. The Body seem'd to have been a very lusty one, and ye coffin was pretty full of it: the fflesh was of a yellowish black colour, and yielded to ye least touch of ye stick and fell to pieces. The eyes were sunk deep into their sockets. A long grey beard much like that wch we see in y^e picture of him, only this was grown very rough by long time; I think it was then about 145 years from ye time of his death. I touch'd his beard with ye stick and turn'd it a little on one side; It accordingly lay on one side, having lost all manner of elasticity; I therefore brought it back to its right place again. The sight occasion'd in me serious reflections, and I went away with such a regard as I thought due to ye memory of so Considerable a man as Dr Caius had been¹."

In 1583 Dr Francis Dorington, Master, put up a new East window, with his own arms in the glass, together with those of Bateman, Gonville, and Caius².]

In 1637 the Chapel proved too small for the number of students, and was therefore lengthened eastward. The monument of Dr Caius was removed from its original position, and fixed against the wall above, upon a rather heavy stone bracket, but its form was exactly preserved³. The arms of the benefactors in the old East window were also repaired. The old arched ceiling being rotten with age, a new one was constructed, and ornamented with carved work, gilt and painted with divers colours. The four windows were raised⁴, their transoms cut out, and "soyles" (sills) of freestone added. This work was performed by John Westley, who built Clare Hall, and did other work in Cambridge at this time. Woodrooffe, the joyner and carver, made the ceiling, and the seats required by the enlargement. The whole charge amounted to £538. 8s. 0d. Dr Cosin, Master of Peterhouse, "a man most devoted to the adornment of sacred places," say the Annals, gave £10 to buy a Communion Table.

¹ [MS. History of Trinity Hall, 403.]

² This is the account given in the Annals, p. 323.

³ Annals, 333—4. [It seems doubtful whether the form of the tomb of Dr Caius was preserved as exactly as Professor Willis says, for the passage in the Annals is as follows. "Necesse fuit monumentum fundatoris Caii (ablatis cancellis ferreis quibus cingebatur) ab eo quo primum structum erat loco amoveri pauloque remotius a cryptâ cameratâ ubi conditur corpus ad parietem illud pensile figi, eâdem tamen (in quantum fieri poterat) manente fabricæ formâ eademque materiâ."]

⁴ That is, the sills were raised higher.

[The following items from the Bursar's accounts give interesting particulars respecting these changes :

"Imprimis to John Westly for lengthening y ^e chappell and other worke thereto pertaining as appears by an Indenture to y ^e purpose	...	...	...	...	170.	0.	0
[A marginal note adds "28 Feet."]							
Item for 5 pole of slating wanting 32 foote at 36'. 8 ^d . y ^e pole, 10'. y ^e pole being deducted for paynting as was agreed upon in the bargaine as appears by the indenture	...	...	...	...	9.	0.	0
Item for 3 pole and 24 foote of slating over Mr Sheringham's chamber at 46' 8 ^d y ^e pole	...	...	...	...	7.	3.	4
Item for raysing the 4 chappell windows, cutting out y ^e transums and putting in soyles of freestone	...	...	...	...	2.	13.	4
Item for lengthening the chappell 6 foote and a halfe more than was agreed upon by y ^e first bargaine by indenture according to proportions	...	...	...	...	27.	15.	10
Item for removeing Dr Caius Monument	...	...	...	...	20.	0.	0
Item for paveing the chappell with stones diamond cut being a penny per foote more than was agreed upon in the first bargaine	...	...	...	...	2.	18.	4
Allowed by Westly for the iron about the monument and in consideration of brick which was to have bin at the east end	...	...	...	...	7.	0.	0
Payd to Mr Woodrooffe for making the seates in the Chappell upon the enlarging of it	...	...	...	...	33.	14.	0
Payd more for 65 pannells for the rooffe of y ^e chappell at 30 ^s the pannell	...	...	...	...	30.	0.	0
Payd more for the freeses on both sides the chappell under the pannells	...	...	...	...	30.	0.	0
Payd more for cherubins heads at the upper end of the chappell	...	...	...	...	1.	0.	0
Payd more for the rayle before the communion table	...	...	...	...	16.	0.	0
Payd more for the freeses pilasters and under-freeses about the table']...	...	...	...	...	20.	0.	0"

It is difficult to make out the precise extent of the elongation, for there is nothing to shew whether the 28 feet mentioned above is the elongation originally contemplated, or what it amounted to with the additional 6½ feet. As however the Chapel projects for exactly this distance beyond the line of the east side of the court, it follows that its original gable must have been greatly within that line. This is also shewn by the items respecting the alteration of certain chambers. The obliquity of the Chapel would make it necessary to pull down their south

¹ MSS. Caius Coll. 602.

wall. The Chapel, as thus elongated, was 90 feet in length, including the ante-chapel, with a width of only 20 feet.

In 1716 John Lightwin, M.A., Fellow, gave £500 for altering the Chapel, which was increased by other benefactors to £865. On this occasion the east end was rebuilt, the exterior cased with freestone, and the present heavy buttresses constructed. They were at first crowned with stone vases, terminated by stone flames. In the interior a grand wainscot altar-piece was set up. The ceiling was not disturbed. The work lasted from Lady-day, 1718, to Michaelmas, 1726, and cost altogether £2745 16s. 10d.¹, of which £864 16s. 0d. was defrayed by subscriptions. It was carried on under the direction of John James, architect, who built the London Churches of S. George, Hanover Square, and S. Luke, Middlesex. I subjoin Blomefield's description of the interior, to shew the admiration with which this style of fitting up Churches was regarded at the period in question :

"The Roof is covered with Lead on the outside, and is inwardly arched and colour'd with Blew, beautified all over with Cherubs' Heads in Rays of Light, the Altar Piece is Wainscot, having four large Pillars on each Side, and in the Midst a large Picture of the *Salutation* in a gilt Frame. On the top stands 7 mock Candlesticks and Tapers, and on each Side of the Picture are Fruits, Corn, Flowers, &c. finely carved in Wood. The Altar is rail'd in, and paved with black and white Marble: the Cloath for the Table is of Velvet, on which stands two large Silver gilt Candlesticks with Wax Tapers, a large Silver Dish, two Books of Common Prayer, and two Velvet Cushions, all fringed with Gold. The Cloath and Cushion of the Litany Desk are of Velvet, laid with Gold Lace and fringed with Gold, as are the Master's and President's Cushions: over the Antichapel is a neat Gallery, the entrance of which is out of the Master's Lodge...The Stone which covered the High Altar before the Reformation was taken off and is laid [in the Antichapel]: it hath a Cross cut on it at each corner²."

[In 1870 an apse was added to the east end from the designs of Alfred Waterhouse, Esq.; the above-mentioned "Blew" was taken off the panels of the ceiling and the oak of which they are made cleaned and varnished. The "Cherubs' Heads" and "Rays

¹ Grumbold the mason received £890, the joiner £641, the carver £185, and Ritz the painter for a copy after Carlo Maratti of the Annunciation, £26. 5s. The Architect's fee was 20 guineas. The gold fringe and velvet cost £141. 9s. 6d. The particulars of the work are summed up in MSS. Calus Coll. 621, 339.

² Blomefield, Collect. 101

of Light" were regilt. The wainscot altar-piece was used in the construction of an organ gallery, and the Picture of the Annunciation (not Salutation) was removed to the Hall staircase. The Chapel was enlarged at the west end by removing the screen a few feet towards the west door. A turret staircase was again made in the Caius Court, but not on the site of the old one (see plan). The floor was laid with tiles. The mosaics of the apse were executed by Salviati of Venice, and the coloured windows in that part of the Chapel, with the decoration of the walls and ceiling, by Messrs Heaton, Butler and Bayne¹. J. L.]

HALL.—A Hall, 24 feet wide and 48 feet long, was built in 1441². The alterations in 1854 brought to light its ancient open timbered roof, which was a plain collar-beam roof with arched braces, precisely like that of the old hall of Corpus Christi College, now employed as the kitchen³. Its situation has been already described. Dr Caius mentions that

"There was a lanthorn in the centre of the Hall, surmounted by a mighty dragon, that moved with every wind. Both were of lead, and so heavy that in stormy weather it was feared that they would break down the roof by their weight. Both were therefore taken away in my recollection, about 1531"⁴

The oblong windows of the Hall were shortened in 1589 by taking away the lower part that was not glazed, but were made to admit more light than before, and were new glazed at the expense of various persons whose arms were placed therein⁵. The lower part of these windows was evidently closed only by shutters beneath a transom, a very common arrangement. The wooden floor was raised about five feet above the level

¹ [There is a good view of the interior of the Chapel, by Mackenzie, in Akermann, i. 92. Another will be found in Le Keux, i. 201: and a third in the Cambridge Portfolio, with the exterior of the east end, before the alterations in 1870.]

² This Hall was remarkable for the strict proportion of its dimensions. During the changes in 1854 I had the opportunity of accurately measuring and delineating it. Its length was double its breadth. The height of the corbel above the floor was half the breadth. The height of the wooden cornice above the floor is the diagonal of the square formed by half the breadth.

³ A section of Gonville Hall has been given in the History of Corpus Christi College, Chapter III.]

⁴ [Annals, 16.]

⁵ *Ibid.* 160. The description of the arms which is given in the original shews that there were five windows so altered.

of the court, so as to admit of a space beneath about seven feet high. This was employed as butteries and cellars, for, owing to the small dimensions of the site, the kitchen was obliged to be built at the west side, and there was no room at the end of the Hall for the usual position of the butteries.

In 1624 a Latin Bible was bought for the Hall¹. In the next year the painter charges for painting "the wainscott in the hall with the skreene, and greening the sydepostes of y^e rooffe." The wainscot in the parlour was painted at the same time. The Hall was paved with freestone in 1681.

In 1792 (March 30) an order was made to fit up the Hall "according to the plan given in by Mr Soane"; and it was completely modernised by that eminent architect. A plaster ceiling in the form of a segmental waggon vault was affixed to the timbers of its ancient roof. The exterior next to the court had been ashlared and sashed by Burrough forty years before, as already related. A chimney was now erected in it, and one of Sharp's stoves provided to warm it. It remained thus until 1853, when, the present Hall having been built, it was divided by floors and fitted up so as to contain as many sets of chambers as could conveniently be constructed within it. The ancient roof trusses still remain, but are of course hidden by partitions.

The new Hall, designed by Salvin, is 74 feet long by 33 feet broad, in the Jacobean style, with an open timber roof. It has beneath it a commodious kitchen, 35 feet long by 33 feet broad, besides an extensive and complete set of kitchen offices, buttery, larder, and cellars, which occupy not only the ground floor of the Hall, but also that of the Library and of the small cortile between the Hall and the old College. The space under the Combination Room is now an open lobby whence two stair-cases proceed; the one on the left conducts to the Combination Room, Lodge, and upper end of the Hall, for the use of the Master and Fellows: the other, on the right, to the lower end of the Hall, for the use of the undergraduates, and is accompanied by a passage for the servants to the kitchen and offices. The service of the tables from the kitchen and butteries is conducted by lifts.

¹ Bursar's Book, Mich. 1624.

COMBINATION ROOM.—Dr Humphrey Busbye in 1565 left £20 to purchase land, to the value of 20s. annually, to be expended in firing in the Hall or Parlour¹ on Sundays and feast-days, between All Saints and Purification, and even on common days, when the cold was excessive in the Master's judgment. He directed that at each dinner or supper not more than a bushel of charcoal, or two faggots, should be used, excepting at the principal feasts, on which the allowance might be in a more liberal proportion; and the gift was to depend on a certain prescribed form of grace being said before dinner and supper. [Anybody who was not present at grace was not to come near the fire: and if the grace were wholly neglected, the benefaction was to go to Trinity Hall, until the practice was resumed.] Before this gift there was no fund for a fire, either in the Hall or Parlour. It could only be provided at the cost of the Master and Fellows; nor was there any fire-grate in the Hall: but we are now informed that

"Hereupon a new brazier, of large size, capable of being moved upon wheels, cleverly fashioned of new iron, was placed in the Hall in October, 1565. It weighed 353 pounds, so that at the rate of sixpence per pound, it cost in all eight pounds, seventeen shillings, less the value of one pound of metal. A fire was first lighted in it on All Saints Day in the same year. Before this no fire had ever been lighted in the Hall, but only in the Parlour, which was situated close to the entrance of the western garden; for there was no fireplace in the Hall, where a fire could be lighted free of charge, nor was the number of fellows and scholars too great for that smaller room conveniently to hold. This iron brazier he [Dr Busbye] generously presented to us. Thomas Barwicke, Master of Arts, and Fellow Commoner of this College, gave five pounds to pay for its repairs."

This curious narrative is literally translated from the Annals, and contains the first mention of the College Parlour, which had evidently existed long before. It must be explained that against the south end of the Hall was placed on the ground floor a

¹ Annals, 72. [It appears that Dr Nicholas Shaxton, ex-Bishop of Salisbury, Suffragan Bishop of Lly, and Principal of Physicke Hostel, who died in 1556, had already given £20 "ad emendas possessiones annui redditus viginti solidorum, ut festis natalibus per hyemem focus communis in aula aut conclavi in perpetuum aleretur," *ibid.* 19. The money, however, was not invested until 1563, when land of the value of £40 was bought at Steeple Morden in Cambridgeshire, half of which was assigned to Dr Busby's benefaction, by the language used in the Annals, although his donation was not formally made till Oct. 3, 1565.]

room, with another over it on the first floor, both being of the full breadth of the Hall. The lower of these was this Parlour, and the passage to the western garden was at the south side of it. In Dr Caius' statutes of 1572 (Statute 28) he mentions the upper chamber "between the Hall and the Library," and assigns it to the Master for the reception of his own friends, and those of the College, until the Society shall think fit to apply it to common use as a winter parlour¹, or for the enlargement of the Hall. The room beneath, which had been already used as the winter parlour, was much lower and more gloomy than the upper one. But this hint given by Dr Caius in 1572 was not acted on until 1653, when an order was made, and repeated April 25, 1656: "that the chamber over the Parlour be repayred and made fitte for a publicke entertayning roome for College feastes and other publicke occasions of the College." This was immediately undertaken. A new staircase was made leading up to it, and it was fitted with new windows, a chimney-piece, new floor and wainscoting, as the Bursar's books shew. In these accounts it is designated the "Combination Chamber." It seems to have been completed in 1658².

Meanwhile an order was made (Nov. 12, 1657): "that the great new chamber may be used by the fellows for publick entertainment after dinner and supper, and each Senior Fellow have a key to it; and that the little room adjoining to y^e great chamber be whited for public use, and furniture provided³." The little room, however, was not completed until 1696. The former parlour was not disused altogether until 1750, when I find (June 14) an order "to make a cellar where the old parlour now is under the Combination." This cellar in connection with the old butteries continued in use until 1853. The new buildings of that year included spacious and convenient cellars, and the space occupied by this old cellar was employed as a vestibule to give access from Gonville Court to the staircases

¹ Commiss. Doct. ii. 260. It is there called "Conclave hybern. m."

² Bursar's Books, 1656, 1657, 1658. In the last year £60 was paid for "wainscoting the great roome" and other work. In 1778 it was again new wainscoted, and provided with a new marble chimney-piece and marble hearth.

³ This little room was on the same floor as the Combination Room, on the west side of the passage which led from the landing of the staircase to the great room on the east side, and also to a door at the high table end of the Hall.

which lead to the present Hall and Library. The Combination Room was retained, but was enlarged westwards and otherwise greatly improved¹.

LIBRARY.] The old Library of the College (B, fig. 2), built together with the whole western side of Gonville Court in 1441, remained in use until 1853, when, being superseded by a larger library erected under the direction of Mr Salvin in Trinity Lane (see plan), it was converted into chambers. The only record of its intermediate history is given by Dr Gostlin, who informs us that in 1675 the Library underwent an entire repair within and without, it being at that time in a ruinous condition². The windows were altered to a square form, larger than before, and divided by stone mullions: the classes, stools, and seats were restored and reconstructed; a stone staircase superseded the wooden one³; and the chamber above, formerly assigned to the Master, and afterwards to students, was converted into an upper Library for old books and MSS. At some subsequent period the little Combination Room was made the repository of these old books, and the upper library in question restored to the Master. The old Library was 44 ft. in length and 18 ft. in width. The new Library is 70 ft. by 20 ft. The old bookcases have been removed into it without alteration.

MASTER'S LODGE.] The Annals have told us that for nearly a century the Master was lodged in a chamber over the

¹ The original dimensions were 18 ft. wide and 24 ft. long. The latter dimension is now increased to 39 ft. [The width was also increased, for the side walls were rebuilt from the ground and at a greater distance apart than they stood before. The floor and ceiling also were both raised, so that it can hardly be called the same room. J. L. An oriel window has been made this year (1878) at the east end, looking into Gonville Court. When the ashlar was stripped off, the mediæval windows of two lights were disclosed behind it. They were in excellent preservation, having been blocked up with no other alteration than the removal of the frames and glass.]

² Caius Col. MSS. 616, p. 22.

³ [When this staircase was removed does not appear. There is a stone staircase, now bricked up and apparently leading to this old library at its north-west corner, but let not any future antiquarian think that in discovering this he has discovered the stone staircase mentioned by Dr Gostlin, for this one was made in the alterations of 1853 to provide access to the College rooms which were then formed out of the old Library, and was bricked up in 1870, when those rooms were joined to the Master's Lodge. In the last days of the old Library the only access to it was at the S. end from the Master's Lodge, and at the N. end from the Combination Room. J. L.]

gate. The accommodation provided for him in 1441 was a chamber on the first floor about 45 feet long and 20 feet broad, with a similar space below it, and the roof chamber above¹. It was contiguous to the Chapel, and separated from the Hall by the Library and the present Combination Room (D, fig. 2). The present passage between the Gonville and Caius Courts was probably the staircase, and the entrance door was in the corner of Gonville Court. We have seen that Dr Caius built a turret staircase for the Lodge, improved the roof chamber, and changed the entrance door. In his statutes he assigns to the Master the first floor chamber, which, he says, looks into the Chapel², and the chamber beneath it, as well as one to the south on the ground floor, which he had built himself. He also gives him, for the time being, the use of the present Combination Room as already related. But it appears that the Master's garret extended completely over the Library; for the Annals relate that in 1583 "ten studies were fitted up in the Master's Chamber over the Library, for the use of College students, the rent of which was to be paid to the Master." When the treasury was removed to the Gate of Virtue and the Chapel altered in 1717, the chamber which was over the Ante-chapel was added to the Lodge, and the room beneath the Library was also appropriated thereto in course of time³.

Nothing more is recorded of the Lodge until 1727, when we find: "The Master's parlour shall be sash^d and wainscotted at the College charge, by the direction of the Bursar." And in 1729 (Jan. 23.) we find "that money laid out by M^r Simpson and M^r Burrough for repairs and improvements of the Master's

¹ The space assigned to the Master at Corpus Christi College, at the end of the Hall, was 40 ft. by 28 ft. within the walls. See Hist. of Corpus, Chap. III.

² It must have looked into the Antechapel, which the difference of level between the floors would allow of. At that period the Antechapel was probably separated from the Chapel by a screen which allowed the altar to be seen from the Master's Chamber through a hagioscope. The Chapel licence in 1470 shews that the Master's Chamber was then next to the Chapel, and the Annals shew that in 1481 his bed-chamber and inner chamber had hangings provided. This room however was not actually added to the Lodge until Dec. 13, 1717, as appears by the "Gesta" of that year.

³ It was employed for College Meetings and termed the Audit Chamber, but the Master was allowed to use it as a dining-room. "Wainscot for the chimney in the Audit Chamber." Bursar's Book, Mich. 1674.

Lodge, be allowed in their several accounts, excepting what shall appear to be moveable as furniture." "The Master (Sir Thomas Gooch) took upon himself to pay the stone-cutter's bill of £23 for marble chimney piece, &c.¹" The old Lodge was upon this occasion evidently remodelled to suit the taste of the time, but in 1795 Mr Wilkins, an architect and builder of Norwich, was applied to, to furnish a plan for its enlargement, which was effected by the erection of a wing projecting into the garden westward, and containing a large dining-room on the ground floor with drawing-room over (fig. 1). The expenditure was limited to £3,500. Dr Belward was then master. A large circular staircase was built, which filled the whole of the western part of the two ancient Master's chambers, leaving the remainder to serve below as a porch and entrance hall, and as a bedroom above. [It was at this time that the picturesque turret staircase (fig. 4) was pulled down.] Other alterations were made in the Mastership of Dr Davy in 1803. In 1853 the Lodge was still further enlarged by extending the wing above mentioned as far as Trinity Hall Lane. Many additional rooms and a carriage entrance were thus obtained. [The Audit Chamber and the Library above it were now converted into two sets of students' rooms each. In 1870 the two upper sets were annexed to the Lodge as bedrooms and dressing-rooms, but the two lower sets are still used as students' rooms. In 1869, when the new buildings were being erected from the designs of Alfred Waterhouse, Esq., there were several alterations made in the Lodge. Wilkins' circular staircase was removed, and a more convenient one made in its place: a bedroom over the antechapel was restored to the Chapel as an organ gallery, and in lieu of it the two sets of rooms which had been made out of the old Library in 1854 were added to the Lodge. J. L.]

¹ Gesta Collegii

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

1353. Removal of Gonville Hall to the houses of John de Cambridge, and John Goldcorne.
1393. Completion of Chapel.
- 1426—54. Hall, Library, Lodge, } of Gonville Hall
 1481. Walls of the gardens, } built or in building.
 1490. East side of the court, }
1565. West side of court (May 4—Sept. 1),
 East " " Sept. 25, } in Caius' Court,
 1566. Master's Turret-staircase (May—October), } built or
 1573—75. Porta Honoris, Sacred Tower, Dr Caius' Tomb, } in building.
 Sundial by Haveus of Cleves,
1589. Hall windows shortened.
1617. Building erected by Dr Perse.
1619. " " Dr Legge.
1637. Chapel lengthened eastward. Tomb of Dr Caius removed to present position.
- 1717—26. Chapel ashlarred. "Sacred Tower" destroyed; present buttresses built.
1728. West side of Gonville Court repaired. Cupola over Hall made.
- 1751—55. Gonville Court ashlarred, and the north side partly rebuilt.
1792. Hall completely modernized by Soane.
1795. Enlargement of Lodge by Wilkins. Turret-staircase destroyed.
1815. Buildings of Drs Perse and Legge plastered, and probably altered.
1853. Hall and Library built, Lodge altered, by Salvin.
1868. Buildings of Drs Perse and Legge pulled down }
 New Court erected } by Waterhouse.
 1869. Alterations to Lodge }
 1870. Apse to Chapel built }

APPENDIX.

1. *Contract with John Atkinson for the Perse Building, 1617¹.*

Articles made 16th Mar. 1617 betweene John Atkinson of the towne of Cambridge yeoman and Martyn Perse executor of Stephen Perse for and concerning the building appointed by ye laste will of the said Stephen Perse to be made and builded in the same Colledge.

First the said John Atkinson doth agree that he will substantially, sufficiently and workmanlike erecte and bulde and fulhe finishe in a place thereunto appointed within the said College upon foundations diged to ye ferme grounde and walls sufficiently ramed, One building threescore and three foote in length, of three stories in height, with garretts or excelses in ye topp of the Roofe, every of the three stories to be nyne foote in length betwene the floores and seelings, the lower storie to be eightene foote wide within the walls, and to be parted into three like Chambers, every Chamber to have three convenient Studdies apeece; the next storie to be nyntene foote wide within the walls and to be parted into three equall or like Chambers with one convenient Studdie in every Chamber, and ye third storie to be nyntene foote wide within the walls and to be parted into three like Chambers, every Chamber to have one convenient Studdie, and the garretts or excelses to be parted into three like chambers with two convenient Studdies in everie Chamber, with fitting and convenient stayers of Oken planks to leade conveniently to everie of the same chambers. And yt ye outter walls of the same Buildinge shalbe of bricke on the outside filled or layed with white stonne, all the corners thereof sett with coynes of free stonne; the same walls to be of ye thicknes of three bricke and half in length containeing two foote and tenne ynches under the water table, the same water table to lye three foote or more above the ground and to be of free stonne chamford sower ynches and halfe thicke. And from the water table to the middle flore in thicknes the length of three bricke containing two foote and a half.

And from the middle flore to ye wall pates in thicknes the length of two bricke and half conteynunge two foote, ye waste ende of ye same building to be made gable wise with crests and some comely finiall finishinge of freestonne, and all ye walls on the inside to be cast over with lyme and hare; and that there shalbe conveniently placed in everie of ye nyne lower Chambers one Chimney with chimney peeces and borders of white stone cleane and handsomely wrought, the shafts of ye same Chimneyes to be brought upp Arriswise ffive foote above ye levell of ye ridge of the roofe of ye buildinge. And yt there shalbe in the said building fittly placed two doorsteedes with free stone iames and white stone heddes and cornises and kneelers over ye same of freestonne, and one place bordered with freston over the dore in ye midst, there to place the founders armes; and convenient windowes in the three lower stories everie light to be eightene ynches wide and in bredth the first storie three foote eight

¹ From original in Caius College Treasury Box IV. No. 3.

ynches, in the seconde storie fower foote and in the thirde three foote and two ynches with freestone soyles sixe ynches thicke and ten ynches broade, the iames and minions to be of white stonne with hance hearlds also of white stonne, and cornises and kneelers over evne windowe of free stonne, and in the first and second stories with arches of bricke turned over every windowe, and in the third storie with gable ends and crests and finials of free stonne, and nine windows of tymber with one light apeece in the garrets or excelses of oaken tymber with roofes of tymber over the same, the whole number of lights in the whole building to bee seventie two and to have one iron barre 3 quarters of a inch square, strongly and fitly placed & fastened in the midst of every of the same hghts and that there shall bee 30 dooble casements of iron well and cleane wrought fitly and strongly placed and fastned in the windows of the 3 stories and nine single casements of iron in the windows of the garrets or excelses, and all the same lights and casements shall bee well and sufficiently glazed with good burgundie glasse in small quarries well leaded soddred and sufficiently sett into the same windowes and bound to the harrs. And that all the said severall chambers shall bee floared with good sufficient and seasoned board of oake layd uppon sufficient rests of oake tymber for the grounde floare and good and sufficient dormans and rests for the other 3 floares. And that all the particians shall bee made with good and sufficient groandesils posts girts punchions and studds of oake tymber and the same and also all the studies to bee lathed with hart lath and the 4 particians in the second and third stories and about the staires to be lathed on both sides with hart lath and to be all uppon the lathes cast over with lime and hayre workmanlike. And that there shall bee in the same building twelve outward doares of fir deale smoothed and well handsomely and sufficiently made and fitted to the doresteeds and hanged on good and sufficient hookes and huggells, with a good and sufficient looke and kea to every of the same dores and one and twenty Studdie doares of good seasoned Oake boards smoothed and well and sufficiently made and fitted to the door steede and hanged on sufficient hookes and hingells. And that the rooffe of the same building shall bee of sufficient Oake tymber with seven paire of good and sufficient principall sparrs, dooble purlinges and wambeames, and to stand on wall platts of oake six inches thicke and nine inches broad and shall bee covered with good tyle laid with mortar upon hart lath. And that all the said chambers and studdles in the three stories and in the garretts or excelses shall be well and workmanlike seeled with lime and haire layd on reed well fastned with hartlath unto the timber of the said building ...

[It is further agreed that John Atkinson shall provide all the material: and that Martin Perse shall pay £500 in the following sums:—thus, at the sealing etc. of these presents £100: on 20th May £100: 1st Aug. £100: 10th Sep. £100: 1 Nov. £100, the residue in full.]

II. *Decree for building the Legge Building, 1618.*

In loco capitulari Collegii de Gonvill et Caius 15^o die mensis Januarii per consensum custodis et maioris partis sociorum ita decretum est, ut tenementa antiqua juxta portam humilitatis diruerentur, et in eorum loco novum erigeretur aedificium Collegio deinceps adjungendum, eâ structurâ et conditionibus quæ postea sequuntur

Primo, ut duodecem distincta fiant cubicula supra quatuor distinctas areas et infra quatuor excelsa distincta.

Secundo, ut jus assignandi cubicula praedicta, pro communi iure custodis et sociorum in predictis tenementis, ita distribuatur ut Custos peculiariter sibi habeat ius assignandi tria cubicula cum excelsis continua serie erecta, eaque ita coniuncta primis eligat ubi placuerit in toto aedificio, ut novem reliqua cubicula cum tribus excelsis inter duodecem socios antiquae fundationis ita distribuantur, ut singuli socii et eorundem successores secundum senioritatem suam singula cubicula aut excelsa sibi habeant, quae scholasticis aut pensionariis pro placito assignent, proviso semper quod pensiones cubiculorum per consensum custodis et sociorum imponendae debitis temporibus solvantur ex quibus redditus antiquus reponetur in cistâ communi, reliquum custodi et sociis remanebit.

Uterius, in eodem capitulo decretum est ut Johannes Atkinson curam huius aedificii perficiendi in se susceperet, et pretium reciperet a Collegio sexcentas sexaginta libras solvens temporibus per Collegium assignandis, etigna praeterea et lateres et rudera veterum tenementorum. Ita tamen ut collegio syngrapham competentem cum iaculo exhibeat, ut totum hoc aedificium constituto tempore perficiatur, eaque forma et structura et materia sufficienti secundum indenturas demceps inter praedictum Joh. Atkinson et Collegium conficiendas, in quibus conditiones huius operis exprimentur. Item ut in istâ structurâ monumentum aliquod fiat in memoriam Dns. Legge, et ut huic decreto Custos et socii subscribant antequam nummi ex aerario decumantur.

Endorsel The decree of the Mr and Fellowes of Caius College concerninge the buildinge of the brick Court, with the conditions agreed upon for buildinge the same. Jan 15, 1618

III. *Contract with John Atkinson for the Legge Building, 1618.*

Articles of agreement betwene . the sayde College . and John Atkinson of the same Towne and County, Yeoman . 18 Janr 16 James I . concerninge a Range of buildinge to be erected and sett upp in Gonvell and Caius Colledge in Cambridge .

Imprimis the said John Atkinson . doth covenant . that he will at or before the feast of All Seynts next ensueinge the day of the date of these presents . erect builde and fully finish . upon foundations digged to the firme ground and walled, to be well and sufficiently rammed, one buildinge of ninety two foote in length to be Three stories in hevght with garretts or excelses in the topp of the Rooffe, Two of the stories to be Nyne foote betwene the floore and the searunge, and the halfe storie to be eight foote and a halfe, the lower storie to be eightene foote wide within the walls and to be parted into foure Chambers . every Chamber to have three convenient Studdies a peece; the next storie to be nineteene foote wide within the walls, and to be equally devided into foure chambers likewise with two convenient studdies a peece and the halfe stone to be equally devided into foure chambers and to have two studies a peece; and the garretts to be parted into foure Roomes and have two studdies apeece with fyttinges and convenient Stayres of Oken plancke to leade conveniently to every of the same chambers. And that the outward walls of the same buildinge shalbe of Bricke, filled or layd with white stone within. All the corners thereof to be sett with Coynes of freestone, the same walls to be of the thicknes of three bricks and a halfe, which conteyneth two foote and Tenne inches under the water table, the

same water table to lye three foote or more above the ground and to be of free stone chamfered foure inches and a halfe thicke. And from the water table to the middle floore, the length of three Bricks, which conteynes two foote and a halfe, and from the middle floore to the wall plate Two bricks and a halfe in length, which conteyneth Two foote in thicknes, both the gable ends of the same bulwange to be made gable wise, with Cresses and some comely finishinge of free stone, and all the walls on the insyde to be cast over with lyme and hayer, and that there shalbe placed in every of ye Twelve chambers one Chimney with Chimney peeces and borders of white stone cleane and handsomely wrought, the shafts of the same Chimneys to be brought up Cantwise a convenient heyght above the levell of ye ridge of ye rooffe of the house or buldinge, and that there shalbe placed two convenient doresteds with free stone Jawmes and whitestone heads with whelmers and kneelers over the same of free stone, and convenient windowes in the three lowe stories, every light to be eightene inches wide, the first to be three foote eight inches in height, the seacond storie foure foote, and the third three foot two inches hie, with freestone soyles six inches thicke and Tenne inches broade; the Jawmes and munions to be of white stone with hance heads also of white stone, with kneelers and whelmeres over every window of freestone, and in the first and seacond storie with arches of bricke turned over every windowe, and in the halfe storie with gable ends with crests and finalls of freestone, and twelve windowes of timber, of two lights a peece in the garretts or excelses, and every light in the seacond and halfe storey to have one barre of yron of three quarters of an inch square, strongly and fytly placed and fastened in the midst of every of the same lights, and in ye lowest story to have two barres of Iron in every light well placed and fastened, and every studdye window to have an iron casement of Two foote longe, and every chamber two casements besids the studdies of the same length, for thorow light and ayer, and all the same lights to be well and sufficiently glased with good Burgundie glasse in small quarries well leaded sodered semented and sufficiently set into the same windowes, and bound to the barres, and that all the said chambers shalbe floored with good sufficient and well seasoned boards of Oke, layd upon sufficient Jeists of Oke tymber, for the ground flores, and good and sufficient Dormanies and Jeists for the other three flores, and that all the partitions shalbe made with good and sufficient groundsales posts girts punchones and studs of Oke tymber, and the same and all the studdies to be lathed with hart lathes, and the nine partitions in the seacond and halfe storie, and about the staires, to be lathed on both syds with hart lath, and to be all plastered over with lyme and hayer workeman lyke, and all the outward dores to made of fferdeale cleanly and well wrought, and a sufficient locke and key for every of the outward dores, And also to make a good and sufficient dore for every studdye to be fitted to the dorestead and hanged on sufficient hooks and hinges. And that ye Rooffe of ye same buildinge shalbe of sufficient Oketymber with soe many principall sparres as cann be conveniently placed with stronge purlines and windbeames, and to stand upon wal.plats of Oke six inches thicke and tenne inches broad and shalbe covered with good tyles laid with mortar upon hart lathes, and that all the said chambers and studdies in all the stories and the excelses of the said buildinge shalbe well and workemanlyke seeled with lime and hayer layd upon ree be well fastened with hartlathes unto the tymber of the said buildinge. And further the said John ... doth covenant to make the syde of the buildinge next the streate with battlements after ye order of St Johns new courte, with gutters and spoats of leade to be well sothered and workmanlyke done. And that the streate syde of the said

buildinge shall have in every of the foure chambers in the lower storey one three light window and two single light windowes and soe in proportion and order in every storey of the said buildinge, and every chamber on the courte syde of the said buildinge shall have soe many windowes and of the same order that doctor Perse his buildinge hath. And also the said John ... promiseth to levell the courte soe as the water may fall into the lane, and to pave it round about by the sydes eight foote broade with pebble, and to leave a pompe in the courte and to be comelily covered by him lyke the pompe in Gonvell Courte. And ... the said John Atkinson doth covenant ... [to] have readie for the said workemen and buildinge all the tymber freestone whitestone brick and tyles, the same to be good and well burned, lyme, hayer, bords, lath, glasse, leade, and ironworke with locks and keyes, the studdye dores excepted and all other materialls.....

[It was further agreed that the College should pay £660 in instalments, at sealing £400, 24th June following £160, and 29th Sept. £100; Atkinson to use "all the oulde buildings eyther on the streate syde or in the courte where his new buildinge is to stand."]

From original in Caius College Treasury
Box IV. No. 2 (b).

The receipts are for

£400 paid 22 Jan. 1618.

£60 ,, 18 Aug. 1619. This was paid in advance.

£660 in full 29 Sept. 1619.

V.

Trinity Hall.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE SITE¹.



THE site of Trinity Hall is bounded on the south by Clare Hall, on the west by the River Cam, on the east by Trinity Hall Lane, a portion of the street anciently called Milne Street, and on the north by Garret, otherwise S. Gerard's, Hostel Lane. This lane however was not made until 1545. Up to that time the northern boundary of the site was a lane called Henney Lane, which, in continuation of one which has been already described as crossing the site of Caius College from east to west, led to the common ground called Henney, and to the river². The ground to the south of this was acquired during the life of the Founder, William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, or immediately after his death³.

¹ [Professor Willis had made notes and collections for the earlier portion of this history, and had related the additions made to the site in the reign of Hen. VIII. in his History of Trinity College. I have brought the whole account together, and printed here, for the sake of clearness, the part which he had proposed to defer to a subsequent chapter. The facts of the history are therefore his, although the language of much of it is of necessity mine.]

² [See the History and Plan of Caius College.]

³ [See Historical Introduction. The conveyances of several of the pieces composing the site are no longer in the possession of the College. Their loss is to some extent supplied by those cited in the "Borough Report": but our knowledge of the western portion of the site is still deficient.]

The Bishop's charter of foundation is dated 15 January, 1349—50¹: and on the 23rd February following, Edward the Third granted license to the Keeper, Fellows, and Scholars of the Holy Trinity "to acquire houses, hostels, and a place of sufficient extent to dwell in²." It is probable that at the date of this license they were already in possession of some house or houses large enough for their temporary accommodation; for it was not until the following November that the purchase was completed from the Prior and Convent of Ely of the building and grounds of the Hostel which John de Crawden (Prior 1321—41) had bought for the accommodation of those Monks of Ely who wished to avail themselves of University education. It is stated that the sale of this building to Bishop Bateman was in consequence of certain benefits conferred by him upon the Church of Ely³, and that the price paid was £300⁴.

The history of this acquisition is as follows. A writ "ad quod damnum" was issued 4 October 24 Edw. III. 1350, to inquire as to a proposed conveyance from the Prior and Convent of Ely to the College of one messuage and one piece of land in Mylnstrete for their habitation: and the Inquisition held thereon (November 3) found that the messuage and piece of land (*placea*) were held of Simon de Brunne by the service of sixpence a year, and that the place measured nine perches in length, by eight in breadth⁵. The license in mortmain for the acquisition of this land is dated November 20, 1350⁶. The original conveyance is lost, but in a deed of further assurance from John de Brunne⁷, grandson of Simon, executed in 1372, the property is described by him as

¹ Commiss. Docts. ii. 414.

² Ibid. ii. 407. The original is in Trinity Hall Treasury, Site, No. 3.

³ [Anglia Sacra, ed. 1691, i. 650.]

⁴ [Tanner's Notitia Monastica, ed. Nasmith, Cambridgeshire, IV., note p. 4, Bryan Twyne citing Ely Registers.]

⁵ [Borough Rate Report, vii. 3. Simon de Brunne was mesne between the King and the Convent. The building was known by College tradition as "The Monks' Building." It is difficult to determine whether the measurements given above refer to the land alone, or to the land together with the messuage.]

⁶ [Patent, 24 Edw. III. p. 3, m. 5. Commiss. Docts. ii. 408. A note of the conveyance from the Prior and Convent dated in the same regnal year of the King, taken from an Ely Register, is preserved in Baker MSS. xxxviii. 179.]

⁷ [Trinity Hall Treasury, Site, No. 10.]

"a messuage with Heneye, lying in the parish of S. John Baptist in Milnestrete, between the messuage of the Scholars of Clare Hall on the one side [S], and the messuage of the Scholars of the Hall of the Holy Trinity on the other [N], one head abutting on Millestrete, and the other on the common bank called Cante, which messuage with Heneye formerly belonged to Simon de Brunne my grandfather."

The messuage occupied the south-east corner of the site, as shewn on the plan (fig. 1), and its frontage extended nearly as far as the present entrance to the College.

On November 6, 1350, the town of Cambridge granted to the scholars "a certain gutter or water-course extending from the common street called Milnestrete to the common Ditch of the Town, lying between the tenement formerly of John Goldcorne on the north part, and the tenement formerly of Simon de Brunne on the south part." It is obvious that this watercourse would have been useless to them had they not been the owners of Goldcorne's house, and we may therefore safely conjecture that it was in that tenement that they were lodged before they acquired the ground to the south of it; a fact which is also implied by the word "formerly" applied equally to both the houses, one of which we know was in their possession¹.

Four years afterwards the house at the corner of Henney Lane was obtained. It was called "Draxesentre," from a former possessor, John Drax or Drake, and extended from Milne Street to the King's Ditch, its southern boundary being "the dwelling-place (*mansum*) of the Keeper and Scholars of the College of the Holy Trinity of Norwich²." The conveyance, dated 9 June, 1354, was confirmed by letters patent on 26 September of the same year. From this date we learn that the site of the principal quadrangle, of which this house formed the north-east corner, was not completely acquired until after the death of the Founder, which took place 6 January 1354.

The same letters patent confirm the acquisition of "seven parcels of ground, with their appurtenances, in the parish of

¹ [Borough Report, vii. 6. At the same time they obtained "a certain part of the said common Ditch, extending from the end of that gutter unto the tenement formerly of John de Gray, and lying between the tenement of Simon de Brunne on the west, and the tenement formerly of John Goldcorne and the tenement called Longentre on the east." This shews that there was a branch of the town ditch which ran diagonally across the site to the main ditch along its north-western border.]

² Trinity Hall Treasury, Site, Nos. 5, 6. Borough Report, vii. 9.

S. John Baptist in Milnestrete, of which parcels two, held of the Hospital of S. John, measure together 190 feet in length by 75 feet in breadth; two, of Stephen, son of Bartholomew Morris, measure 78 feet in length by 50 feet in breadth; and the remaining three, of the gild of Corpus Christi and S. Mary, measure 245 feet in length by 80 feet in breadth." The first two may be identified with the garden opposite to Clare Hall, sold to King Henry VI. in 1440, to form the principal part of the site of his proposed College¹: and the second two with a property on the east side of Milne Street, south of Piron Lane, afterwards absorbed in the site of King's²: but nothing is stated to enable us to determine the position of the remaining three. It is possible that they may have been situated to the west of the pieces of ground previously acquired, where there is a considerable portion of the College site unaccounted for.

We have now to examine the ground north of Henney Lane, which was not acquired until 1544 (36 Hen. VIII.). In the middle of the fifteenth century, the ground between Trinity Hall and Garret Hostel was occupied by a garden called Henneabley, extending from Milne Street to the King's Ditch. This had been sold in 1447 by the Prior and Convent of Anglesey to Henry VI., who in turn granted it to the Town of Cambridge in 1455, to compensate them for the loss of Salthithe Lane conceded to him for the site of King's College, and in order that "a public right of way or road may be made and kept up there for the use of the community of the said town from Mylnestrete to the water called 'le Ree'." Ninety years afterwards, the College being desirous of ridding themselves of the nuisance of having close under their windows what is described as a filthy and neglected piece of ground, through which a public road ran, took steps to get possession of it. They first obtained from the town (12 Sept. 1544), by exchange,

"a certeyn pece of grounde or garden late callyd Henneabley, lynge in

¹ [The site of the "Old Court" of King's measures now 194 feet in length along its eastern boundary, with a mean breadth of about 84 feet; dimensions which correspond as accurately as those of mediæval conveyances usually do.]

² [Trinity Hall Treasury, Site, No. 7, History of King's College, Chapter III.]

³ [Harc., folio copy on vellum, II. fol. 150. The deed is dated 15 March, 33 Hen. VI.]

the Towne of Cambrige bytwyxt the sayd college on the sowthe parte, and the grounde belongynge to mychell howse sometye parcell of Garret Hostle on the North parte, The oon hedde abutting upon mylnestrete towards the East, The other upon the commen drane callyd kyngs dytche towards the west; The whyche pece of grounde ... conteynythe in lengthe from mylnestrete unto the commen drane syxtene score Foot, and in breadythe att the East hedde thyrty and syx Foot, and in breadythe att the West hedde Thyrty and syx Foot, and in breadythe in the mydds Fyfty and fyve Foote of the kyngs standard ... Furthermore the sayd M^r. and Fellowes covenant ... to leave and sett owt a commen lane or waye throwghe owt, From the sayd mylnestrete unto the sayd commen dytche, of Tenne Foot wydenesse eyther in the sayd pece of grounde or garden or elles within LX Foot therof nerer unto mychell howse: Whyche way for ever shall be used and taken as a commen Lane and waye for ... the Inhabytaunts of the sayd Towne unto the Felds and commens¹."

They next addressed themselves to Michael House, and bought from them (16 April, 1545)

"a certayn pece of grownd, parcell of y^e grownd w^{ch} is in y^e tenure of y^e said mychell howse, sometye parcell of Garret hostell, lyng upon a certayn pece of grownd or garden late called henneabye now in y^e tenure of y^e said Trinite Hall toward [the] southe, and upon y^e grownd of y^e said mychell howse toward y^e northe, y^e oon hede abbuttelthe upon mylnestrete toward y^e este, and upon [the dyche?] derived oute of y^e kynges ryver called y^e comen water and streme of Cambridge toward y^e west; w^{ch} pece or parcell of grownd [conteyneth] in lengthe from mylne strete unto y^e aforesayd dyche xiiij^{xx} sixtene fote and in brede xx fote. To have and to hold ... discharged of all rents .. except oonly a redd rose to be given to y^{em} at y^e natiuite of saynt John Baptist [if] by y^{em} requyred. Also ... y^e said M^r and felowes of Trenite Hall of y^{er} owne proper costs and charges shall buyld or cawse to be buylded upon y^e ground of y^e said mychell howse, next unto y^e above named parcell... grawnted unto y^e said Trinite hall, a stone wall of y^e lengthe of y^e said parcell of grownd and of Thycknesse and heyght of a certayne wall newly buylded by y^e said mychell howse on y^e northe syde therof towards y^e kyngshall²."

From the north border of the slip thus obtained they set off a road ten feet wide, now known as Garret Hostel Lane, in order to comply with the stipulation of the Town. The remainder, together with the previous acquisition, became the Fellows' garden³, along the east and north sides of which they built the clunch wall that is still standing (EFG, fig. 1).

¹ Trinity Hall Treasury, Site, No. 12.

² Trinity Hall Treasury, Site, No. 14.

³ [Of this garden Warren, for an account of whom see Appendix No. 1., records (p. 18) that "The Mulberry Tree in it was planted about y^e year 1690 by M^r Allen,

The ground to the west of the College had also been increased in the previous year (20 Sept. 1544) by purchase from the Town for twenty shillings of a small portion of waste ground upon its north-western border. This piece was 170 feet long by 30 feet broad, and is described as lying

"between the wall of the College on the south, and our brook now in the tenure of the master and fellows of Michaelhouse on the north, one head abutting on the common stream towards the west, and the other upon a peice of ground, or garden, called Henneabley, lately given in exchange to the aforesaid College towards the east¹."

[This acquisition was soon after enclosed with a wall, and thus the site attained its present dimensions, with the exception of a small piece at its north-western extremity, where the map of 1731 shews a small building, standing between the wall and Garret Hostel Bridge, on ground which was originally part of the "King's Ditch," together with a door (N, fig. 1) opening directly from the College into it. By what right the building was placed there is not now known, for the College did not acquire the ground on which it stood until 1769. In that year Garret Hostel Bridge was "in a decayed and ruinous condition," and when the Town proposed to rebuild it, Trinity Hall offered "one full half part of the money laid out and expended for the erecting and building thereof;" which share ultimately amounted to £278. 16s. 8d. In consideration of this benefaction it was agreed with the Town that they should be allowed "to sett the north wall of their college, extending from their stables to the river, so as to include within the college the waste ground now lying between the said north wall and the south-east corner of the abutment of the present bridge, and which is now the college way down to the river." This proposed change was however never carried out, and indeed would have made the lane inconveniently narrow, but a portion of the ground has been inclosed with an iron railing, so as to establish the rights of the College².]

then Fellow. There was another Mulberry Tree planted at y^e West End of y^e same Garden about Lady Day 1726 by D^r Temson, Fellow. On the Inside of this Garden-Wall which is next Caius College are these letters T. G. held together by a Sash work'd on a Stone. I know not who they stand for. The Malberry Tree planted in 1690 is still standing (1879), but the stone has disappeared.]

¹ [The deed, in Latin, is preserved by Baker, MSS. Baker, xxvi. 327.]

² [Agreement between the Town and Trinity Hall, dated July 14, 1769, in Trinity



Fig. 2. Trinity Hall, reduced from Loggan's print, taken about 1650. (F. Master's Collection)

To face pp. 214, 215.



Fig. 1. B, Library, C, Hall, D Master's Lodge E Kitchen
F Garden

Vol. 1

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF THE BUILDINGS.

THE Quadrangle of this College is larger than any of its predecessors, being about 115 feet long, and in breadth the same as Gonville Court, namely 80 feet. It has the peculiarity of an entrance court interposed between the quadrangle and the street, like the curia of a monastery.

This "First or Porter's Court" was entered by a gatehouse on the east, with chambers on either side, still existing but much altered, and having a large archway for wheel-carriages and a small lateral postern arch for foot-passengers now walled up¹. The entrance from this court to the great quadrangle is by a passage on the north². Opposite to the gatehouse was the gable

Hall Treasury. The new Bridge was to be for horse and foot passengers, built of timber on brick piers. The design, approved by the Mayor and the Bursar of Trinity Hall, was "to be executed under the direction of M^r James Essex, the Architect and Surveyor of the said College." The first construction of a Bridge in this place has not been recorded. In 1573 it is mentioned by Caius (*Hist. Cant. Acad.* ii. 116) as "*pons Gererdi, a diui Gererdi olim hospitio quod in proximo fuit.*" In 1628 it was repaired at the expense of the Corporation (*Cooper's Annals* iii. 198): and again in 1648, Trinity and Trinity Hall contributing a free gift, acknowledged as such by the Town (*ibid.* 404): after the reconstruction in 1769 it was frequently called "the mathematical bridge," but nevertheless broke down, July 2, 1812, and was rebuilt in 1814, Trinity Hall contributing £100 (*ibid.* iv. 503, 509): in 1821 it was once more rebuilt of timber, at a cost of £140, defrayed by the Corporation only (*ibid.* 534): in 1837, it was rebuilt of iron, at a cost of £960. 19s. 6d., Trinity Hall contributing £250, Trinity College £150, and Caius College £50 (*ibid.* 608). [In 1839 Trinity Hall gave £100 towards facing the west buttress with stone, and in 1841 defrayed the cost of the iron-work along each side of the roadway.]

¹ [It must be remembered that Prof. Willis is speaking of the ancient entrance, as shewn in Loggan (*fig. 2*), which was subsequently blocked up, but at what period I have been unable to discover, leaving only the postern. This was then enriched with a very unsuitable head-molding and shafts. When the new buildings were erected in 1873 the gate was opened out, and subsequently removed to the entrance of the College in Garret Hostel Lane (*H*, *fig. 1*) at the expense of the Master. The smaller door was at the same time set up at the entrance to the kitchen-yard (*I*, *ibid.*), at the expense of the Rev. H. Latham, Fellow and Tutor.]

² [This court was originally called "The Court before the Master's Lodge." In Warren's time it had "a Little Garden in it, inclosed with pales." Warren, p. 17.]

of an ancient building (ABCD, fig. 1), which ranged against the south boundary of the College site next to Clare Hall. This building, traditionally reputed to be the Monks' Hostel mentioned in Chapter I., still existed in 1731, for it is contained in a plan of the College of that date¹ preserved in the Library, and reproduced here (fig. 1). The only description of it is that by Dr Warren in his account of the College. As this gives very little information that would enable us to judge of its date, I shall consign it to a note².

The great Quadrangle, or "Principal Court" (fig. 2), as it stood at the end of the 17th century, had on the west side the Hall (C) and Butteries, with the Kitchen (E) at the north, and the Master's Lodge (D) at the south extremity³. The latter consisted of a single room or Parlour on the ground-floor with a similar room above, surmounted by a garret. Additional chambers to the Lodge were contained in wings which projected to the south and to the west, and there was also a staircase to the west of the principal rooms. On the south side of the Court the Chapel (A) joined the east side of the Parlour as the Hall did the north. The Chapel occupied the western half only of this side. The remainder, as well as the entire east side, and the north side, was occupied by chambers. All these arrangements subsist, but, partly by repairing and refacing, and partly by rebuilding, the style of the whole has been altered, and the Lodge completely changed.

On the west of the principal court, and reached through the screens, is the "Library Court," which has only three sides of

¹ [This plan, according to the Ms Notes, written in 1834 by John Hancock Hall, Bursar, p. 384, "was made by the person who made the drawings and calculations" for Sir N. Lloyd's work, 1710—1735.]

² [Appendix No. 1. A fragment of its W. wall may still be discovered behind the south gable of the Lodge. A note to Warren (p. 20) informs us that it was partially destroyed in 1823. The rest was standing in 1852, when a further portion was removed for the enlargement of the Lodge. A small Norman window then existed. In Loggan it is represented as a Pigeon House (fig. 2), and Warren in his Table of Contents speaks of the "Old Building for y^e Monks, where y^e Pidgeon House is." For Prior Crawden's work see Fuller, 105, and Bentham's Ely, 220.]

³ [Loggan's view (fig. 2) shews a large fir tree in the centre of this court. This, says Warren, was "set within y^e Memory of Dr Boord [LL.D. 1664], formerly Fellow of this College. It was cut down June 27, 1739, it being Dead. It was 48 foot High." Round this tree there was a stone seat, set up about 1704. Warren, p. 17.]

building, namely, the Library (B) on the north, the wing of the Lodge already mentioned on the south, and the Hall and Butteries on the east.

For the history of the buildings we know that the first establishment of the College was retarded by the premature death of the founder in 1354 at Avignon, leaving only a Master, 3 Fellows, and as many Scholars, in lieu of the 23 Fellows and Scholars he had proposed to provide for, and to whose number of course the scale of his site and of the proposed edifice was adapted. The number of Fellowships was not augmented until a century had elapsed, but the buildings were carried on by other benefactors, as we gather from an indenture dated 17 September, 48 Edw. III. (1374), twenty years after the founder's death. The contracting parties are Simon (Sudbury), Bishop of London, (one of the Bishop's executors and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), on the one hand, and John de Mildenhale, carpenter, of Cambridge, on the other: and the contract, divested of its mediæval technicalities, may be summed up as follows:—The carpenter agrees to find oak timber for all the chambers which are to be built in the manse of the Scholars of Trinity Hall at Cambridge: that is to say, for the roof and floor beams, the partitions in the solars, as well as in the celars (first-floor and ground-floor chambers), and also the stairs and stair-trees. He is also to find oak timber for the offices (butteries and kitchen), which are to be built *from the north end of the College Hall, northwards up to Heney lane*. The roof is to be exactly similar to that of the said Hall, and he is to provide floor beams for solars and timber for the partitions above and below. He is to find all other timber required, to convey it to the College, and to provide all the workmanship. The timber-work of the chambers is to be exactly similar in dimensions and form to that of *the eastern chambers of the said manse* in every respect, and the timber-work of the offices is to be the same as that of the Hall. All the above work is to be completed by the next coming Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin.

Thus far the contract relates only to the timber framing of buildings the walls of which were doubtless to be carried up, as in other cases at this period, without a contract, the wages being

paid and the materials bought as required. But the contract goes on to provide for making the doors, both large and small, and the large and small windows, and the floors of all the chambers, of the kitchen, and of the solars. Probably the ground-floor chambers or celars had either mud-floors or tile-pavements. All these fittings the contractor engages to make within four months after receiving notice to do so on the part of the College. For the work described in the former part of the contract, the carpenter is to receive from the Bishop £100 in separate payments¹.

This contract proves that the Hall of the College already existed at the time that it was drawn up, as well as certain eastern chambers, by which I understand the range which flanked the eastern side of the Quadrangle next to Main Street. On this side of the Court was a complete building within four walls (fig. 1), overlapping the east end of the north range in a manner that serves to show that the former was built before the latter. The new chambers mentioned in the contract must either have been the north range, which is the most probable, or the west range, at the end of the Chapel. The former remains in evidence that consisted of plastering it red and whitewash, and was made of medieval windows of different ages, some a short while up, and of sack-windows inserted to replace them. At the upper part are four sets of chambers exclusive of the combinatorial chamber at the western extremity (fig. 2). The other chambers from the west remain a specimen of the twelfth-century windows (fig. 3), which apparently belongs to the first of the ranges, and the second chamber also contains a specimen of the same and consisting of a similar set. The windows of the third range are not visible. Windows of similar design are

fig. 4. The windows of the third range are not visible. Windows of similar design are

fig. 5. The windows of the third range are not visible. Windows of similar design are

shewn by Loggan in the east range (fig. 2), and in other early quadrangles; as on the north side of Gonville Court (History of Caius College, fig. 2), and at Corpus in the north range looking into the churchyard of S. Benedict (History of Corpus, fig. 4). Remains of two or three still exist at Peterhouse at the west end of the south range (History of Peterhouse, fig. 7). The third chamber has another old walled-up window of the later form of two lights, with a four-centred arch over them. Large sash-windows have superseded all the others. On the ground-floor are several square windows, with a central monial but with shallow moldings, probably later than the foundation. The upper part of the wall is of clunch rubble, but the lower, including part of that pierced by these square windows, has an old red-brick facing, apparently an insertion by way of underpinning of the wall above, worn away near the soil by passengers and cattle. It has been related in the previous chapter that when the College was built this wall stood on its north boundary and was not protected by the present garden until 1545.

From what has been already said, we may conclude that the Quadrangle was completely laid out soon after the foundation of the College, and part of the chambers on the east side built by the Founder, who may be supposed to have commenced the Hall; the Monks' Hostel [or some other building on the site] being employed as lodgings in the meantime. Bishop Sudbury¹ appears as the builder of the Butteries and Kitchen, and of the north range, or his benefaction may have been confined to the timber work.

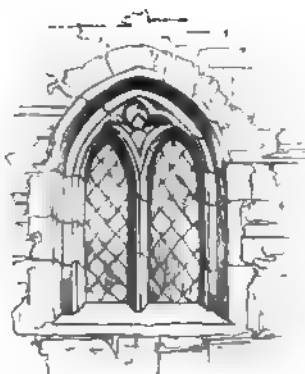


Fig. 3. Window in the north wall of the College.

¹ This Bishop was a promoter of Architecture. He built on the site of his father's house at Sudbury a college for secular priests, and also the eastern end (*superiorem partem*) of the Church of S. George there. The west gate of the city of Canterbury, together with the city wall between the west and north gates, is his work, and he moreover began the rebuilding of the nave of Canterbury Cathedral. His interest in

The construction of a Chapel was intended by the Founder from the first. The proximity of the College, however, to the parish church of S. John Baptist, from which it was separated only by Clare Hall, rendered it unnecessary to undertake the building of it until the more essential Hall, Kitchen, and chambers had been provided. This is manifest from the words of the Founder's Statutes, in which he directs that the Divine services, and after his death his obits, are to be performed by the Master and Fellows in the parish church, or in some other church, or in their own Chapel, when they have one suitably constructed¹. He also gave them Chapel-plate and books, but these were necessary for their masses in the Parish-church.

A license to build a Chapel or Oratory was obtained from the Bishop of Ely on May 30, 1352, but there is no record of the building of the Chapel, which, as in other similar cases², probably lingered for many years after the license had been obtained. [When the Church of S. John Baptist was exchanged for that of S. Edward in 1445, an aisle, since called "Trinity Hall Aisle," was built on the north side of the Chancel of the latter church for the use of Trinity Hall, as a similar aisle was built on the south side at the same time for the use of Clare Hall³. It is not probable therefore that a Chapel existed at that time within the precincts of the College. The statutes however of William Dallyng (Master 1471—1502) incidentally mention the Chapel, ordaining prayers to be said there. A Chapel had therefore been built at some time between those years. Besides this notice there are only two documents in the College Archives bearing on the history of the Chapel, and they do not tell us much. The first is a short account for repairs⁴, dated 1513,

the College is explained by the fact that he was one of Bishop Bateman's executors, as previously stated, and that he had studied Civil and Canon Law in his youth, of which faculties he became Doctor. [See Prof. Willis' *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 117, and Godwin "De Presulibus Anglæ," ed. Richardson, i. 118.]

¹ Statutes, ch. 14. *Commiss. Doct.* ii. 429.

² At Gonville Hall for example the license was obtained in 1253, and the Chapel finished about 1393. [The license for Trinity Hall is copied by Warren, p. 319; and also in the very early copy of the Statutes in the Registry of the University.]

³ [See the Chapter on "College Churches."]

⁴ Trinity Hall Treasury, Miscellaneous Papers. Vol. i. No. 4.

⁵ Anno Domini 1513. Expense circa reparaciones capelle

In primis pro faccione le crest xiiij. viij^d. ch.

when the Chapel appears to have been completed by the addition of what is termed "le crest"; after which the ceremony of consecration was performed. The second is a list of plate, vestments, and church furniture appended to the statutes, from which we learn that besides the high altar there were two side altars. We know, however, that it was built in a good early pointed style by the discovery in 1864 of a Piscina (fig. 4), which

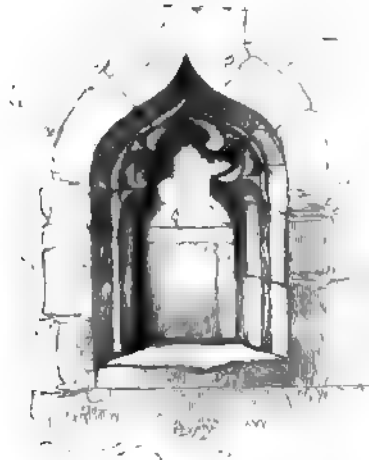


Fig. 4. Piscina in the Chapel.

has been carefully preserved, behind the wainscoting in the south wall near the altar. The canopy of a niche, of equally good work, was found at the same time in the centre of the east wall, at about ten feet from the ground. It was in tolerable

Item pro tinctor' muri et le crest	xxvj ^d . viij ^d .
Item pro lynng le crest	ij ^s . iij ^d .
Item pro cirpis	v ^d .
Item pro aliis necessariis	ij ^d . ob.
Item pro dedicacione capelle	xv ^d .
Item in remuneracione seruientium	ij ^s .
Item pro veste linea pro episcopo	xiiij ^d .
Item pro venno [vane?]	ij ^s . vij ^d .
Item pro le heyer for y ^e hey altar	xiiij ^d ."

The last item is shewn by the following entry in the Accounts of the Senior Bursar of Trinity College for 1553, to mean a kind of coarse cloth

"Item to Christofer Nicolson for iij yerdes of heire
for thalter at viij^d. the yerde ij^s. viij^d."

preservation, and retained traces of gilding and colour; but unfortunately no steps were taken to preserve it, or any fragment of it. Three pieces of clunch, exceedingly well carved, painted and gilt, which may have formed part of a reredos, were found built into the wall above the Jacobean roof, when it was repaired in 1864. There were three buttresses on the south side, which still exist; but, to judge from Loggan (fig. 2), there were never any on the north side next the court.]

In the reign of Elizabeth Dr Harvey was Master (1560—84), of whom his contemporary Dr Caius records that he "extended the buildings there and made them more ornamental and ample". The works alluded to are not specified, but it is known that the Library of the College, which forms one side of the Garden-court, was built in this reign, and Warren tells us that

"On a Spare Leaf at y^e End of The Old Vellum Book with green Strings (in w^{ch} Book I have transcrib'd y^e College Statutes²) are these following Memoranda entred (as I take it) in Dr Hervy's own Hand-writing, viz. -

Anno Dñi 1545, y^e grownd on y^e northe side of y^e building of o^r college was taken yn and y^e wall builded, wch befor was a laystowe.

1562, y^e west bay window in y^e Hall was sett up.

— 1563, y^e stable was sett up wher it is. And y^e same yere y^e chambers & buildyng ou^r y^e botery & pantrie, y^e entrie into y^e ketchyn & ov^r y^e kechyn, y^e larder & inner botrie was buylded &c.

— 1569, y^e old wall on y^e northe side of o^r back syde was taken down, & y^e grownd weh was w^t out o^r wall taken yn unto y^e water syde all y^e lengethe from y^e stable w^t y^e retorn to y^e prive & y^e new wall sett up & a new crosse wall sevaryng y^e stableyard also made y^e same yere.

The forementioned Date viz 1569 appears still on y^e outside of y^e Corner of y^e Wall at y^e watergate next Garret Hostle Bridge, cut in Stone

thus ¹⁵⁶⁹
9 June and over y^e Date a Crescent for y^e Founder's Arms."

The first memorandum refers to the acquisition of ground from the town and Michael House in 1544 as before related. The last gives the date at which the College completed their enclosure to the waterside on the north of their garden [by building the red-brick wall which is still standing (GM, fig 1)]. But the other two entries shew that the oriel of the Hall

¹ "Praeterea Henricus Harvey Magister hujus Collegii...dilatavit ista aedificia, eaque multo ornatiores et ampliora perfecit." Hist. Cant. Acad. p. 63.

² [A note in a later hand records that "This book is now bound in calf and letter'd 'Old Vellum Book'."]

was added or rebuilt at that time, and that the chambers over the Butteries and Kitchen were rebuilt, as indeed Loggan's view shews by the architectural style of their windows and gables. By the same test it may be affirmed that the extension of the Lodge by a south wing and a west wing is due to Harvey, as well as the Library opposite.

The south wing of the Lodge was a timber building, of which the first floor, as usual, overhangs the ground-chamber: the latter contained an older window and seems to have existed long before Harvey's time (fig. 2). The north wing contained a gallery on the first floor, 55 feet long, and a staircase next to the Master's Parlour, giving access to the gallery and to the Master's chamber over the Parlour¹ (fig. 1). The following clause of Harvey's will, dated Nov. 1, 1584, shews that he also fitted up all the apartments at the Lodge with wainscot paneling:

"I, Henry Harvey...do give to the Master Fellowes and Schollers of the said Colledg or Hall that shalbe next after my decease all seelings of Oke & Wainscott wth all Portalls in my Parlour, great chamber, study, Bedchamber, and chamber at my Gallery end in Cambridge to remaine there to the said Colledge for ever to the use of the Master & his successors."...

[We must now trace the changes that have taken place in the different offices to the present time.]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF PARTICULAR BUILDINGS. RECENT CHANGES AND ADDITIONS.

LODGE.] The Lodge, in the state to which Harvey brought it, consisted of the Parlour at the south end of the Hall on the ground floor, the great chamber above it, the bed-chamber in the south wing with a room which was probably a study

¹ These details are obtained by comparing together Loggan's view, the plan of 1731, and Harvey's will, MSS. Baker, iii. 318. Harvey died 20 Feb. 1584—5.

beneath it, and the gallery running westwards into the Fellows' garden, with a chamber projecting southwards from the west end of it, and a small staircase leading down to the garden (fig. 1). The gallery was probably of wood, overhanging the basement story¹, as the south wing did (fig. 2). Besides the rooms already enumerated, there were garrets over all, except the gallery. This Lodge is conveniently placed in contact with both Hall and Chapel. In 1804 it is said to have been greatly improved by Sir William Wynne, Master (1803-1815), at an expense of nearly £1500², and in 1822 about £1800 was laid out on it; but the nature of these alterations is not recorded. In 1823 a range of six mean brick chambers with sash-windows was erected on the west side of the "Porter's Court," partly occupying the site of the south wing of the Lodge. It cost the College £1200 besides the part contained in the Master's Lodge, the cost of which, together with that of some alterations to the north front, was principally, if not entirely, defrayed by Dr Le Blanc, Master³ (1815-1843). In 1852 the interior of the Lodge was brought into its present elegant and commodious form by a series of ingenious alterations and partial rebuilding, under the direction of A. Salvin, Esq. [and at the cost of Dr T. C. Geldart, Master (1852-1877)].

[A study of the two plans (fig. 1) will shew the nature of these changes. The parlour on the ground floor at the south end of the College Hall, which had latterly been used as the kitchen of the Lodge, became the hall, with an entrance from the Porter's or New Court. The room over this, until then the dining-room, was converted into a drawing-room, with a south window looking into the garden. A Library was made at the east end of what had once been the "Long Gallery," and a dining-room at the west end, next the garden, partly extending into a new south wing, the rest of which is occupied by bedrooms. A cloister which had formed one side of the Library Court was filled up, and converted into offices, and a set of

¹ [As at Pembroke College, in Loggan's view. Warren (p. 21) gives the dimensions of the gallery as 54 ft. 10 in. long, by 10 ft. 6 in. broad. This shews that it occupied the whole of the building that ran westwards from the Hall.]

² Warren, p. 22.

³ [Mr Hall's Ms notes, p. 382.]

garrets over the Hall, which had become useless as College rooms owing to their floors being crossed by beams required for the support of the ceiling below, was added to the Lodge¹.]

COMBINATION ROOM.] The present Parlour or Combination Room is over the kitchen, and was therefore built or rebuilt by Dr Harvey in 1563, who also in his will charged

"Robert Harvye his nephew his heirs &c. for ever, to deliver yearly for ever between the first day of May & the last day of August within the College or Hall commonly called Trinity Hall 3 loads of Charcoale at 13 sacks to the load & every sack to contain 5 Bushels at the least to the use of the Company, there to be spent nightly in y^e *common parlor* or other common place within the said College as the Master of the said College shall think meet, beginning from the Feast of All Saints & to continue until the said 3 loads be spent, after 2 Bushels for every night, except the M^r of the Coll. shall for that quantity otherwise think meet, or else to pay yearly for ever to the M^r of the College or to his president in his absence sixty shillings in money before the first day of May yearly that they may provide with that money so many coals as that money will buy²."

The changes introduced into this room by Dr Chetwoode are thus described by Dr Warren. It has not since been altered.

"A. D. 1730 the old wainscot in y^e Parlour was taken down, and new wainscot put up in y^e room of it, a passage made from y^e Parlour into y^e Library, y^e Chimney alter'd and adorn'd with Marble, 3 Sashes set up instead of y^e 3 former windows, y^e Ceiling and y^e Floor done anew, also 2 new Tables of Mohogany wood and 17 Chairs placed instead of y^e old Tables and Forms. All this was done at y^e expence, and was y^e voluntary gift, of D^r John Chetwoode to y^e College. The Floor of Norway oak. The Chimney piece and y^e College Arms over it in Marble: Higher still y^e Arms of y^e Founder Mitred Carv'd in Wood: Furniture for y^e Chimney: A Bofett: Mohogany window Seats: A Marble Table for y^e Side-board on a Mohogany Stand: Brass Locks etc. The Foot of y^e Staircase leading up to y^e Parlour new done with Stone at y^e Passage. The Staircase new lin'd with Deal wainscot painted: New Stairs of Oak: A Venetian Window at y^e Stairs Head, All Finish'd A. D. 1731. And accordingly there is a Date on a Label carv'd in wood over y^e Chimney piece MDCCXXXI, and cost above Four Hundred Pounds. D^r Chetwoode's coat of Arms carv'd in wood was set up in y^e Parlour opposite to y^e Founder's and College Arms at y^e Charge of y^e College A. D. 1734: Cost Five Pounds ten shillings³."

¹ [These have now (Jan 1879) been restored to the College.]

² [Warren, 157. MSS. Baker, m. 318. Cooper's Athenae, i 505.]

³ [Besides these changes the bill of "Cass and Partner," Masons, shews that a "larg 3 light window att west end" was blocked; the kitchen chimney diminished in breadth, so as to allow the two windows in the N. wall to be placed symmetrically; and that on the west side brought "near y^e middle of y^e room." Miscell. Aul. Trin. Vol. iii.]

LIBRARY.] The old Library of the College was placed in a chamber next the east end of the Chapel, and over the passage from the Porter's Court to the Principal Court. The new Library, built, as above stated, at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, is 65 feet long from north to south and 20 feet wide. In 1731 there still remained a wall connecting this room with the Master's Lodge, along which he had a way to the Library (fig. 1), and the door by which he entered may still be seen, blocked up, between the second and third windows, reckoning from the west. [These, of which there are eight on each side on the first floor, are each of two lights, pointed, under a square head (fig. 5), except the easternmost on each side, which is of a single light. On the ground floor some are of three lights, but in other respects resemble those above. The original entrance to the Library was by a door in the east gable (O, fig. 1), which may still be seen in the interval between the Combination Room and the Library. It was perhaps approached by an external staircase, as the construction of the present entrance through the Combination Room in 1730 was thought worthy of special record.] The original desks are still retained in this Library, which is the one which has best preserved its ancient aspect in this University. The alterations which have been made in these desks for increased shelves are easily detected, and have not destroyed their ancient outline¹.

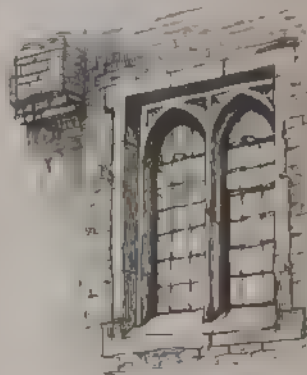


Fig. 5. Window in the Library

CHAMBERS.] In the 18th century the walls of the principal Quadrangle received an Italian dress. This process began as early as 1702, by the gradual insertion of sash-windows in some of the chambers at the expense of their occupants, generally

¹ [See Chapter on College Libraries. Warren (p. 17) mentions the "Wall on y^e Top of which is a Walk leading from y^e Master's Long Gallery to y^e Library. The battlements along the top are shewn in Loggan (fig. 2). To Warren's statement about the date of the Library Prof. Willis appends a note "circa 1600."

accompanied by wainscoting them, and in some cases with the addition of a marble chimneypiece¹. A few of the chambers had been wainscoted in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The greater part of the work of transformation was due to Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, Master (1710—1735). He resigned the Mastership in the latter year, and died in 1741.

In 1724 an estimate of £637 was furnished by Charles Cass, mason, for pulling down at Dr Lloyd's expense the south front of the north side of the principal Court, and rebuilding it with Portland stone. This was not acted upon, but in 1727 an agreement was made with the same mason to make a Ketton stone cornice and coping upon a brick parapet with a stone facing, along the whole length of this side, the outer face of the parapet and the wall below to be plastered with "hard finishing," for £168. Up to this time the roof had had eaves all round, as shewn in Loggan (fig. 2). "Two Ketton stone doorcases with architrave, frieze and cornice and a pitch pediment" were also included in the estimate. This work was carried out in 1728.

In 1729 followed the "Beautifying the Chapel and south side of the College." James Essex, father of the architect of the same name, is joined in these works with Cass, and the whole is done at the expense of Sir Nathaniel Lloyd. The walls were plastered, and a parapet added in the same manner as the north side had been finished, the chamber windows were sashed, and the garret windows altered. Two window cases of Ketton stone and four round windows are mentioned. Nothing more was done during the life of Sir Nathaniel, but by his will, dated All Souls' Day, 1740, he bequeathed to the College "three thousand pounds to raise the Hall conform to the Chapel there on the south, the east side with an handsome gate in the middle towards Caius, which I give to these purposes, as far as it will go²." In consequence of this bequest contracts were made at the beginning of 1742 with different persons, including one with James Essex, the builder, for "the Joyner and Carpenter work

¹ See Warren's description of these changes in the Appendix, No. IV. I have drawn up the following account of Sir Nathaniel Lloyd's works from a comparison of the Estimates and Building Accounts that are preserved in the College with the narratives of Warren and Cole.

² Warren, p. 464. [His account of the work done in 1729—30 (Appendix, p. 404) is printed in the Appendix, No. III.]

in and about the new intended building at the west end of the Court and in the chambers at the east end of the said Court": "accounts of the measurement of each particular work to be furnished to James Burrough, Esq., of Caius College." This is the first time that his name appears in the course of this work, although from the uniformity of style throughout it is nearly certain that he must have designed the previous changes in the Chapel, and in the north and south sides of the Court. The contract for rebuilding the Hall and Butteries was made January 4. 1743¹. Thus, as Cole says,

"was a new Hall built from the ground in the place where the old one stood, & in a most elegant Taste, Mr Burrough of Caius, one of y^e Esquire Bedells, being y^e Architect. The Hall will be made use of the latter end of this summer, 1745. They have also since this Benefaction entirely new cased the inside of the Square with Freestone, and new Fronted the east front which looks towards the Bishop of Norwich his garden in Caius college".

Nevertheless the account given by Warren and the terms of the contract shew that the ancient walls were retained, but ashlarred with stone, as was the case with the chambers on the east side of the quadrangle; there however an entrance was for the first time obtained direct from the street. [The central block of

¹ William Whiting, of Cambridge, contracts "to build the intended Hall . . . with the best Ketton Ashler stone at six inches thick at a medium." The mason's proposals were "To case the East and West sides of the Hall with Ketton Ashler," etc.

² [In the angle between this range and that to the north of it, is a small triangular garden, which was originally planted, and protected with a low wall or paling, about 1793 by Dr Joseph Jowett, then Tutor. It was upon this that the well-known epigram was written

"A little garden little Jowett made
And fenced it with a little palisade,
But when this little garden made a little talk
He changed it to a little gravel-walk;
If you would know the mind of little Jowett
This little garden don't a little show it."

It has been ascribed to various persons, and there are several versions of it. It has been turned into Latin as follows

Exiguam hunc hortum fecit Jowettulus iste
Exiguus, vallo et munit exiguo:
Exiguo hoc horto forsan Jowettulus iste
Exiguus mentem producit exiguum.

See Cunning's Reminiscences, ii. 30. Wordsworth's Scholæ Academicæ, 141. Facet. Cantab. 200.]

the façade on that side was slightly to the south of the centre of the range, as the plan shews. It was surmounted by a pediment containing the arms of the College. The windows of the first floor resembled those in the inside of the court, which still exist; but those on the ground floor were circular, with a heavy semi-circular label, supported on brackets¹.] The ashlar-ing of the north and south sides of the Quadrangle, previously only plastered, must have followed upon this, and the whole work was completed by the end of 1745.

[It was contemplated at this time to rebuild the whole of the Library Court, as shewn by the design preserved in the Library, signed "Jas: Burrough, Arch" and "Jac^s Essex, Jun^r delin^t 1745." The Lodge and Library were to be replaced by two extensive piles of building, in the style into which the principal Court had been transformed by the changes just described, and so arranged that the Cupola over the entrance from the principal Court would have been in the exact centre of the proposed new Court. The buildings were to have been of one story, with an attic, and to have extended much farther west than the present buildings do, with wings north and south, so as to present an imposing façade towards the river. On this side there was to have been a terrace, with handsome iron railings, in the centre of which a flight of steps gave access to the garden. The probable extent of the proposed buildings is shewn by dotted lines on the plan¹.]

An accidental fire completely gutted the eastern side of the principal Court, February 20, 1852. This side was soon after rebuilt, with an additional story, in a mixed style of architecture, resembling that which prevailed in the reign of Charles I., from the designs of A. Salvin, Esq. The wall, windows, and cornice, however, next the court, together with the entrance doorway of Burrough, were retained [and the College arms were removed to a pediment over the screens, specially constructed for their preservation.

¹ [This façade is shewn in Ackermann's print, reproduced in the History of King's College.]

² [John Andrew, LL.D., formerly Fellow, who died October, 1747, bequeathed £20,000 to the College for the purpose of carrying out this design. The bequest was, however, declined, on account of the other conditions with which it was charge.] Le Keux, ed. Cooper, i. 121.]

In 1872--3 the range of chambers on the east side of "the Porter's Court" was pulled down, and the present structure erected in its stead, from the designs of Alfred Waterhouse, Esq. The Court within this is now called "The New Court."]

CHAPEL.] The appearance of the Chapel, previous to the alteration of its external walls related above, is thus described by Warren¹.

"The Stalls for y^e Master and Fellows (which stalls are 24) and y^e Wainscot behind them, as also y^e Desks for y^e Master and Fellows, the Bench-Seats also and Desks for y^e Scholars, were probably set up in D^r Hervy's time. The Stalls of Oak. The Ceiling being Timber work, Pannels and Knobs, is painted and there are y^e Founders Arms, and y^e Arms also of y^e See of Norwich here and there painted on it. In each of y^e 4 Windows of y^e Chapel is some small Matter of Painted Glass, particularly The Founder's Arms, and these words, *Summe Trinitati* 1566. 'Tis true indeed y^e Glass that had those words on it formerly intire, is now broken in some places, and some of y^e Letters are misplac'd, and some lost. The window in y^e Ante Chapel has no painted Glass in it. The Arras-Hanging at y^e Altar-piece (being our B. Saviour Betray'd) was put up there in pursuance of D^r Eden's Will². The Rails inclosing y^e Communion Table were set up about A.D. 1685 at y^e charge of M^r Foster³. On the Pulpit (which stands just without y^e Rails south) lyes a Silk Cushion which is plac'd upon y^e President's Desk for y^e use of y^e Orator, whenever He makes y^e Commemoration Speech according to D^r Eden's Foundation. In the year 1719 the Chapel was in great danger of being Burnt down. Evening Prayer being over on Thursday between 6 and 7 of y^e Clock Nov. 12, one of y^e Candles on the Northwest side of y^e Chapel happen'd by some means to fall down unextinguish'd under one of the kneeling Hassocks where it lay smouldering 'till 7 o'clock y^e next morning; by which time a Hassock or two and some pannels of y^e Wainscot &c. between y^e Fellows Stalls and Scholars Seats were Burnt. But upon our returning to Chapel in y^e Morning by God's good Providence 'twas quickly Extinguish'd. See a piece of y^e Burnt wainscot hanging behind y^e Door in y^e Treasury, mark d 1719."

He narrates the changes in the following terms:

"A.D. 1729. Sometime before Midsummer y^e old Wainscot and Stalls etc. in y^e Chapel were begun to be taken down, y^e Stone and

¹ Warren, p. 23.

² By this, dated Jan. 24, 1643, he gave £40 to buy "a fayre Arras-hanging for the upper end of their Hall," and Warren describes it as hanging there in his own time. The one in the Chapel must therefore either have been given by him during his life, or the money bequeathed was sufficient to buy two.

³ [Mr William Foster. Five pounds were accounted for at Christmas 1685.]

brick pavement taken up, the Grave design'd for y^e Master in y^e Southeast corner of y^e Chapel digg'd and lin'd with brick by his own order, the whole Chapel repair'd, and new wainscotted, and pav'd with marble, and beautify'd at y^e charge of y^e Master S^r Nathanael Lloyd out of y^e Thousand Pounds which he had before given to y^e College, except y^e Picture for y^e Altar-Piece in a gilded frame given by D^r Chetwode. As y^e work was going on, Divine Service was perform'd in y^e Hall or Parlour according as either suited with y^e convenience of y^e College, 'till April 16, 1730: but y^e work was not completely finish'd 'till December 1730. D^r Hewke's Grave-stone and y^e other to y^e west of it were remov'd into y^e Ante-Chapel "Walt Hewk Custos" put on y^e New Little Square marble Stone over his grave where he was buried in y^e Chapel; D^r Eden's, D^r Preston's, D^r Cowel's, and D^r King's grave-stones continu'd in their proper places over their respective Bodies; Darnelly's and Maptyd's Brass-plates taken from y^e Wall in y^e Ante-Chapel, and fasten'd again to y^e wainscot near y^e places where they had been fix'd before. All ye Windows in y^e Chapel and Ante-Chapel alter'd: The painted glass taken away; The Ante-chapel wainscotted with y^e old wainscot of y^e Chapel and painted: D^r Eden's Monument set again in y^e same place as before near y^e Treasury door, only lower than before: The old Arras Hanging for y^e Altar piece taken away, and a Picture of ye Virgin Mary presenting our Saviour in ye Temple set up in its room, given (as before-mention'd) by D^r Chetwode Fellow of this College, which his Father formerly ye Dean of Gloucester had bought with 3 others of y^e same size in Flanders. The Picture is 12 Feet 4 inches deep, and about 8 foot broad. New wainscot all round y^e Chapel. Altar inclos'd with Iron rails painted and fasten'd into y^e Stones, but afterwards taken up again, and others plac'd there in a different manner. The side-walls and west end of y^e Chapel done with Hard finishing (as 'tis call'd) and Stucco-work. The great Cross-beam taken away. The Cieling wrought curiously in Stucco, and work'd into 25 Pannels with Heliotropes, and Shields for arms, and Mitres gilded, and more particularly so in that part of y^e Cieling which is over y^e Altar. An Iron-work'd Desk for y^e Bible in which y^e Scholar of y^e House reads y^e Lessons for y^e Day. Fourteen new Folio Common Prayer Books. Communion Table cover'd with blue velvet which (together with a blue velvet Cushion with Gold Lace) is enrich'd with Gold Fringe and Lace. Two blue velvet Cushions with Gold Tassels and edging for ye Master's and President's Desks. Also Two Blue Silk Damask Curtains for y^e Master's and President's seats. Long blue freeze Cushions for y^e Scholars to kneel on. The old Door passage in y^e Antechapel from y^e Master's Lodge stop'd up, and a new one made in y^e middle fronting ye Altar¹.

[The description by Cole², written May 14, 1745, resembles

¹ [Warren, App. p. 398. He next records that the arms of the founder and 14 of the benefactors were placed on the ceiling, and gives their order. The old entrance to the Chapel may still be seen in the E. wall of the hall of the Lodge.]

² MSS. Cole, vi. 84. (Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 5807.)

so closely that by Warren that it need not be quoted here. The Chapel appeared to him to be "a neat and elegant small Room, more like a Chapel of a Nobleman's Family, than of a Society." The only point in his narrative worth recording is that "Above y^e Antichapel and over the Master and President's Stalls is a Chamber for y^e Use of y^e Master's Family, wth a Sash Window in y^e Middle to look into y^e Chapel, and fronting y^e Altar." This was used until the mastership of Sir H. J. Fust (1843—52), when it was fitted up as a bedroom; but the window remained, though blocked, until a few years ago¹. The arrangements above described are indicated on the plan (fig. 1), where the doors into the Treasury, which perhaps had originally been a Vestry, and the Lodge, are also shewn. The Chapel remained in this state, with the exception of some additional seats put up in 1853 from the design of Anthony Salvin, Esq., Junr., until 1864, when it was enlarged by taking down the east wall, which was principally of brick, and adding the old Treasury² to the Chapel. A space of about nine feet in depth was thus gained, over which a flat roof was constructed at a rather lower level than that of the rest of the building. The carved reredos, slightly altered, was placed against the east wall, and the whole east end suitably decorated. At the same time the sash-window mentioned above was removed at the suggestion of the Master. These alterations were planned by the Rev. H. Latham, Fellow and Tutor, and carried out under his direction without the employment of an architect. In 1876—7

[In Dr. Le Blanc's time there was a bell from the Chapel to the Lodge, which was rung to let the Master know when service was about to begin.]

[Warren describes this room as follows:—"The Treasury is a Little Room behind y^e Altar. It is wainscotted with Deal, & has Shelves etc. for writings, and a large wooden Chest fortify'd with Iron. This is call'd y^e Hutch, and is for y^e keeping y^e College Seal, Plate, writings belonging to such & such of our Estates y^e names of which are set upon y^e Drawers in y^e Hutch in which y^e respective writings are repositd. There is also a strong Iron Chest for y^e keeping y^e College Stock etc. On this Iron Chest is this Date, 1598, the Founder's Arms, & two other Escutcheons painted." The Treasury had ceased to be used as a Muniment Room for many years previous to 1864, documents belonging to the College having been removed to presses at the end of the Library. At some time after this removal the original entrance from the Chapel, a few panted doorway, had been blocked up, and a new entrance made in the west wall of the passage between the two courts. It was next used as a wine-cellar, and finally as a plate-closet, before it was added to the Chapel.]

the Chapel was further decorated at the expense of Mrs Geldart. The four windows were filled with stained glass, the walls enriched with additional gold and colour, and a fresco representing the Baptism of Christ executed on the west wall.]

HALL.] An account of this may be fairly prefaced by Cole's description of the old Hall, written Jan : 12, 1742

"As y^e old Hall of this College is now going to be demolished, to make Room for one of a more elegant Structure, the present one being a very gloomy & dark, tho' a very strong & durable one, & y^e College having lately had a very considerable Benefaction of between 3 & 4000 pounds left them for that Purpose by their late Master S^r Nathaniel Lloyd, I was willing to preserve y^e Memory of y^e Arms in the Windows of y^e same as they are now standing, and which in all probability y^e Society will hardly think worth preserving or putting up again; together with whatever else was of antiquity in y^e same.

To begin then, this is one of y^e most antient Buildings at present remaining in y^e University, being y^e same as it was at y^e Foundation of y^e College, and has 3 double Windows on each side, one of w^{ch} at y^e upper end on y^e W. side is a Bow Window in which stands y^e Beaufet, with y^e Desk for y^e Chapter in Latin while at Dinner & Supper. This Hall is divided from y^e Buttries by a Passage, & from the last by a Screen of Wood with 2 Doors in it, y^e one fronting y^e Pantry, y^e other y^e Buttry, & over it a Gallery. The whole is roofed with old Oak Beams, very black & dismal, from y^e Charcoal w^{ch} is burnt in y^e middle of y^e Hall; & over it in y^e middle of y^e Roof was an old awkward kind of Cupulo to let out y^e Smoak. The Fellows' Table stands on an Eminence at y^e upper or S. end of y^e Hall, with a Door on y^e E. side to go into y^e Master's Lodge. The Back of y^e Table of y^e Fellows had y^e Arms of y^e College painted pretty high against y^e Wal., & below hung a large peice of Tapestry. The Scholars Tables are on both sides of y^e Hall, which is paved with Stone. Over each of the Portals of y^e Screen is this Inscription in large Characters :

Benedict : Thorowgod L. L. Bacch. + hujus Collegii nuper
Socius + posuit Ano Salis CIO. IO. XC. IX."

The Tapestry mentioned above represented a Roman triumph, and had been left for that purpose by Dr Eden, who had decorated the Chapel in a similar manner. The wainscot behind it had been put up about 1646. The music gallery over the screens bore a coat of arms dated 1566, when the screens may have been set up, but without doors, as usual at that time. These were supplied, as it appears, by Mr Thorowgood, for, in addition to the inscription, his will, dated April 13, 1596¹, records

¹ MSS. Baker, in 336. Mr W. Revell formerly Fellow had left £20, in 1595.

the bequest of £46 13s 4d. "to the Intent that a public Fire of two Bushells of Charcoal shall be kept and maintained in the Common Hall, at Dinner Time, upon every working Day in the months of November, December and January yearly during the continuance of the said College; and that two Portall Doors be built meet for the Skreen of the Hall."

[The buttresses on the east side of the Hall, had they ever existed, were removed before Loggan's view was taken (fig. 2). Those on the west side, and the oriel, are shewn in the plan of 1731 (fig. 1). The "cupulo to let out the smoak" is shewn in Loggan (fig. 2). In the course of the alterations, which appear to have been much admired at the time¹, a plain flat ceiling with an elaborate centre-piece of plaster-work was substituted for the old open roof; the walls were panelled to a height of about ten feet, and above them, four sash windows were introduced on each side. The oriel was pulled down. The walls, to use Warren's expression, were "elegantly wrought in hard finishing and stucco." A fireplace with a handsome chimney-piece was either built or altered on the west side, and the brazier which had probably done duty for a fireplace previously, was removed. The tapestry was taken away, and the dais ornamented with panel-work loftier and richer than the rest, with Corinthian pilasters at intervals; and in the centre was erected a canopy supported by four pillars in the same style to contain a full-length portrait of Sir Nathaniel Lloyd². The ancient screens and doors were taken away, and replaced by panel-work, similar to that on the sides of the Hall, with a single doorway in the middle. This was at first fitted with a door of open ironwork, but it was found so inconvenient from the quantity of cold air which it admitted, that it was replaced by one of wood, and the original iron one was transferred to the entrance of the Fellows' Garden. Over the screens "a gallery for music" was constructed. The original kitchen is still in use, but has been enlarged by the two buildings to the north of it shewn on the

¹ for y^e ceiling y^e upper end of y^e Dining place in y^e Hall with Good Wainscot, and for two Wainscot doors at y^e Skreens. Warren, p. 347.

² Blomefield, Collectanea, p. 208.

³ [This is figured in Le Keux, t. 169. The above account of the changes of 1745 is derived from that of Warren, compared with the building as it exists at present.]

plan (fig. 1). Additional offices also were constructed a few years ago in the same part of the College for the use of the servants.

FELLOWS' GARDEN.] It is not out of place in a social history to narrate the laying out of the Fellows' garden, the principal ornaments of which were erected by Sir Nathaniel Lloyd. This cannot be done better than in the words of Warren¹.

THE FELLOWS TERRAS GARDEN.

"This Garden is in Length from y^e Wall (joyning y^e Master's Gallery to y^e Library to y^e Outside of y^e opposite Wall y^e is washed by y^e River, 236 Feet. In Breadth about 106 Feet in y^e middle. On a Stone in y^e Wall by y^e Terras-walk on y^e outside next y^e River, is a Crested Ermin cut within a Bordure Ingrayl'd. On another Stone near y^e former is a Coat of Arms (viz: A Fess Dauncette between 3 Eagles display'd (Sir George Newman's Arms), underneath which are these words *Ex Labore Immortalitas*. Between y^e two Stones, "Anno Domini 1619." Those two Stones were taken from y^e old Sumer House (which was Built over y^e River) and plac'd in y^e wall where they are at present. The Summerhouse was taken down Anno Dom. 1708. The Foundation of it is still to be seen in y^e Water.

The Horse-Chesnut Trees by y^e Wall next Clare Hall, were set about 1710 except two or three of y^e which were set some years later.

The Yew Hedges were planted A. D. 1705 Cost £16 03 01½.

The Four Leaden Figures" viz. That with y^e Book and Pen, representing Learning, That with Castle, Key and Lion, Cybele, That with Sword and Cap, Liberty, That with Sword and Blindfold, Justice: each Five Foot, nine Inches high, on Pedestals 3 Foot, 6 Inches high, were given to y^e College by Sir Nathaniel Lloyd. They Cost him Seventy nine Pounds, and were set up in September A. D. 1722.

D^r Johnson gave y^e Brass Dial Plate. It was fix'd on y^e top of y^e Wall next y^e River, April 27, 1726⁴.

A. D. 1735. The Wall in y^e Fellows Garden, at y^e Terras-Walk next to y^e River, was Coped with Portland Stone, which cost £18:00:00: And y^e Sun-dial on y^e Wall was new-set; And y^e Meridian drawn with y^e Date, signifying when it was done, thus, MERIDIAN—MDCCXXXV⁵.

The Two Seats on y^e Terras-Walk were set up, That next Clare Hall A. D. 1706, and cost £10:10:00: That at y^e other end of y^e Walk A. D. 1708, and cost £09:10:00."

This terrace with the two seats is shewn in the plan (fig. 1): and the original elevation of it may still be traced by the sloping of the lawn up to the gravel walk along the river. The statues and the sun-dial have been removed, but the original position of the latter may be seen upon the stone coping |

¹ [Warren, p. 19.]

² [These arms may still be seen from a boat, underneath the ivy.]

³ This is the account given in the Appendix, No. XXXII. In the text they are said to represent the four Seasons. ⁴ Appendix, No. III. ⁵ Ibid. No. CXXV.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

- 1321—41. Prior Crawden bought a Hostel on this site for monks of Ely, thence called "Ely Hostel."
- 1349—50. Bishop Bateman's charter of foundation, Jan. 15, and license of Edward III. to acquire houses, Feb. 23.
Purchase of house from Prior and Convent of Ely.
1352. License from Bishop of Ely to build a Chapel, May 30.
1354. Purchase of house called "Draxesentre."
1374. Contract with John de Mildenhall to build chambers.
1513. Repairs to, and consecration of, Chapel.
1544. Acquisition of Henneabley by exchange with the Town, Sept. 12.
Purchase of Garden from the same, Sept. 20.
1545. Purchase of ground from Michael House.
Garret Hostel Lane made, and wall built.
- 1562—3. Combination Room, Oriel of Hall, and other offices built by Dr Hervy.
1569. North-west wall of College garden built.
- 1600(?). Library built.
1728. Parapets added to N. side of Principal Court, and the walls plastered.
1729. Similar work done to S. side. Internal decorations of Chapel begun.
1730. Dr Chetwode fits up Combination Room.
- 1742—5. Hall and East front altered: N. and S. sides of Principal Court ashlarred. (Burrough architect.)
1769. Agreement with the Town for waste ground between the College wall and Garret Hostel Bridge.
1804. Lodge altered (Sir W. Wynne Master).
1822. Further alterations to Lodge (Dr Le Blanc Master).
1823. Range of Chambers built on W. side of Porter's Court.
1852. Lodge enlarged; East range of Principal Court rebuilt after fire (A. Salvin architect).
1864. Enlargement of Chapel.
1872. East range of Porter's Court rebuilt (A. Waterhouse architect).
1876. Chapel decorated.

APPENDIX.

I. William Warren, from whose work, so often quoted in the History of this College, the following extracts have been made, was, as he has himself recorded (p. 487), son of the Rev. Samuel Warren, vicar of Ashford in Kent, where he was born April 27, 1683. He was admitted Sizar of Trinity Hall, May 3, 1700; elected Fellow, Sept. 3, 1712; proceeded to LL.D., Mar. 30, 1717: died 1745—6.

His work on his own College is styled by himself "Collectanea ad Collegium siue Aulam sanctæ Trinitatis in Universitate Cantabrigiensi præcipuè spectantia;" and signed at the bottom of the title-page, "W. Warren, LL.D., Aul. Trin. Soc. Ap. 27, 1730." This title exactly describes the work, which is a collection of documents interspersed with personal anecdotes, rather than a history. The labour bestowed upon it is considerable, and has been most useful in rescuing what otherwise would have perished. The author's friend the Rev. William Cole, who transcribed it into his collections, makes the following remarks upon it (MSS. LVIII). "Let Fops and fine Gentlemen ridicule the Industry bestowed in this Case, and the Like: but let such Sneerers understand, and especially if they eat the Bread of these Foundations, that it reflects no small Ingratitude to the Memory of their Benefactors to be so indifferent to what proclaims their Honour and Beneficence."

The Old Building for the Monks.

"This is in Length about 79 Feet, and 31 in Breadth from outside to outside. We take this old Building to have been y^e Place (or at least y^t it was some part of it) whither y^e Monks used to come from Ely for y^e convenience of Studying. It is a very ancient Building, standing East and West, and is, so far as y^e length of it reaches, a partition between Clare Hall and this College. It is cover'd with Slates, no Chimneys appearing now above y^m. But withinside we still see y^e lower part of a large Chimney in y^e Kitchen: In another room the ruines of an Oven. The Stair-Case (for there is but one) consists of great pieces of Timber fasten'd with wooden pins to other pieces scloping underneath. The Sides of the Building consist of Clunch, and Rag Stones and Bricks plaister'd over. There are Three Passages into it. On the Jams of y^e First next y^e East end are two small Heads of a man and a Woman. On y^e Jams of the Last, viz. that next y^e West End, are two Coats of Arms: The First is held by an Angel on his Breast and is, a Crescent within a Bordure Ingrayl'd, our Founder's Arms. The Second is likewise on y^e breast of an Angel, and is, Three Mitres two and one, being y^e Episcopal Arms of Norwich. These two Coats I take to be y^e most ancient of any y^t now appear throughout y^e College, perhaps as ancient as from Bishop Bateman's Time. They are cut on Clunch Stone, and are now almost worn out. It seems to me probable, y^t y^e Inside of this Building is y^e same y^t it was when y^e Monks of Ely came to it before Bishop Bateman purchas'd it; and y^t upon y^e Founding of Trinity Hall, y^e Bishop built y^e outside up to y^e inner part."

II. *Contract for timber work.*

Hee indentum tripartita facta Cantebrygg' decimo septimo die Septembris anno regni Regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum Angliæ quadrigesimo octavo [17 Sept 1374] inter venerabilem in Christo patrem et dominum Dominum Simonem de gratia London' Episcopum ex una parte, et Johannem de Mildenhale de Cantebrygg' Carpentarium ex alia parte, testatur quod predictus Johannes concessit et mancepit inuenire maremium quereimani bonam et sufficientem pro omnibus cameris noviter faciendis in mans' habitationis secularium Collegii [scilicet] Aule sancte Trinitatis Cantebrygg' scilicet copulas sue sparr'es Wyn' beams suchlates Astheler's Corbels, jow'es (?) balkes summers sine dormannes gystes et etiam stares cum pertinentis pro medijs parietibus in dictis cameris sub et supra, videlicet tam in solaris quam in celariis, ac etiam steires et steyretres.

Concessit insuper prefatus Johannes et mancepit inuenire huiusmodi Maremium quereimani pro domibus construendis a boreali tunc Aule dicti Collegii versus boream usque ad venellam communem vocat' Heneylane de materia forma fabrica ac bonitate simil. fabrice recti eiusdem Aule cum sumers et gystes pro solaris et cum st' res et gruns, es cum pertinentis pro medijs parietibus sub et supra dict' s' lari' versus coquina de nouo faciend'. Et etiam idem Johannes inueniet omnimodam Maremium pro omnibus et singulis domibus cameris et ceteris supradictis necessariam vel qualitercumque requisitum, et dictum Maremium faciet ad dictam Mansum ad luei, ipsumque Maremium operabitur formabit leuabit et perficiet samptibus suis; et, quantum ad cameras predictas secundum magnitudinem spassitudinem rectitudinem bonitatem et omnimodam formam fabricæ camerarum orientium habitationis dicti mansi. Et quantum ad domus alias superius memoratas secundum omnimodam bonitatem et formam Aule habitationis supradicte. Et ista omnia complebit bene et fideliter circa festum Assumptionis beate Marie proxime futurum. Et dictus Johannes operabitur omnia ostia, tam minora quam minora, et ad illa inueniet lignamina lignea sufficient' et requisita. Ac etiam fenestras et fenestrellas et plaunchers omnium camerarum coquinae et solariorum et hoc circa quatuor menses postquam super hoc fuerit requisitus ex parte dicti Collegii. Et pro dicto Maremio et opere prout supra dicitur inueniet lo et perficiendo dictus Johannes recipiet de venerabili domino antedicto centum libras, soluendas inde eidem Johanni ad festum sancti Michaelis proxime futurum quinquaginta libras, et ad festum Natalis domini decem libras, et ad festum pasche decem libras, et ad festum Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste decem libras, et infra quindecim dies post completionem dicti operis viginti libras; et dictus dominus inueniet tabulas pro plaunchers ostiis et fenestris. In cuius rei testimonium partes predictæ presentibus indenturis alternatim sigilla sua apposuerunt. Dat' apud Cantebrygg' die et anno supra fact'.

III. *Account of the changes in the Court, made 1729-30.*

In y^e same years (viz. 1729 and 1730) y^e outside of our Chapel fronting y^e North was plaster'd with Hard-brushing, as was also that whole side of y^e Court. The Chamber windows of it were sash'd, the Garret windows were alter'd and a Parapet wall built y^e whole length. The opposite side of y^e Court (viz. y^e North Side fronting y^e South) had been done a year or two before, much in y^e same manner. But some of y^e Chamber windows had been sash'd at different times before. The Founders arms were set up cut in Stone. The Sun Dial on y^e Chimney new done with y^e Motto web had been on it before, viz. *Fumus et Umbra*.

IV *Memoranda concerning the Chambers.*

[Under this head Warren has left (p. 37-39) a minute and interesting account of the changes introduced into the chambers during the 17th and 18th centuries, by altering the windows and wainscoting the walls. He gives first the chamber rents as settled by the College, 25 August, 1711, describing the position of each chamber, and designating it by a number. This list shews that there were only 25 chambers at that time, but from a provision respecting the increased rent to be paid "if 2 or more Pensioners keep in a Chamber" it appears that the number of residents was greater than the number of rooms. The plan (fig. 1) has been numbered in accordance with the list, which, printed in italics, has been combined with the "Memoranda" to save repetition. I have omitted the rents, as less the purpose of this work, but I have added, from Warren's own Catalogue, the date of Admission of each Fellow mentioned by him, and a few other particulars, included within square brackets.]

1. *"The Chamber under y^e Library West Has y^e Arms of y^e Stuarts in it over y^e Chimney. I believe those Arms were put up there above a hundred years ago. [The Arms mentioned are probably those of Sir Simon Steward, of whom Fuller records, Worthies, ed. 1662, p. 169, "I remember he lived (after he was Knighted) a Fellow commoner in Trinity hall where his Armes are fairly depicted in his Chamber." They are no longer there, and all record of them has been lost.]*

2. *The Vest eastward.*

3. *The Chamber over y^e Buttries* I have been told y^e this chamber was wainscotted by Dr King or Mr Glisson. Perhaps it might have been by Both. (Robert King was admitted Fellow 1625, Paul Glisson 1633. The room is now wainscotted with panelling of the eighteenth century, but the older woodwork, in small oblong panels, still exists in the bedroom and gyp-room.)

4. *The Chamber over y^e Parlour* [This is now made into two sets of attics.]

5. *The upper Chamber on y^e N. side Westward* This Chamber was sash'd by Dr Dickins 1725. He afterwards wainscotted it, and set up a Marble Chimney piece, etc. These things he has given to y^e College. [Francis Dickins was Regius Professor of Civil Law, 1714-1755. The wainscot is in excellent preservation, and over the original marble chimneypiece is a coat of arms in wood bearing the date, 1730.]

6. *The Chamber under it.* Dr Monson, who has this Chamber at present, sash'd it towards y^e Court, and made some other alterations in it about 1725. Mr Page (a fellow Commoner who had it before) wainscotted y^e Little room next to y^e Fellows garden. [Henry Mason was admitted Fellow 1724. The wainscot still exists. The panels are large, in the same style as those in the room above.]

7. *The next upper Chamber eastward* This Chamber was wainscotted time out of mind, perhaps in Queen Elizabeth's time. The Founder's Arms on y^e Ceiling. The Room sash'd in y^e year 1725 by Dr Andrew. The Little room next to y^e Fellows garden wainscotted and sash'd many years before by Dr Brookbank, I think about 1702 or 1703. [John Andrew was admitted 1705, John Brookbank, 1679. The Founders Arms have disappeared, and the ceiling is plain. The wainscot is extremely rich and beautiful, closely resembling in style the best of the woodwork put up in Trinity College Hall by Nevile. The panels are small and oblong, with a frieze of diaper-work under the cornice. Opposite to the fireplace is a pilaster, extending from floor to ceiling, ornamented with elaborate arabesques. The sides of the fireplace have similar pilasters, on a smaller scale, and over it are two large lozenge-shaped panels, divided by two small detached columns, and flanked by similar ones.]

8. *The Chamber under it* Sash'd toward y^e Court 1727. P^d for y^e outside work £15. 01. 06 by S^r Nath^l. Lloyd. See Miscell. Aul. Trin. Vol. 3. [The receipt for the frames and glass of 3 windows there preserved is signed "James Essex. 26 August, 1727." The money was "Rec^d. out of the College Chest by the Master's Order."]]

9. *The next upper Chamber eastward.* Wainscotted time out of mind, perhaps by D^r Eden, who probably kept in this Chamber. I find his name written with his own Hand with a Diamond on y^e Glass windows in two places in y^e Little room wch I make my Bedchamber next to y^e Fellows Garden. The three windows of this Chamber next to y^e Court sash'd 1727. P^d for the outside work by S^r Nathan^l Lloyd £14. 19. 0 [at sup^a]. The Cellar in y^e Coal hole under y^e Staircase dag 1720. Staircase lnd 1723. [Charles Eden was admitted 1624. The room has been completely modernized. Some early panel-work, probably removed from it, still exists in the attic above.]]

10. *The Chamber under it* Sash'd towards y^e Court 1727. It was Wainscotted many years before. I think about y^e year 1710. [The wainscot has been removed.]]

11. *The next upper Chamber eastward.* Sash'd by D^r Johnson, 1721. Wainscotted afterwards by D^r Peck. D^r Johnson had wainscotted part before. [James Johnson was admitted 1698, Wharton Peck, 1717. The wainscot still exists.]]

12. *The Chamber under it.* Sash'd 1727. Wainscotted some years before. Cellar dug in y^e Coal hole about 1721. [The wainscot has been removed.]]

13. *The N^o Chamber on y^e East Side.* Wainscotted time out of mind, perhaps in Q. Elizabeth's time. D^r Nichols made alterations in y^e Wainscoting, etc about 1729. The Picture of Saint Christopher on a Pane of Glass. [D^r Philip Nichols, Fellow, was expelled the College 4 August, and the University 6 August, 1731: "for stealing books out of St. John's College Library and elsewhere."]]

14. *The Chamber under it*

15. *The next upper Chamber toward y^e South.*

16. *The Chamber under it.*

17. *The next upper Chamber S.* Sash'd and Wainscotted, Chimney fitted up with Marble etc., about 1722. A new Chimney built in y^e Garret 1730

18. *The Chamber under it.*

19. *The next upper Chamber S*

20. *The Chamber under it.*

21. *The next Chamber eastward on y^e S. Side.*

22. *The Chamber under it.*

23. *The next upper Chamber westward*

24. *The Chamber under it.*

25. *The Chamber next y^e Chappel.* This was y^e old Library, as we have it by Tradition.

26. *The upper Chamber Southward.* I have been told y^t this was D^r Hervy's Chamber, and fitted up by him. [Henry Hervy or Harvey, LL.D. 1542, was Master 1560-1584.]]

27. *The Chamber over y^e Gate.*

28. *The next Chamber in y^e same Staircase northward.* Paid for sashing this Chamber by S^r Nath^l Lloyd £05. 05. 00. See Miscell. Aul. Trin. Vol. III. [The receipt is dated "October y^e 7th 1727." In this case, as in the previous one, the money belonged to the College.]]

VI.

Corpus Christi College.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE SITE.



THE site of Corpus Christi College is bounded on the west by Trumpington Street, on the north by Bene't Street, on the east by Freeschool Lane, formerly called Luthburne Lane¹, and on the south by S. Botulph's Lane, formerly called, from the poverty of its inhabitants as Dr Caius tells us², Penny-farthing Lane. The Church of S. Benedict, appropriated to the use of the members of the College from the earliest times, stands at the north-east angle of the site, and that of S. Botulph at the south-west angle of the same. It will be seen, from the direction of the present boundary line between the parishes of S. Benedict and S. Botulph (fig. 1), that the College is situated partly in the one, and partly in the other. The precise direction of this boundary line has been slightly altered since the foundation of the College in the middle of the fourteenth century.]

The principal authority for the history of the site and buildings of this College is the "Short Account" (*Historiola*³)

¹ [The name is spelt in different ways in different deeds: viz. Lorteburne lane, Lurteburne lane, Lorteborou lane, Lurteburgh lane, Lourdeborgh lane, Lurteborgh lane, Lurtheburne strate, Lorteburgh lane strate.]

² Hist. Cantab. Acad. ii. 120.

³ [This treatise has been printed for the first time in this year (1879) by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, edited by the editor of this work. I shall therefore

drawn up in Latin for the use of Archbishop Parker¹, the authorship of which is usually ascribed to John Jocelyn or Josselin, Fellow of Queens' College, and Latin Secretary to the Archbishop; the ancient charters and evidences having either been destroyed by the townspeople in the riot of 1381, or perished through neglect².

According to his narrative the Gild of Corpus Christi began seriously to entertain the idea of building a College between the sixteenth and twentieth years of the reign of Edward the Third (1342—1346), and, in order to carry out this design,

"those brethren who lived in the parishes of S. Benedict and S. Botolph, and happened to have tenements and dwellinghouses close together, in the street called Luthburne Lane, pulled them down, and with one accord set about the task of establishing a College there; having also acquired certain other tenements in the same street from the University. By this means they cleared a site for their College, square in form, and as broad as the space between the present Gate of Entrance, and the Master's garden³."

It will be easily understood from the plan (fig. 1), that this passage refers to the ground occupied by the old quadrangle; the small size and irregular shape of which were no doubt determined by the limited space at the disposal of the Brethren.

quote from this edition, rather than from the somewhat faulty transcript by Baker (MSS. xxii), which Professor Willis was obliged to use. Most of the facts related by Josselin will be found in the elaborate History of Corpus Christi College, first published by the Rev. Robert Masters in 1753, and edited, with much new matter, by the Rev. John Lamb (Master 1822—50) in 1831. Masters speaks most disparagingly of Josselin (p. 99), and yet, as Professor Willis observes, he "has literally translated the greater part of Josselin's *Histonola* and inserted it piecemeal in his history without the slightest acknowledgment." A sketch of Josselin's life, and a list of his works, will be found in Cooper's *Athenæ*, ii. 366.]

¹ [Josselin, § 65.]

² [Josselin, § 3 and § 5. A graphic account of the riot, given by Caius, *Hist.* i. 96—100, has been copied by subsequent authors, as by Fuller, p. 114, who adds that the wrath of the townspeople was especially directed against this foundation "because endowed with many candle rents in Cambridge, so that a sixth part of the town is said at that time to belong thereunto." See also Cooper's *Annals*, i. 120. Mr. Riley prints (First Report of Hist. MSS. Commission, 64) a petition from the College to the King (Richard II.) on this occasion, setting forth the danger in which their lives had been placed, and the damage done to their goods, chattels and houses, which they allege to have been burnt, and praying for redress.]

³ [Josselin, § 2.]

[A few years later, on S. Benedict's day, 27 Edward III. (March 21, 1353), the Alderman and Brethren of the Gilds of Corpus Christi and S. Mary (which had been united in the interval) conveyed to the College a house in Luthburne Lane, "next to the Churchyard of S. Benedict," together with the advowson of the Church¹. No other indication of the position of this house is recorded.]

In the following June the College effected an exchange with the Hall of the Annunciation, in virtue of which the whole site in Luthburne Lane originally acquired by the founder, Edmund Gonville, or by his executors, was transferred to them, and Gonville's College was removed (as has been related in the History of Gonville and Caius College above) to a position which afforded space for future expansion, and also brought it into contiguity with Trinity Hall, then in course of erection by Bishop Bateman, the executor of Edmund Gonville². The portion of the site acquired by the founder himself is described in the charter granted to him by Edward the Third in 1348, as "three messuages and a garden with appurtenances in Lurteburgh lane³." The southernmost of these three tenements, purchased from John de Brunne and others, 5 March, 1347, abutted to the east on the lane, and to the west on a tenement belonging to the Vicar of S. Botolph, and on the Churchyard, into which the principal entrance of the College opened⁴. North of this were two tenements lying together, with a garden detached from them, conveyed to the same at the same time

¹ [The union of the Gilds for the common furtherance of the above foundation was recognised by Royal Letters Patent, Nov. 7, 26 Edward III. (1352): and the license for founding the College and appropriating S. Benedict's Church bears the same date. The latter document is printed in *Commiss. Docts.* ii. 445: the former in *Masters*, Appendix, No. iv. The conveyance of the house and the advowson of the Church, preserved in Corpus Christi College Treasury, Drawer 31, No. 71, is printed in the notes to Josselin, § 3, by whom the transaction is narrated at length.]

² [Josselin § 7—10. The deed of exchange, in french and latin, dated 1 June, 27 Edward III. (1353), preserved in Corpus Christi College Treasury, Drawer 27, No. 10, is printed in the notes to these sections in the edition mentioned above.]

³ [Patent, 22 Edward III. p. 1, m. 33, printed in *Commiss. Docts.* ii. 213. The conveyances of the different portions of the site of Gonville Hall have been printed in the notes to Josselin, from the originals in Caius College Treasury, Box I.]

⁴ [Josselin § 7. The remains of this gate, says Masters, writing in the middle of the last century, "are still visible in the Old Wall of the Tennis-Court." *History*, 18.]

in one deed, by Daniel de Felstede, a draper. They extended from the lane on the east to a property belonging to the same Daniel on the west¹. Their northern abuttal was a house belonging to the University called "Le Longe Entrye," extending as far westwards as the last-mentioned property, at the south-east corner of which lived John de Lenna (Lynn), a draper. It is uncertain when his house became the property of Gonville's scholars, but "Le Longe Entrye" was conveyed to them by the University, 2 March 1352, two years after Gonville's death. On the following day they obtained from the Hospital of S. John a piece which lay between their first acquisition and S. Botulph's lane. Thus a site was formed, bounded on the east by Luthburne lane, on the west by S. Botulph's Churchyard and the ground to the north of it, on the south by S. Botulph's lane, and on the north by some property described as formerly belonging to John de Weston. This site was 140 feet wide, and about 220 feet long, but its extent northwards cannot be exactly determined.

The ground which intervened between this site and the south side of the quadrangle, which in Josselin's time was laid out as the Master's garden, had once belonged to the White Canons. A lease of it was obtained about 1356, at a small annual rent; but it did not become the actual property of the College until 18 May, 1553², when it was conveyed to the Society by Matthew Parker (Master 1544-1553).

[A further addition was made 6 October, 1411, by the purchase from William Bussh and others³ of a piece of ground 105 feet long, 23 feet broad at the east end, and 21 feet broad

¹ [These are described in the conveyance as "duo messagia edifie cum duabus soldis, simul cum vno giardino a dictis messagiis exclus", que omnia iacent in parochia sancti Benedicti." John de Brunne's house had been described as in the parish of S. Botulph. The plan (fig. 1) shews that the parish boundary cannot be the same now that it was then.]

² [Josselin, § 7. Masters, p. 18. The rent was 3s. 2d. per annum. A letter appointing an attorney to take possession, but giving neither dimensions nor abutments, is in Corpus Christi College Treasury, Drawer 31, No. 95.]

³ [The King's writ "ad quod damnum" was issued in the 10th year of his reign and an inquisition was held in the same year. The property is styled in the conveyance (Corpus Christi College Treasury, Drawer 31, No. 63) "quandam vacuum placeam terre, mansio dictorum magistri et scholarum contiguam, in elargacionem mansi sui predicti." See also "Borough Report," VII. 7.]

at the west end; but as no abuttals are given, we cannot assign to it any definite position. The ground on the east side of the College, however, is nearly all accounted for: and therefore we may presume that it was on the west side, possibly near S. Botulph's Churchyard, where the measurements given would nearly correspond with the ground.

A more important acquisition was S. Bernard's Hostel, bought for one hundred marks from Queens' College, 2 July, 26 Hen. VIII. 1534, with money acquired by the sale to King's College of a house in High Street, between the lane afterwards called King's Lane, and S. Austin's Lane¹. This Hostel had been conveyed to Queens' College by Henry the Sixth in his foundation charter, dated 21 Aug. 1447, and was attached to that College on the usual conditions². It is described in the conveyance to Corpus Christi College as abutting upon buildings belonging to the College north and south, on the College garden east, and on the High Street west. No dimensions are given, but we are able from the following data to determine its extent and position with tolerable accuracy. In the contract drawn up in 1459, as related in the next chapter, for erecting the building which was then intended for a Bakehouse, but which afterwards became, first a Tennis Court, and finally the Pensionary, S. Bernard's Hostel is described as "therto adioynant;" and from the way in which the windows are alluded to in the College Order of 1456 respecting the same work, it must have been inconveniently near³. Moreover, in Lyne's map, dated 1574 (fig. 2), it is shewn as occupying the whole space between the Churchyard of S. Botulph and the College; and in Hammond's map, dated 1592 (fig. 3), a small detached building, evidently the same as that shewn by Lyne, stands, together with other houses, within an enclosure situated slightly to the north of the Pensionary. As far as one can judge from this map, access to the Hostel was obtained by a road which started from a point in the street still

¹ [Josselin, § 18, in the notes to which the conveyance from Queens' is printed.]

² [See the History of Queens' by W. G. Searle, M.A., Camb. Antiq. Soc. 8°. Publications, No. ix. p. 8. The abuttals there given are the same as those in the conveyance except the southern one, which in the charter is "tenementum rectorie sancti Botulphi." This Church was appropriated to Barnwell Priory, 1197—1215, but was re-established as a rectory in or about 1439, during the incumbency of Andrew Docket. Masters, ed. Lamb, 305.]

³ [See below, p. 259.]

farther to the north, where the row of houses now called "Corpus Buildings" begins. In order to determine the limit of the Hostel to the south, we have the following data. When the College sold to Queens' College the advowson of S. Botolph's Church in

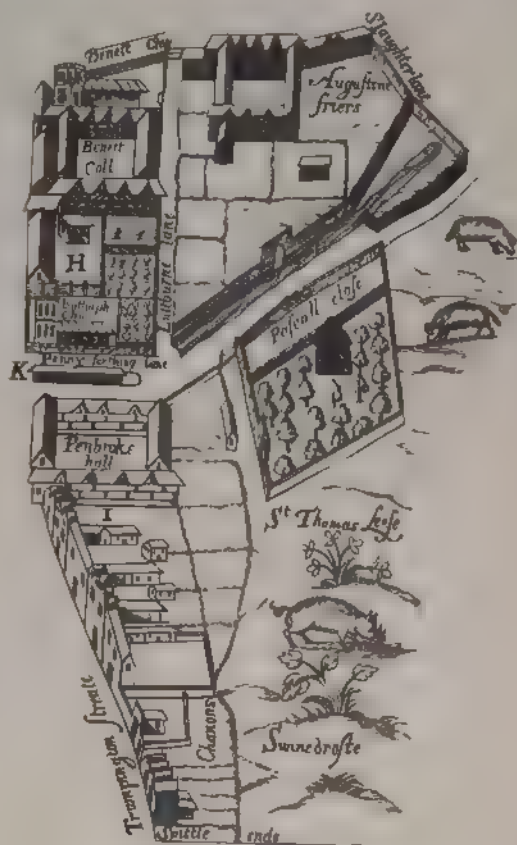


Fig 2 Corpus Christi College, from Lyne's Map of Cambridge, 1574

H Bernarde Ostell.

I St Thomas Ostell

K. Buttolph Ostell

1459, together with the glebe belonging to it, the dimensions of the glebe are minutely set down as follows:

"It contains from north to south along its east side, 89 feet; and in breadth from east to west along the Churchyard of S. Botolph, 47 feet 3 inches; and it lies between the garden of the College of Corpus Christi and S. Mary on the east, and land belonging to the College on

the west, abutting to the south partly on the angle of the stone wall of the College aforesaid¹, partly on the Churchyard of the said Church, and on S. Bernard's Hostel to the north. It contains in length from north to south on the west side, 83 feet, and in breadth from east to west along the north border 40 feet and a half."

The "angle of the stone wall of the College" must have been that afterwards occupied by the N.W. angle of the Tennis Court (fig. 1); and part of the ground was occupied by a building used as the workhouse of S. Botolph's parish down to 1823. We are thus enabled to set out the extent of the glebe, and so to arrive at the southern limit of part, at least, of the Hostel. Again, Masters states that S. Bernard's Hostel "stood in the

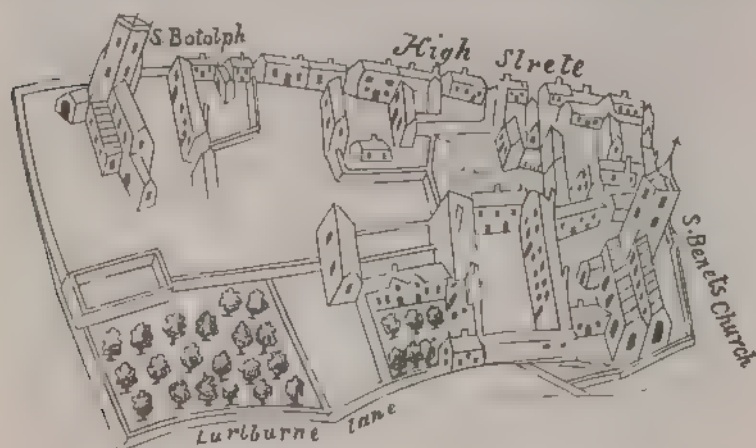


Fig. 3. Corpus Christi College, reduced from Hammond's Map of Cambridge, 1592

back-yard (still called the *Hostle-yard*) fronting the Great Street, (of which probably the present Stables were some part²). This tradition will justify us in assigning the large open space shewn in Hammond's map between the College Garden and the street to some part of the garden or yards of the Hostel, which must therefore have occupied a space of ground nearly equal to the Churchyard of S. Botolph. We know from other sources of information that it was of considerable extent, for in the "Mag-

¹ [The words are "super angulam transversum muri lapidei Collegii." The conveyance, dated 12 January, 38 Hen. VI. 1460, is printed in Searle's History, p. 67.]

² [Masters, 45.]

num Jornale," or Bursar's Book, of Queens' College, mention is made of a gallery, a hall, and a chapel¹. The latter, as the extracts shew, was pulled down in May, 1530; a time when, as Dr Caius relates², the Hostels generally ceased to have an independent existence. S. Bernard's Hostel, however, was still standing at the beginning of the 17th century, being doubtless used, as S. Thomas' Hostel was used by Pembroke, for the accommodation of students. This is proved by the following curious College Order, made July 27, 1624³, which also shews incidentally that the glebe belonging to the Rectory of S. Botolph, as it had then become, must have been resold to the College in the interval, and that it had come to be regarded as part of the Hostel.

"For preuentinge of inconveniences and disorders which otherwise might ensue, Wee Samuel Walsall, Doctor of Diuinitie, Master or keeper of the Colledge of Corpus Christi and blessed Marie the virgine in Cambridge, commonly called Bennett Colledge, and the ffellowes and scholers of the same colledg, being rightly assembled in Chapter, uppon the seaven and twentieth day of July, in the yeares of our Soueraigne Lord James, the two and twentieth. A^o doi 1624: Uppon mature deliberation, with one consent have decreed, and ordained.. for our selves, and our successors, in manner and forme following: viz^t. that wheras a passage is lately made out of the hostile belonging to the saide Colledge, into the tenis court of the same, and a dore opening out of the hostile into the said passage; that there shall not be aney gate, dore, or passage out of aney part of the saied Colledge into the saied tenis court, or into the passage which is between the hostile, and the tenis court, more or other then now is, that is to saie, one dore out of the hostile into the saied passage, and one dore at the other end out of the saied passage through the bricke wall of the tenis court. And that the said dore out of the hostile shall ever more be duely locked and opened, at the same times, and none other, at which the other gates of the Colledge are locked and opened. And the key shalbe brought

¹ [“Magnum Jornale” of Queens’ College, II. 1504. 5. “pro reparacione vnus ly galery in hospicio sancti barnardi] j d.

Ibid. 1529—30, fo. 129. “Sexto die maii Willelmo collyns, Richardo Bicharstife, diuinitibus plumbum ex sacello quod est in hospicio diui barnardi, et redactentibus in armarium huius collegii x d

fo. 129 b. “Willelmo Collyns, Roberto Jaxson 13^o. die maii pro dirutione magnarum et altarum trabum que erant in sacello hospicii diui barnardi per spacium trium dierum tunc finit’ ij s.

“Roberto Sargaunt eodem die pro refectione eorundem in hoc collegium iij d.

Ibid. 1530—31, fo. 140. “Item Topshatt pro emendatione aulae in hospicio barnardi ij d.”]

² [Caius, Hist. Cant. Acad. i. 52.]

³ [Corpus Christi College Treasury, Drawer 31, No. 20.]

every night with the rest uppon the same clogg to the Master, or in his absence to his substitute, or in his absence, to the Seniour fellow at home. And that no fellowe, Scholer, or studient of what degree soever shall come into the Colledge, or goe out that way, when the other gates of the Colledge shalbe locked, uppon paine of forfeiting, for every time, a booke, or bookes, worth twentie shillings, to the librairie of the saied Colledge: the saied booke, or bookes, to be iudged worth twentie shillings by the Master and greater part of the fellowes: or if such booke, or bookes, worth twentie shillings, shall not be paied and delivered for the Colledge use...by the delinquent, or some other for him, with in two daies after every such offence committed, that then a mulct of twentie shillings for every time shall without remission be sett uppon the heade of the delinquent in the tables or common booke of the said Colledge, by the master, or in his absence his substitute, or in his absence the seniour fellow at home, uppon paine of the saied summe of twentie shillings for every time without remission to be paied unto the Colledge by the saied Master, substitute, or seniour fellow at home, the said twentie shillings evermore to be disposed uppon a booke, or bookes, to the Colledge librairie.

Moreover we decree and ordaine, that if it shall please God at any time hereafter, to raise up such a benefactor to our colledge as will build an other court; and if he shall desire to build part of his building uppon that ground, where the bake house now stands, in this case the Master and fellowes shall without any difficultie give him leave so to doe, and shall preferr the publick honour of their Colledge before their owne private gaine. Lastly, wee decree and ordaine, that this whole decree and ordination being engrossed in two seuerall instruments shalbe sealed with the comon seale of the Colledge, wherof one instrument, so sealed, to be kept in the common chest now within the inward librairie; the other, so sealed, to remaine in the custodie of the Master or keeper of the saied Colledge, from time to time. And also that the copie thereof which is registered in the Colledge booke of Leases, shalbe subscribed with the handes of the Master and fellowes. In witness of all and singuler the premisses we have put the Common Seale of our Colledge to these presents. Given the day and year aboue written."

A small triangular piece of the western side of the Church-yard of S. Benedict was ceded to the College by the parish in 1500¹, and in 1578 the Rectory-House situated at the north-west corner of the quadrangle (fig. 1), became part of the College

¹ [The conveyance, dated 4 June, 15 Henry VII., is in Corpus Christi College Treasury, Drawer 31, No. 96. It is described as "quendam vacuum fundum iacent' prope Cimitorium predict' Ecclesie ex parte occidentali, inter predict' Cimitorium ex parte orientali et tenementum Collegii supradicti ex parte occidentali; et capud boriale abbuttat super ten' dicti Collegii, et capud Australe super Rectoriam dicte ecclesie." The dimensions are then minutely given. It was 42 feet long, 10 ft. 8 in. broad at the north end "ad exteriorem partem de le grownsell;" 5 ft. 6 in. broad in the middle; and 1 in. broad at the south end.]

buildings, when it was either rebuilt or extensively repaired¹. The piece of the churchyard along which the College gate is approached was cut off in 1618 by the wall which is still standing².

The frontage towards Trumpington Street was occupied until 1823 by a row of dwelling-houses, all of which had become, at different times, the property of the College³. When the tenement described above, as belonging to the Rector of S. Botolph, became the Parish Workhouse, it was approached by a narrow lane along the north border of the Churchyard. This lane was inclosed by the College in 1823, as the plan shews. The size of the Churchyard was not, however, diminished, for the ground on which the south end of the Workhouse stood was added to it. At the same time the new buildings were set back so as to widen Trumpington Street considerably, and the house at the corner of Bene't Street, which had projected fourteen feet, was rebuilt⁴. These and other changes are pleasantly commemorated in a paper of Tripos Verses, dated 9 March, 1826. They are printed in the appendix.]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE BUILDINGS IN GENERAL, DERIVED FROM JOSSELIN AND OTHER AUTHORITIES.

WE are informed by Josselin, that the brethren of the united gilds of Corpus Christi and S. Mary, encouraged by the

¹ [Masters, 115.]

² [Masters, 137.]

³ [One of these, just south of a line drawn along the outside of the south range of the quadrangle, was an Inn called "The Dolphin." A little to the north of this lived Dr Edward Daniel Clarke, the celebrated traveller, and Professor of Mineralogy (1808—22).]

⁴ [Masters, ed. Lamb, 264. The College at this time wisely reserved the right of using the strip of ground between their west wall and the pavement of Trumpington Street. This strip is raised considerably above the general level of the street. The right to use it was taken advantage of by the College on the occasion of the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to the University in 1864, when they erected upon it several rows of covered seats for their friends to view the procession.]

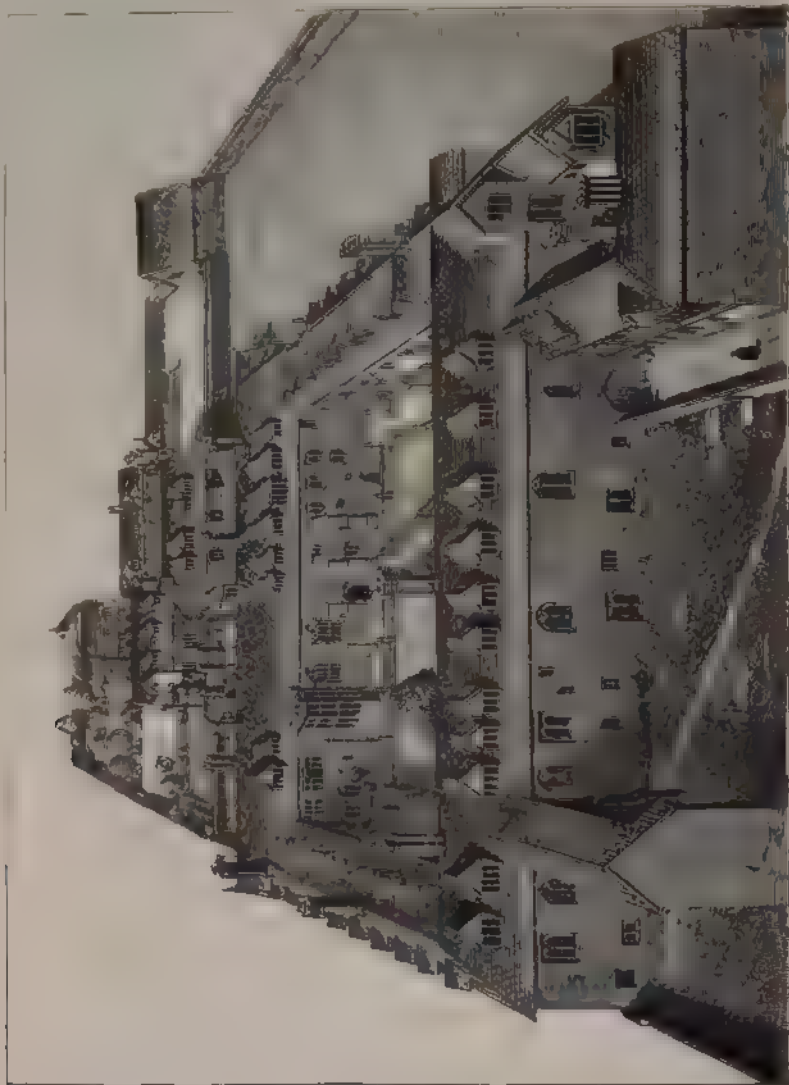


Fig. 4. Corpus Christi College, reduced from Loggan's print, taken about 1688. A, Chapel; B, Library; C, Hall; D, Kitchen; E, Master's Lodge; F, Bakehouse, afterwards Penitentiary; G, Gallery belonging to the Fellows; H, Tennis Court; I, Bowling Green.

To face p. 231.

King's sanction of their union, and their design of founding a College (which they obtained as we have seen in 1352), wrought together with such good will for the endowment and equipment of their common foundation that they had nearly completed the outer walls of their buildings in the course of the same year¹; and further, that

"the building of the College, as it appears at the present day, with walls of enclosure, chambers arranged about a quadrangle, Hall, Kitchen, and Master's habitation, was fully finished in the days of Thomas Eltisley the first Master [1352—1376], and of his successor Richard Treton [1376—1377]²."

There seems to be no reason for doubting this account, although, in the absence of documentary evidence, it must necessarily rest upon tradition.

This College is one of the five into whose primitive plans no Chapel entered, and the ancient quadrangle therefore, to which the above account refers, consists simply of a Hall range on the south, and chambers on the three other sides. The former contains, in addition to the Hall, the Butteries and Kitchen at the west end, and the Master's chamber at the east end. The area of the quadrangle [the ancient condition of which is shewn in Loggan (fig. 4)], is a trapezium, of which the west and south sides are at right angles to each other, and measure 86 feet and 118 feet respectively. The east and north sides measure 74 feet and 110 feet. It was entered on the north side from the Churchyard, through a plain four-centered arch, without even a hood-mold, having a pointed window of a single light over it (fig. 4). At the present time this entrance has a heavy incongruous facing of stone with smooth rustic quoins and voussoirs³. The chambers were built, as in all the early colleges, in two floors, but they subsequently had garrets added to them as at present. Josselin affirms that

"Such was the frugality of our ancestors, that, before King Henry the Eighth began to reign, little or nothing had been attempted in either

¹ Josselin, § 6.

² Ibid. § 15. Masters mentions (p. 16) that a grant of a quarry at Hinton, i.e. Cherry Hinton, was made to the College in 31 Edw. III. (1538—39), but he does not give his authority.

³ [Prof. Willis notes that this is "in the style usually appropriated to a jail."]

the upper or the lower stories in the way of glass and panelling (with which both the Master's habitation and the Fellows' chambers are now skilfully decorated), or generally in the direction of that elegance and beauty for which both are now conspicuous."

[I now proceed to translate Josselin's curious and minute description of the chambers as they existed in his own time¹. The letters in the text correspond with those on the plan (fig. 1). This part of his history was probably drawn up from a list, now lost, of College Benefactors and their works, from which he selected those that related to the buildings².

"A garret (*solarium*)³, as we see it at present, was built over the first-floor room (A) next to the Rectory, with a window, glazed, on its western side, and the wall in the lower room was built and plastered; the whole at the College expense, on the urgent request of Thomas Aleyn, Fellow [1536]. The ground-floor room continued to be used as the College store-room; but it was plastered (*incruiatum*) by Andrew Pierson, Fellow [1542], who added a chimney with two flues.

The room next to this (B), was plastered by Thomas Croke, Fellow [1515]. The windows were glazed afresh by Thomas Bonenfant [1522], who also defrayed the expense of plastering the ceiling⁴, and glazing the window of the little bedroom next to it. A garret was built over this bedroom by Edward Leeds [1552], a pensioner of the College, and afterwards Master of Clare. He it was who also made the large window, A.D. 1558, the workmanship being provided by himself, the materials by the College. The ground-floor room was plastered and glazed by a German, John Marcel by name, Vicar of Waterbeach⁵.

¹ [Josselin, § 24.]

² [Josselin, § 29—§ 42.]

³ [I find this conjecture among Prof. Willis' notes. It is justified by Josselin's own remark about his history, § 65, that Parker caused it to be written and "ex diversis Collegii scriptis ac monumentis compingit." Prof. Willis had quoted so much of Josselin's narrative, and speaks of him with so much respect, that I feel sure that he would have translated the whole, had he had the facilities for obtaining an accurate text that have been placed at my disposal. Josselin has adopted a singular and most inconvenient plan in the arrangement of his materials. After stating, § 15, that the College was completed 1352—1377, as quoted above, he notes every addition as an exception, so that each paragraph begins with "Excepto quod." I have omitted these words, and also all particulars respecting the various persons mentioned that are not strictly relevant to the subject. After the name of each benefactor I have added, from Dr Lamb's Catalogue, the date of his admission to the College.]

⁴ *Solarium* is an upper chamber, and therefore, although employed for the first-floor rooms of colleges when they had no garrets over them, is properly used by Josselin for the garrets when they existed.

⁵ [This is the interpretation given by Prof. Willis to the words "*cubiculum.. incruiatum est superius*."]]

⁶ [John Marcellus or Marcellus was presented to the Vicarage of Waterbeach,

The next room (C), opposite the Church Porch¹, was plastered, a new garret was built over it, and the windows were glazed and latticed, at the expense of John Cuttunge, Fellow [1508]. He also plastered the garret and fitted new windows to it. The ground-floor room moreover has been lined with linen panelling (*ignis undulatis*), and paved with tiles, but at whose expense I have not as yet been able to learn.

The first-floor room (D), next the Chapel, was ornamented in this way by Mr Brytaine, formerly a pensioner of the College. The ground-floor room was decorated with glass and wainscoted, and a study (*museum*) was added to it, at the expense partly of different pensioners who occupied it at different times, partly at that of the College at their request. The garret however was decorated at the sole expense of the College in 1562.

The first-floor room (E) next to this on the north side of the quadrangle, was decorated by the College: the chimney however was raised, and some of the windows were newly glazed, at the expense of William Tolwyn, formerly Fellow [1523]. The garret belonging to the room under this, was plastered at the College expense.

The room (F), next to this on the first-floor facing the east, and the garret over it, were decorated by Thomas Cobb, formerly Fellow [1531]. The ground-floor room had its windows glazed in a better style by various scholars, and it was panelled (*contabulatum*) partly by the College, partly by George Withers, Master of Arts and pensioner [A.M. 1561], who defrayed the cost, the College finding the materials.

The next room (G) on the first-floor, adjoining the Library, and the garret over the Library, were plastered by John Seintuarye, Fellow [1477], while he held the office of president.

The vestry (*vestium repositorium*) was made, and its windows repaired, by John Porye, Fellow [1527], and afterwards Master [1557—1569], at whose expense the small window was made looking into the court which opens into Luthborne lane. The ground-floor room there was paved by Mr Polgrave, pensioner, who also defrayed the cost of glazing the windows, and arranging the vestry².

The old Library (H), next the Master's Lodge, was wainscoted with linen panelling by John Botwright, Master [1443—1474]. The ceiling of the ground-floor room under the Library was plastered by Matthew Parker³ [1520], when Scholar and Bible-clerk.

The garret belonging to the room (I) over the pantry and buttery,

6 Much, 1536—7. He was deprived 17 October, 1553, and seems to have died in 1577. [Clay's History of Waterbach, Camb. Antiq. Society 8^o. Publ. 62.]

¹ ["Ex adverso templi vestibulo respondens." This porch, long since destroyed, is shewn in Hammond's map, fig. 3.]

² [In this passage Josselin interrupts his walk round the College, and returns to the ground-floor room at the N.E. corner, under (E), which has not been mentioned before. The position of the "*vestium repositorium*" cannot now be ascertained.]

³ [The words thus translated are "*Excepta etiam contabulatione veteris bibliothecæ, magistri habitationi contigua, ignis undulatis facta per Joannem Botwright collegii magistrum. Cubiculum vero inferius subter bibliothecam incrustatum superius est per Mattheum Parker*." See below, p. 267.]

was made and plastered at the College expense in 1554; at which time the window also next the court was raised in height, and glazed.

To these we must add a new garret (K), over the kitchen, built of beams and laths, with a ceiling plastered over the rafters¹, and suitable windows, made at an expense of ten pounds, by John Porye. This was converted into a Library and fitted up during the mastership of the said John Porye, at the College expense. On the south side, three cases (*stalla*) were set up, in which the old books belonging to the old Library, given by Doctor Peter Nobys, Master [1516—1523], are arranged. On the north side, there are three cases fitted to hold the books, and to preserve in chests the MSS., which our late Master Matthew Parker [1544—1553], now Archbishop of Canterbury, had given to the College.

The upper room (L), adjoining the new Library, was plastered, and the window at the top of the stairs constructed, by Edward Fam, Fellow [1531]. The ground-floor room was plastered by Mr Milgat, formerly pensioner; and glazed lattices were placed in the windows by John Bungay [1550], Scholar and afterwards Fellow.

The upper room (M), next to this on the north, was plastered over the woodwork, by William Sowode, while Fellow [1509]; the windows also were glazed, and the garret plastered over the beams, at his expense². The ground-floor room also was wainscoted with linen panelling, but by whom is not known. The floor of the same upper room was laid by Henry Parker, formerly Fellow [1517]. The chimney and the windows were repaired by Matthew Parker, while Fellow. The window at the top of the stairs was made by John Porye, while Fellow; and the room next to it (N) on the first floor, was plastered by Robert Cooper, while Fellow. The window looking towards the west, was made and glazed by John Porye, while Fellow. The garret was ornamented in the same way, and its larger window similarly treated by Edmund Allen [A.M. 1536], afterwards Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and Bishop of Rochester. The common chest, formerly called the chest of Mr Billingsford, which used to stand in the old Library, has been placed in this room. The ground-floor room was glazed by various scholars. It was paved at the College expense in 1554, and plastered at the same time, the College paying for the materials, and the Scholars for the labour.”]

This detailed account shews that the rooms had in the first instance bare walls, and the windows were probably half-shuttered, half-glazed. On the ground-story they had clay floors. On the first floor they were open to the roof, like modern workshops. The dates shew that the “*solaria*” or

¹ “Hæc accedit novum solarium lignis et asserbis compactum et superius per tigna incrustatum coquine imminens, in quo constructe sunt commode fenestre.”

² “Cubiculum inter iuncturas calce obductum est. supremo cubiculo calce etiam per tigna oblito.”

garrets were, with very few exceptions, fitted for use in the reign of Henry the Eighth: during which period the other rooms were plastered, and panelled, and their windows glazed. By the phrases employed it would appear that in some cases the ceilings were plastered as well as the walls. The floors of the ground-floor rooms were paved with tiles.

During the same period the tiled roofs (*tecta lateritia*) of the chambers were repaired; those on the east side in the Mastership of Peter Nobys (1516—1523): those on the north side in that of Matthew Parker (1544—1553); and those on the west side, as well as over the Hall and Offices, in the time of Dr Porey (1557—1570¹).

The walls of the buildings were giving way in the time of Dr Cosyn, Master [1487—1515], for the buttresses were then built at the expense of the Duchess of Norfolk², whose Chaplain the Master was. An undated letter from the "Maister and Felaws" printed by Masters³ confirms this, and shews as follows how many were built, and that they were built for the first time, not rebuilt.

"As for the secunde article, quhat nomber is pure necessarie within our court yerd, so thei may appear altogeder, at the next comyn of myn and our most bounteous lady, for to make a perfeite work, we are now about the grounds of X."

There are now, however, thirteen buttresses on the chamber sides of the court, and there were also five on the Hall side before the changes in 1823. Some of these were added in 1615, as I suppose, for in that year "the Members of this House furbished up their old Walls and Staircases [for the reception of his Majesty King James], they having lately received a Legacy of 100*l.* from William Benedict, Gent., of Foster-Lane, in London, which was employed in paying the Tuition of poor Scholars, in building new Buttresses, Slating, and other Repairs of the College⁴."

[By the middle of the century, however, the buildings had again become so dilapidated through time and bad weather, that

¹ Josselin, § 62.

² Ibid. § 15. "Omnes future (quas vulgo *buttresses* vocant) de nouo erecte et edificate sunt sumptibus Domine Elizabethæ olim Ducissæ Norfolciæ."

³ Appendix, No. 14.

⁴ Masters, 133.

it was decided to take extraordinary measures for their immediate repair, as the following College Orders shew:

"Maij 22. 1648.

Memorandum y^t y^e day and yeare aboue written y^e master of y^e Coll: and all y^e foresayd persons [the fellows present] did survey y^e plate in y^e Colledge Treasury and found nothing wanting. And in regard y^t y^e Colledge by reason of these times is wholely out of stocke, and that ther is evident necessity y^t y^e Colledge bee repaired forth with as well in y^e slating as otherwise, y^e master and y^e chest-keepers wer requested to consider what plate might best bee parted with for y^e defraying of y^e charges of y^e sayde repaires; and the Bursar requested to procure workmen to survey y^e decayes and to estimate the charge.

Maij 24. 1648.

Agreed y^t a Goldsmith bee procured to weigh such plate as y^e Company shall think fitt to part with for ye repaires of y^e Coll.

July 15. 1648.

Agreed y^t Mr Boyse one of y^e fellows of y^e Colledge hauving occasion to goe vp to London should be intreated and authorised to sell such plate as was by y^e order of y^e 8th of June¹ agreed to bee parted wth for y^e repairs and slateing of y^e Colledge."

In consequence, forty-five silver cups, which had been presented to the College by Fellow-Commoners at different times, were sold. They realised £42. 10s. 0d., which was augmented from the College Chest, and faithfully expended on repairing and renewing the College buildings. The names of those gentlemen whose presents had been put to this use were gratefully placed on record in a book in the Library, where it is still preserved.]

In 1686, a subscription², headed by contributions from the Master and Fellows, was set on foot for the general repair of the College, and a "Petition of the Society setting forth their own Inabilities and solliciting the Assistance of their Friends" was drawn up as follows:

"Whereas Corp. Christi Coll. in the University of Cambridge is, through length of time, very much out of repayr in the Foundations, Walls, and Roofs thereof, the charge of which repayr will in the judgement of able Workmen amount to a thousand Pounds or more, and

¹ [The order of June 8, 1648, is not entered in the College Order-book. Baker, however, has preserved a copy of it, in latin, with the names of the Fellow-Commoners, 41 in all, whose plate was sold, and the amount realised. MSS. Baker, vi. 16.]

² Masters, 164. Appendix, No. 52.

whereas the Revenues of the said College (though managed with great care and faithfullness) do scarce suffice for the annual Expences thereof, so that it is utterly unable to rayse the summe requisite for the said Repayres, We the present Master and Fellows of the College, in a due regard of the Premises, have promised and engaged to pay, to the use and service of the Colledge, the summes hereafter exprest, and to which we have subscribed our names. And it is our earnest request to those Persons who are or have been of our Society, that they would themselves contribute to the necessities of this ancient College, the Place of their Education; and also recommend the condition thereof, to the consideration of those who are Lovers of Knowledge and Good Works. By this seasonable Kindness, they will equall the Examples of many Members of our University, who by Themselves and Friends, have contributed to the necessities of their respective Colleges; and they will oblige our Society to make a gratefull and respectfull mention of their names in the Records of the College.

From the Chapter House in C. C. C. Oct. 16, 1686."

Masters doubts whether any money was ever collected by this letter. [It appears, however, from the language of the following order, dated 7 September, 1688, that some important repairs had been executed a short time before it was made; but that the College was still too much impoverished to do all that was necessary without assistance from its members.

"Sept. 7. 1688. Agreed that the Burser repayre and beautify y^e west side of the Collige as y^e south side is already done, y^e Mr allowing 20^{li} to ye said work, Mr Beck 10^{li}, and y^e rest of y^e Fellows bearing y^e remaining part of y^e charge thereof"]

Loggan's print, engraved in this very year, shews that the ancient style of the architecture was respected during these repairs. The sash-windows which in so many parts of the quadrangle have replaced the original ones were inserted in the eighteenth century in consequence of the following orders, the second of which shews when the arch through which the College was entered was altered.

"Jan. 31. 1756. Agreed y^t a Sum not exceeding £300, or an Annuity, to be granted for that Sum, be taken out of D^r Spencer's chest, for paving with stone and sashing y^e north-side of y^e Court.

Jan. 27. 1757. Agreed y^t one hundred Pounds be taken out of D^r Spencer's chest towards making a new ceiling to y^e Hall and repairing with Stone y^e Gateway of y^e College."

The general appearance of the court has in other respects undergone but little alteration. Many of the ancient two-light

windows (fig. 4) still remain; but their heads have been cut off by the introduction of rain gutters to replace the ancient eaves. On the outside of the College towards the north the mixture of square and pointed windows shewn by Loggan may still be seen. Here also the dormers are still gabled, though their windows are of two lights instead of three. In the interior of the court the gables have all disappeared, and the dormers are flat (fig. 5)



Fig. 5 North wing of Hall, and Master's Lodge

[Having recorded the changes within the quadrangle we must now proceed to investigate the history of the structures beyond its limits to the south. Passing over for the present that of the Lodge and of the Chapel, let us consider the building at the north-west corner of the latter. This was commenced during the mastership of John Botwright (1443-1474). He kept a

record of College events¹ which has fortunately been preserved, and under the year 1456 the following entry is set down.

"The newe Bakhouse to be made for the College.

Memorandum that the Fryday next before the feast of the Nativity of S. Mary the Virgin [8 September] anno domini 1456, it is agreed by the Master of the College of Corpus Christi and the brethren of the same, that with all convenient and possible despatch there shall be erected at the cost of the said Colledge a new Bakehouse, as long as the middle house lately built by Master Andrew Duket, and as high under the eaves as the upper part of the windows, which lately, to our detriment, have been placed in S. Bernard's Hostel²."

Three years, however, elapsed before a contract was drawn for building it with John Loose, "leyer," of Cambridge. By this document, dated 4 December, 38 Hen. VI. 1459, he undertook to begin it on S. Gregory's day (12 March) next following, and to complete it by Lammas Day (1 August), under a penalty of forty shillings. He was to receive "for his werkmanship and labour xi marc. vj s. viijd." (£7. 13s. 4d.), and "a gown of ycomans' livery, or else a noble" (6s. 8d.), with this further provision,

"And more over the sayd John schal haue withinne the sayd College a chambre, j bedsteed, and a bedde, and his mete to be dyght in the kechyn at there costis, as longe as he is werking in the said werk."

Unfortunately the provisions in the contract descriptive of the building are extremely obscure, and we learn little from them except that the walls were to be partly of stone, partly of brick, and to rise "a foote above the wyndows of sent Bernardis hostell" which was "therto adioynant." There is no difficulty, however, in identifying the building with that which subsequently became the "Pensionary" (F. fig. 4: ground-plan, fig. 1): though from the language of Josselin, it seems doubtful whether any progress was made with it at this time. He says,

¹ [This very curious and interesting volume is entitled, "*Memoranda Collegii Corporis Christi et beate Marie Cant' edita per Magistrum Johannem Botwright sancte theorie professorem, et capellanum domini Regis Henrici VI^{ti}, Rectorem de Swafham Market, Magistrum sive Custodem Collegii predicti, electum in festo sancti Marci Evangeliste Anno Domini 1442.*" It begins with the events of the year 1455.]

² [This order, and the contract which is shortly to be described will both be found in the Appendix, Nos. 2, 3. The order is in Latin, with the exception of the heading and of the first four words.]

"The walls of the Tennis-court were built in the time of William Smyth, 25th Master [1474-1477] on ground where it had been agreed that a bakehouse should be constructed for the use of the College."

The same authority further records:

"The Master and Fellows caused six chambers for the use of pensioners to be fitted up in this present year of our Lord, 1569, beyond the quadrangle on the garden side, where a disused building stood, the walls of which had been raised to their full height in the mastership of Thomas Cosyn (1487-1575) with the intention of using it as a bakehouse and granary. That excellent man's efforts were, however, unsuccessful, though the walls reached a certain height. The place was next used as a Tennis-court for the exercise of the students. Now, however, it was fitted up, as may be seen to this day, with floors, roofs, garrets, and other contrivances, for the use of any pensioners who may choose to resort to the College."

It was used for this purpose until 1823, when it was pulled down to make way for the new court¹.

It was in consequence, no doubt of this change in its destination that the second Tennis-court, shewn by Hammond (fig. 3) and by Loggan (fig. 4), adjoining the Church-yard of S. Botolph, was built: but at what time it was commenced is not known. The building that stood between it and the Chapel (G, fig. 4) appears to have been the Fellows' "Gallery" or summer-house, which was rebuilt in 1648, at an expense of £50. 19s. 3d., after a storm in which "the upper gallery leading to the summer-house in the fellows' garden" had been blown down². As it is shewn by Loggan, but not by Hammond, it must have been erected in the first instance after 1592. It was ordered to be pulled down 31 January, 1756, and in the following March it was

¹ [Josselin, § 21.]

² [Josselin, § 73.]

³ [In these words I have tried to give the sense, rather than an exact translation, of the following passage: "extra predictum quadratum in area quadam vacua et locum inani versus hortum, cuius parietes exedificate fuerant magistro D. Cosyn tunc dicti collegii preposito, atque in postrium destinato et granarium."]

⁴ [A view of it at this time by Harraden forms the frontispiece to Dr Lamb's edition of Masters' History.]

⁵ [Masters, 149. The following College order was made on this occasion: "July 10, 1648. The rebuilding of y^e Gallery in y^e fellowes orchard amounting unto £50. 19s. 3d., and formerly allowed by y^e fellowes in the absence of y^e master, with certaine provisions for y^e ease of y^e Colledge charg^d therein. The master see farre as statuteably hee may doe doth allsoe now concurre in."

"Agreed that an Alcove be built in y^e Garden out of y^e Materials of y^e Old Summer House; y^t a rais'd walk be made at y^e end of y^e Bowling-Green; and y^t y^e Bowling-Green be widen'd."

A few works of minor importance in different parts of the College remain to be noticed. A second agreement was entered into in 1457 between John Botwright (Master 1443—1474), and "John Bale, mason, alias Loose, who has lately built the new stone-wall at the Preachers" (now Emmanuel College), to build a wall eighty-one feet long between the College and the lately acquired ground belonging to the Vicarage of S. Botolph. The wall, together with the coping, is to be as high as the College walls, a condition which shews that they had been built previously; and the mason is to receive either forty shillings, with food and lodging for himself and four men in the College until the work is completed: or to be paid "at the rate at which he says he was paid at Peterhouse, together with other gratifications at the discretion of the master." In the Mastership of William Sowode (1523—1544), the court was paved, and the entrance fitted with an iron grating¹, such as we have seen employed in Gonville Court by Dr Caius (p. 168). The garden called "*hortus posterior*," by which is probably meant the Fellows' garden occupying the site of Gonville Hall, was laid out and planted with fruit trees by Andrew Pierson, Fellow (1542). To make way for it the out-houses in which wood, coals, and building materials had been stored, were cleared away; and removed to the site, or part of the site, of S. Bernard's Hostel², the acquisition of which has been already recorded. The wall between this garden and that of the Master was built by Matthew Parker (1544—1553), who also made a back gate opening into Luthborne Lane³; and, in 1547, a Dovehouse, by utilising the walls of the old Woodhouse. The cost of this last important work was defrayed by the sale of certain pieces of Church plate, the use of which, says Josselin, had at that time gone out of fashion⁴. A third garden is shewn by Loggan (fig. 4) between the two already mentioned. This was made by Richard Willoughby, Fellow, in 1577. He obtained from the College a lease for forty years of

¹ [College Order, March 1, 1756. The terms of the previous Order are, "Agreed y^t y^e Old Summer-House in y^e Garden be taken down, and y^e materials apply'd to y^e use of y^e College." The Bowling-Green is shewn on Loggan's plan of Cambridge.]

² Josselin, § 13.

³ Ibid. § 18.

⁴ Ibid. § 27.

⁵ Ibid. § 21.

"One parcell of theyr orchyard next adjoyning unto the Master's garden of the sayd College on the south and west parts of the sayd garden and the Master's gallery,"

on condition of serving every Christmas one dish of apples at the Fellows' table. It was prudently stipulated that the said dish should contain "at least twelve apples." The walls of these three gardens are shewn by Hammond (fig. 3), and by Loggan (fig. 4). The kitchen-yard was walled by Parker's successor, Laurence Moptyd, Master (1553—1557)¹.]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF PARTICULAR BUILDINGS. LIBRARY. HALL. COMBINATION ROOM. MASTER'S LODGE.

[We will now proceed to narrate the history of the principal offices of the College.]

LIBRARY.—The first recorded Library was the chamber on the first floor of the eastern side of the court next to the Master's Lodge. Josselin has told us that it was wainscoted by John Botwright, Master (1443—1474), and the ancient ceiling with gilt carving remained when Masters wrote his history².

In the Master-ship of Dr Porie (1557—1569), a new garret which had been built over the kitchen, was converted into a Library, as related above³, and the books given by Dr Nobys were moved into it. Archbishop Parker's library was also placed there; and special cases were constructed for its accommodation.

When the Chapel was built in 1579, a room was formed in its roof approached by a staircase at the end of the Master's gallery⁴, as shewn in Loggan (fig. 4). It had three dormer windows on the north side, and probably the same number on the south. [It had also a window at the west end, as we learn from an entry in a fragment of an account for work done in the

¹ Josselin, § 24.

² [Josselin, § 36; Masters, p. 47.]

³ [Josselin, § 39. This section, as well as § 36, are translated in Chapter II.]

⁴ [Cole mentions that this room was also approached by a stair in the S.W. corner of the Ante-Chapel. The Chapel Accounts mention "y^e stayres out of y^e Mⁿ gallery to y^e Library"]

Chapel in 1581, where a charge is made "for one light more in the west windo above." To this the Archbishop's books and manuscripts were transferred. They remained there until the present magnificent Library, occupying the whole south side of the new Quadrangle, was erected in 1823. This is 87 feet long, 32 feet wide, and 25 feet high. The collection being of peculiar value, it was wisely determined that the building containing it should predominate over the rest of the College.

HALL.—The Hall, 48 feet long including the Screens, and 28 feet broad, still exists, although converted into the College Kitchen. It has its original open roof, with plain collar-beam principals, having arched braces and pendent posts, exactly like that of Gonville Hall¹, [of which a section is here given (fig. 6). A section of one of the purlines has also been drawn (ibid. A), and it will be observed that the upper and lower sides are not symmetrical. This want of symmetry is probably due to the builders having observed that such a device must be resorted to in order to produce the appearance of symmetry in an object looked at from below]. The Hall was probably built with the rest of the Quadrangle in the second half of the fourteenth century. In the Mastership of Dr Cosyn (1487—1515), a great chimney was built in it, at the expense of John Seintuarie, Fellow, instead of the square brazier in the middle, with an open lantern, or "*impluvium*," as Josselin terms it, in the roof above², which has kept its ground in some of the Colleges even to the present time³. This lantern was taken down in the Mastership of William Sowode (1523—74). At the same time the entire Hall was wainscoted, and three screens placed at the lower end. The windows were also raised to the unusual height of nine feet and new glazed⁴.

¹ [See History of Caius College, Chapter IV.]

² [Josselin, § 17 "quum antea fuisset in medio aule quadratus locus cum magno impluvio in altum erecto in eiusdem aule summitate, que in diebus Gulielmi Sowode predicti e medio sublata sunt."]

³ [The brazier in Trinity College Hall was not removed until 1866.]

⁴ Josselin, l. c. "Excepto etiam quod fenestre in Aula, novem pedali altitudine, celsiorem solito situm sortite et nouo vitro adornate sunt in diebus Gulielmi Sowode decimiertii magistri eiusdem collegii. Quo utique tempore tota aula tabulatis ligneis compaginata est, cum tribus septis (quæ vulgo *screens* vocant) in ipsa postrema aule parte vt hodie conspiciuntur." [To defray the expense of these improvements the College sold the splendid pyx, of silver-gilt, weighing 78½ ounces, presented to the Gild

The wall above the Master and Fellows' table was plastered in the Mastership of Matthew Parker (1544—53¹). About 1597

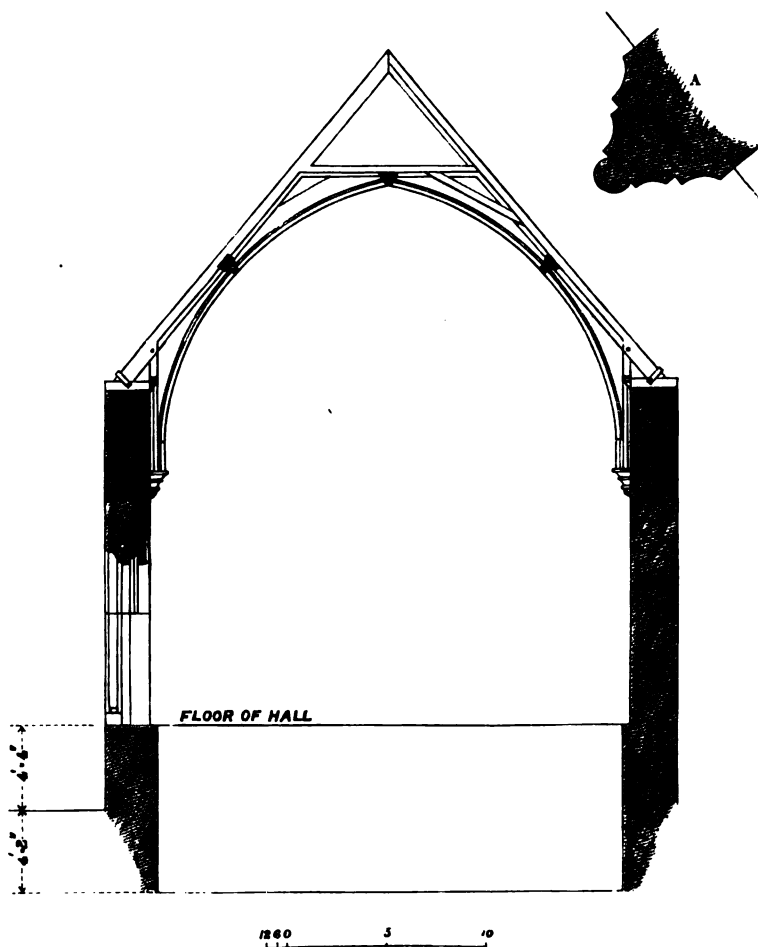


Fig. 6. Section of the Hall of Gonville Hall, measured and drawn by Professor Willis.

A. Section of one of the purlines.

of Corpus Christi by Sir John de Cambridge in 1344, when he was Alderman; and also the silver shields edged with enamel ("obrizo circumducta vulgo *enameled*") presented by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and Henry Tangmer. These pieces of plate had been used in the Procession of the Corpus Domini; in the former the Master, vested in a silken cope, bore the Sacrament aloft under a canopy; the latter were carried by the Fellows and Scholars. Josselin, § 11, § 14, § 17.]

¹ [Josselin, § 17. Some panel-work in stone, with coats of arms, still exists.]

the Hall was again adorned, the windows enlarged, and a new Screen made, or at least subscribed for¹. In 1632 another refitting of the Hall and putting up of new Screens is mentioned². Upon the Restoration, the King's Arms were put up over the Hall Table at the expense of twenty pounds³.

In the Mastership of Dr Spencer (1667—93), the Hall was paved with stone by Dr Thomas Tenison; and Dr William Briggs, the famous oculist, formerly Fellow, caused the Kitchen to be paved with square stones in order to render it more cleanly and wholesome⁴. Lastly, when the new Court was built in 1823, the old Hall was judiciously preserved, and fitted up, without altering the exterior, and very slightly the interior, as the new College Kitchen, the new Hall being erected on the site of the ancient Butteries and Kitchen.

The present windows of this old Hall (fig. 5) must have been altered since Loggan's view was engraved in 1688, for the latter represents a semi-octagonal oriel and two pointed windows, with four lights and a transom to each, and perpendicular tracery above (fig. 4). The present oriel, on the contrary, is square in plan, and though the lateral windows are of the same form as the ancient ones, the cusps have been removed from the tracery. [There was originally an oriel on the south side as well as on the north. It was blocked when the east range of the new court was made to abut against it.

Carter, writing about 1753, says,

"The Hall is a large Room, having two beautiful Bow-Windows finely ornamented with painted Glass, formerly in the Chapel Windows, being the Arms of many of the Masters and Benefactors⁵."

COMBINATION ROOM.—Masters tells us that the Combination Room was "wainscotted very elegantly with oak," at the public expense, in the Mastership of Dr Spencer (1667—1693). When the plan prefixed to his history was drawn, the Combination Room was over the Butteries, occupying the eastern

¹ Masters, p. 127.

² Ibid. p. 145. At this time the court was paved.

³ Ibid. p. 157.

⁴ Ibid. p. 164.

⁵ [Carter's "Cambridge," 95. The glass was removed to the present Hall.]

portion of the second Library, and it is to this that the above extract refers; but when it was first placed there is unrecorded; possibly after the removal of the Library to the room over the new Chapel, begun in 1579. Josselin makes no mention of a College Parlour.

MASTER'S LODGE.—The space which from the first had been allotted to the Master, was the building which extends eastward from the Hall to Luthburne Lane. This measured, within the walls, about forty feet in length, by twenty-eight in breadth; and, like the rest of the chambers, was in two stories. As the division of these into smaller apartments was made originally by partitions of planks only, and is now by partitions of lath and plaster, it follows that changes have taken place, to suit the wants of successive inhabitants, which make it difficult to ascertain the original plan, notwithstanding the details given by Josselin from College records then existing¹.

[His account is as follows²:

"John Kynne³, third Master (1379–1389), made an upper room (*solarium*) over the parlour (*conclave*) in the Master's Lodge, and plastered the upper bedroom next the rafters. John Botwright, seventh Master (1443–1474), caused the parlour and the lower bedrooms to be panelled with linen panelling, ornamented with gilt knobs. He also divided off a small study from the upper bedroom with a wooden partition; wooden partitions only being used between the bedrooms.

Posterity should ascribe the front part of the partition of linen panelling (*septum undulatum*) in the parlour, to William Sowode (1523–1544). This partition was continuous with the wall before the days of Matthew Parker (1544–1553), but during his Mastership it was made larger, so that it might extend farther into the parlour.

He it was who glazed the window nearest to the door into the garden, and also the windows to the two larger bedrooms towards the east, and the window of the small chamber to the east of the parlour.

¹ The Masters sometimes encroached too much upon the College space, in order to increase their accommodation. In 1623 it was ordered that one of the rooms appropriated to the Scholars, but made use of by the late Master, Dr Jigon, as a kitchen, as well as the study adjoining the old library and belonging to one of the Fellows, should be restored. (Masters, p. 138.) The Statutes, as confirmed by the Visitors of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, assign to the Master "principalem mansionem cum horto eidem annexo, cum stabulo pro equis suis, et aliis locis necessariis pro feno imponendo." (Commiss. Docts. i. 481.)

² [Josselin, § 25–§ 28.]

³ [His name is always spelt *Kyrme* by Josselin.]

The great parlour had been provided with a wooden floor in the Mastership of Laurence Moptyd (1553-1557)¹.

The aforesaid Matthew Parker erected at his own expense the gallery (in two floors)² which joins the Master's Lodge. This he decorated with glass and panelling, paved the ground-floor with tiles, and made a flight of stone steps on the south side into the garden. To increase the stability of the gallery, some posts were placed under it in the Mastership of John Porye (1557-1569).

Matthew Parker made the garrets³ over the Master's large chamber on the first floor, together with the long room next to it and belonging to it. He also plastered them, and panelled their ceilings with linen panelling. Moreover he made and new glazed a wooden window, which before was not unlike the stone window which looks into the court. He also broke through the wall for the purpose of making a second wooden window near the fireplace, where there had previously been none at all: and when it was finished he ornamented it with clear glass. He also glazed the two long windows in the long room next to the last, and finished the walls of the same. Moreover he made a partition of linen panelling at the entrance of that larger bedroom; together with a door and a window opening into the Hall, and two small windows, one at the bottom of the staircase next the court, the other at the top of the stairs next the garden. He also set up palings, and made a paved pathway before the windows of the aforesaid parlour next the court."]

The parlour (*conclave*) mentioned in the above description was on the ground-floor next to the College Hall, in the position afterwards occupied by the entrance-hall of the Lodge. This is proved by the mention of "the windows next the court;" which must have been the two that still remain, in their original condition, on the ground-floor between the original door of entrance and the corner of the court (figs. 4, 5). The parlour had probably a mud floor, or at least a tiled floor, before the more comfortable arrangement made by Laurence Moptyd.

The staircase which led to the first floor was placed transversely against the wall of the Hall (as the plan (fig. 1) shews), and was in that position in the days of Matthew Parker, as we learn from the above record respecting the windows that he made at the top and bottom of the stairs. In the simple arrangements of antiquity the door of entrance of the Lodge would open immediately into the great Parlour, or be protected solely by an inner portal, or square inclosure with a second or

¹ [The name is spelt *Moptut* by Josselin.]

² [The words thus translated are "ambulacrum superius et inferius"]

³ It will be remembered that at this time garrets were in course of construction over the whole of the chambers in the College.

inner door. The staircase also would be placed within the apartment. But in later times the door and the stairs would be cut off together by a transverse partition so as to form an entrance-hall between the Parlour and the College Hall, into which Parker made a door (P, fig. 1) and a window. The latter was probably on the first floor. Perhaps the partition of linen panel-work, which Parker's predecessor, Sowode, made in the anterior part of the Parlour was intended to serve the purpose of an entrance-hall.

The room over the parlour, "*solarium*"¹ (fig. 7), which was fitted up by John Kynne (1379—1389), became the Master's "drawing-room" in more modern times, and, in 1667, was enlarged, wainscoted, and fitted up, according to the direction of Dr Spencer (Master, 1667—1693²). It is now used as a College chamber, but still retains these fittings, and has the peculiar Venetian window of that period looking into the court (figs. 4, 5, A, fig. 7)³. The portion of this floor to the east of the "*solarium*" was divided into two or more "*cubacula*" or chambers. A window in three lights with perpendicular tracery in the east gable is still to be seen in the lane (B, fig. 7, fig. 8), although partly blocked up within by the changes of distribution in this portion of the floor, which probably took place at the beginning of the seventeenth

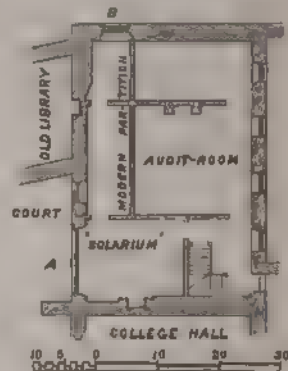


Fig. 7. Plan of first floor of old Lodge, drawn and measured by Prof. Willis.

¹ In this record, probably literally copied by Josselin from an ancient benefactors' roll, the word *solarium* is employed in its fourteenth century sense of the first floor chamber above the *scholium* or ground floor chamber. We have seen that Josselin uses the same word for the garrets which in his own century were added above the ancient *solaria*.

² By his Will, dated 20 April, 1693, he bequeathed "the Furniture of the Parlour and Lobby (before the little East-Chamber abutting upon the School-Lane) to the Lodge." Masters, 167.

³ [This is the "wooden window" referred to in the extracts from Josselin recording Parker's work on the Lodge. Prof. Willis speaks of it in a note as, "shewn in Loggan, should be preserved as *Matthew Parker's window*"]

century. This window must have belonged to a large room, but a transverse partition and chimney-stack are now placed within nine feet of the eastern gable that contains it ; and the space between this partition and Dr Spencer's drawing-room is occupied by a room eighteen feet in breadth, which was employed down to 1823



Fig. 8. East gable of the old Lodge from Free School Lane, now the entrance to the Kitchen.

as the Master's dining-room, and as an audit-room for College business. The old Library-chamber on the east side of the court was appropriated to the Master about 1618 (as Masters relates), "lest the Society, when assembled upon business in the Dining-

Room, should be overheard¹;" a precaution which shews that the Dining-room must have extended at that time up to the wall separating the Library from the Lodge.

A peculiar style of panelling, "*lignis undulatis*," that is, with undulated or wavy woodwork, is frequently mentioned by Josselin as employed in the Lodge, and also in the old Library. The words probably denote what is now termed "linen panels," and they have been so translated; but they may also apply to the simpler form of wooden partition by upright planks bevelled sideways so as to leave a vertical ridge in the centre, a construction much used for doors. All this class of panelling has, so far as I know, disappeared from the College. The present wainscoting of the old Library chamber is Jacobean.

Archbishop Parker's principal work at the Lodge, the gallery, was destroyed when the new court was built; but Hammond's plan (fig. 3), Loggan's print (fig. 4), and the ground-plan preserved in the College², which has been here reproduced (fig. 1), shew that it projected southward from the western part of the Lodge, and that it extended to the Chapel³, a length of seventy feet, which is nearly the same as that of the old gallery at Trinity Hall, and ten feet less than the gallery at Queens' College. Like the latter it was manifestly built of timber, overhanging its lower story, which was probably of brick, so that its breadth cannot be ascertained from the plan. It had a large projecting semi-octagonal oriel on the east side near the old Lodge, and was of course entered from the first floor of the latter. The posts added during the Mastership of John Porey were probably under this oriel, judging from the similar additions made under the oriels to the gallery at Queens', the projections of which had proved too bold for the corbelling on which they rested.

¹ Masters, ed. Lamb, 160. Dr Lamb notes that after the removal of the Lodge to its present site this chamber was by College Order, dated Jan. 24, 1828, appropriated to the Master's scholar on Dr Spencer's foundation.

² [This was made by Mr Watford, Surveyor, previous to the building of the new Court in 1823.]

³ The Chapel was erected after the gallery, and in contact with its southern extremity [See Cole's description, quoted in the 6th chapter.]

Carter's brief notice of the old Lodge is worth quoting :

"The Master's Lodge is not very spacious, yet hath many good Apartments (especially the long Gallery), with a pretty flower Garden."

As this ancient Lodge, notwithstanding the various alterations it had undergone, was a confined and inconvenient family residence, the architect of the new court was instructed to include in it a complete Master's Lodge, adapted to modern habits. Upon its completion the ancient Lodge was divided into chambers, and the ground floor converted into offices connected with the College Kitchen. The first floor, by introducing a partition so as to separate off a small portion on the north side of the old dining-room, was converted into two sets of chambers, with others in the garrets above. These chambers are reached by means of a new staircase on the south side of the old Lodge, which is entered at the north end of the east side of the new court (fig. 1, S). The entrance from the old quadrangle is now no longer used. The front of the new Lodge occupies the portion of the east side of the court which lies south of the Chapel, and has its garden in the south-east angle of the College ground. It is a commodious and handsome modern house, and needs no other description.

CHAPTER IV.

OLD CHAPEL ; OR CHURCH OF S. BENEDICT.

THE advowson of the Church of S. Benedict, which had been erected in Luthborne Lane long before Colleges were thought of, was formally conveyed by the united Gilds of Corpus Christi and S. Mary to the College on S. Benedict's day (March 21) 1353¹. The Gilds had acquired it from Sir John d'Argentine, and had used it for the public religious exercises of the frater-

¹ [Corpus Christi College Treasury, Drawer 31, No. 171. The conveyance is printed in the notes to Josselin, § 3. Permission to assign the Church to the College had been given in the Patent of Edward III., dated 7 Nov. 1352. Commiss. Docts. ii. 445.]

nity¹. In consequence, the first statutes which the Alderman and brethren of the united gilds drew up for their scholars direct they are to meet in it for daily service². The more complete body of statutes confirmed in 1356³ direct that they



Fig. 9. Tower of the Church of S. Benedict.

¹ [The Church had once belonged to the Monastery of S. Alban's. Josselin, § 3, Masters, p. 13, and note. The conveyance to the Gild has been preserved by Cole (Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 5807). It is in French, dated 10 October, 24 Edw. III. (1351), from 'Johan Dargentein' to Guy de Sencler, Henry de Tangmer, and others, probably officers of the Gild. The advowson was held as part of the dowry of Agnes 'de ma heritage,' wife of Johan de Mautravers, Chevalier, with remainder to Johan Dargentein. The conveyance is accompanied by a release from the lady's husband, also in French.]

² [Josselin, § 4.]

³ Josselin, § 5.

are to use the Churches of S. Benedict and S. Botolph indifferently: but after the sale of the latter to Queens' College in 1460¹, S. Benedict's was used as the sole Chapel of the College, just as S. Mary's the Less was used by Peterhouse, until a separate one was built in the 16th century, as will be narrated in the next chapter.

[Hardly a fragment of this early church of S. Benedict remains except the square west tower, of which the two upper stages, and part of the lower stage, are here represented (fig. 9). It is probably the oldest building left standing in Cambridge, and is a very good specimen of the structures which were the forerunners of what is now called "Norman" architecture².

The walls of this tower are about three feet thick, constructed throughout of rough stone-work, and strengthened at the quoins externally by thin blocks of hewn stone laid flat and set up on their ends in regular alternate courses. As the upright stones are of considerable length in proportion to the others, the name of "long and short work" has been given to the arrangement. The semigroove or "rebate" which is cut longitudinally along the inner and irregular edge of several of these quoins was no doubt provided to receive the coat of rough-cast with which the tower was originally finished. This rough-cast, which concealed and protected the rubble-work, was unfortunately torn down in the course of the year 1840, and the tower has consequently lost one of its characteristic features³.

It consists of three stories, the lowest of which takes up about one half of the whole building, and is finished by a projecting square string-course of the plainest kind. This ground story has been pulled about in various ways, and spoiled by the

¹ [The deed, printed in Searle's History, p. 67, is dated 12 January 38 Hen. VI.]

² [The following account has been drawn up from notes, measurements, and drawings made, often in company with Prof. Willis, during the various alterations that have taken place of late years in the church, by my friend the Rev. D. J. Stewart, M.A., of Trinity College; my obligations to whom have been already acknowledged in the Preface. For descriptions of the tower, see "Further Observations on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of France and England," by Thomas Rickman, *Archæologia*, xxvi. 26: and "On the Tower of S. Benedict's Church, Cambridge," by Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, in *Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society*, 4^o, 1841.]

³ [This was begun by Mr Rickman in 1833, who "had permission from Dr Lamb, Master of Corpus Christi College, to remove so much plaster as should settle the construction of the tower." L. c. p. 39.]

addition of doors and windows. An inserted door arch, which is still to be seen in the south wall (s, fig. 1), is probably the remains of some extension of the fabric of the church which took place in the 14th century, and as the north wall has been broken through in a similar way (*ibid.* t), we may conclude that the tower was once used as a passage between different parts of the church. The second story is somewhat smaller than the lower one on which it stands, and is separated from the third story by another rude string-course. The latter story has not been much meddled with. In the middle of each of the four sides there is a window divided by a central baluster ornamented with a band of rudely carved rings, standing in the middle of the thickness of the wall, and supporting a large stone, or flat abacus, which extends completely through the wall, and from which spring two semicircular window-heads cut out of a single stone (fig. 9). The two jambs are finished like the quoins of the tower, and rest on the string-course which separates the third story from the second. On each side of this central window there is a small one of the plainest kind with a semicircular head, wrought out of a single stone. These small windows do not range with the middle one; their cills do not come down to the string-course, their heads are higher, and above each, with a single exception, there is a small block of stone, whose length is about twice its width, pierced through with a round hole. The curve of the stone head of each of those in the north wall, and of the one head which is left in the east wall, is interrupted at the highest point of the soffit by a small circular projection or "torus," the outer end of which is carved. This characteristic decoration, which when looked at from the churchyard has the appearance



Fig. 10. Tower Arch of the Church of S. Benedict, looking westward.

of a pendent knob, has been knocked off the heads of the corresponding windows in the west and south walls. The letters and figures R 1586 P are cut on the face of the south window-head in the west wall. A narrow strip of stone is laid from the top of the central window-head to the coping or string-course which finishes the tower, and may have been intended as a support to the rough-cast which was originally applied to the wall.

Like other towers built in these early times, this one has no staircase. Three floors have been added inside for the usual purpose of hanging and ringing bells.

The tower is connected with the body of the church by an open archway in the east wall (fig. 10). This arch may be said to consist of two orders of molds abutting on a banded impost. The soffit order is composed of thin voussoirs of different thickness, but all as long as the wall is thick, and without any edge molding; the second or outer order is made up of three moldings of the plainest kind, namely a "bowtell" or "torus" of about five inches in diameter, a kind of "casement" or "scotia" rather less in size, and last of all the plain square-edged molding, with a width of five inches and a projection of two from the face of the wall, which almost always appears in very early masonry. This outer order is interrupted on the east face of the arch by a rude carving of some animal which is part of the impost; but it reappears below the impost, runs down the jambs of the piers, and terminates on a plain square block. The rude moldings of the impost are very like enlargements of those found on the capitals of the chapel in the White Tower of London, and are arranged so as to form a capital to each member of the outer order of the arch-mold.

The body of the church, as it appeared a few years ago, is supposed to have been built during the 13th century, not from any documentary evidence, but from the style of the bases and capitals of the pier-arches.

The earlier church, of which the west tower was a portion, was supposed to have been entirely destroyed; but some parts of it were found in the year 1853, when the parish determined to build a "new north aisle, and to place it a little further to the west by diverting a projection which turned out to be part of

a screen". Mr Raphael Brandon, the architect employed by the parish to make this change in the church, pulled down the aisle which was then in existence on the north side of it, and when the east and west walls were cleared away it was found that they had been built up against the older work of the first church without any bond. At the two points *a* and *b* on the plan (fig. 1) quoins of the same kind as those used in the tower, and fragments of wall with the original rough-cast still adhering to them, were uncovered. These discoveries shewed that the first church had been probably built without side aisles, and that its length was equal to twice its width exclusive of the area of the tower. The walls pulled down stood in part on foundations of an earlier date, which were extremely clear on the east and north sides. In the ground plan of the church (fig. 1) the tower, and those portions of wall that there is good reason for considering to be coeval with it, are coloured of a deep black.

Mr Brandon wished to add a north aisle to the chancel, but this proposal was fortunately set aside, and the fabric was allowed to rest until the year 1872, when the parish was moved to have a new south aisle and a new chancel for its church. Mr Blomfield was the architect chosen to carry out this second scheme, and by his direction those walls of the church which Mr Brandon had not touched were pulled down, the roofs of the central and south aisles destroyed, the flooring torn up, and a new chancel-arch constructed. The works of these architects are distinguished on the plan by their respective dates¹.

The bells which hang in the west tower are said to be "the heaviest and most sonorous peal of six bells in Cambridge," and were once used by the University as those of Great S. Mary's are now, for which service the Senior Proctor used to pay at Easter "yearly and every year" the sum of six shillings and eightpence to the churchwardens². As some of the parishioners

¹ [These words are a quotation from a lecture delivered by Prof. Willis before the Archaeological Institute at Cambridge, July, 1854.]

² [The church was re-opened, after Mr Blomfield's work, 25 June, 1874.]

³ It is evident that these bells had been used for this purpose from the earliest times, for in a document preserved in the Registry of the University (Hare, v. 18) dated 1273, recording an adjustment of difficulties between the University and the Rector of the Parish effected by the good offices of Bishop Hugh de Balsham, the Rector agrees to allow the bell to be rung as usual for extraordinary congregations ("ad lectiones extra

had long been anxious to hear once more the bells which had in times past been thus connected with the formal proceedings of the University, Mr Blomfield proposed to build a stone staircase in his new aisle against the south wall of the tower, and to make an entrance into the belfry through the old rubble wall. It was soon, however, found necessary to abandon this scheme.

About the year 1866 some threatening cracks had been observed in the walls of the tower, and Mr R. R. Rowe, an architect resident in Cambridge, was desired by the Rev. W. Emery, Archdeacon of Ely, to examine the building, and to report to him on its stability. His report, dated "28th March, 1866," contains the following statement.

....."The bells at S. Bene't's are too large for the tower, the timber bell-framing has been fixed close to the walls and cut away in

ordinarias"), provided that the customary gratification be paid: "quod suo pulsetur civili et honesto modo...pro huiusmodi convocacionibus...sicut hactenus inibi fieri consuevit, dum tamen clerico eiusdem ecclesie pro pulsacione huiusmodi more solito satisfiat." This became afterwards an annual payment of £0. 6s. 8d. Many interesting entries about the bells occur in the Proctors' Accounts. The following shew that the University held itself bound to repair them.

1491. "Willelmo Bayle carpentario pro emendacione campane sancti Benedicti xijd."

1505. "Sol' Johanni Spenser gardiano ecclesie sancti Benedicti pro reparacione campanarum ex mandato magistri vicecancellarii (sic quod non annuatim petat) vjs. viijd."

In 1545 the following Grace was passed. "Ut Campana sancti Benedicti que olim ad congregationes et reliqua achademie negocia pulsata fuit posthac rursum pro solito stipendio annuo vjs. viijd. pulsetur." This seems to imply that the practice had been for some reason discontinued.

The following curious receipt dated "Aprill 3, 1624" is preserved in the Registry of the University, "Miscellanea," Vol. 8, No. 13.

"Receiued of m^r Smith of Magdaline Colledg, senior Proctor for the yeare of our Lord 1624, the sum of vj^l. viij^d., which vj^l. viij^d. is yearly and euery yeare payd by the senior proctor of the universitie to the Church wardens of the parish of S^t Bennetts in Cambridge whose names are heere under written, or to their certaine deputy, for the use of the belles for ringing to y^e schooles, att such times as neede shall require; as to acts, clearums, congregations, lecturs, disses, and such like, and is to be paid at Easter; for the payment wherof we the Churchwardens haue sett our hands the day and yeare aboue saide: Aprill. 3 1624, and say rec:—vjs. viijd.

Richard Pettit }
James Wilkinson } Churchwardens."

The latest notice of this kind that I have been able to find is dated May 31, 1655, when the University gave 30s. "as a free gift" towards the repairing of the bells, they being "now much out of frame and almost become useless." (Masters, ed. Lamb, 431.) The inscriptions on the bells are given in the same place; also in Le Keux, ed. Cooper, iii. 246.]

parts to receive the bells. Therefore the framing, instead of being rigid while the bells are in motion, is straining like a ship at sea in a storm, and is mainly kept in position by the support it receives from the tower walls; the vibration of the bells and bell-framing is thus transferred to the tower, which rocks very considerably during the ringing of a peal. The mortar in which the wall-stones are imbedded is weak from age and is gradually becoming disintegrated and pulverized between the stones while they are in motion; the tower has already cracked for nearly its own height on each of its four sides; plastering that has been but recently laid upon the walls is also cracked, loose stones and fragments of mortar have fallen from the centre of the walls into the scaffolding holes originally left in the interior; whence it is evident not only that the tower contains its own elements of destruction but that their forces are ever active, and that unless arrested at once they will eventually and certainly reduce the tower into a heap of ruins.....The roof has only one tie-beam, which being weak is supported at each end by a diagonal strut running into the wall, and during gales of wind these struts are brought into play and exercise an injurious thrust against the walls."

In order to save the tower Mr Rowe proposed to hang the bells in a new framework independent of it and resting on the ground, and that "strong wrought-iron bands be made to encircle" the building. This advice was disregarded, but the reproduction of Mr Rowe's report in 1872 put a stop to the interference with the old walls which was proposed at that time.

As the ground was gradually cleared for carrying out Mr Blomfield's plan, the remains of the original chancel were brought to light. The east wall (*dg*) of the chancel which was then pulled down was to a great extent coeval with the tower, and had been merely faced inside with coarse plaster. When this comparatively modern coating was stripped off, a square almary or cupboard was found, formed in the thickness of the wall, and with the rebate quite perfect in which its door had been hung. This almary was not more than two feet from the face of the south wall, and so low down that there was probably no altar platform when it was built. The large stones of which this cupboard was composed were broken up and used in the new foundations. The north end (*d*) of this wall was a mere jumble of original and added masonry, but the south end (*g*) had never been disturbed, and when a trench was dug along it outside the church to hold the concrete foundations of Mr Blomfield's work, the wall of the College was found to have been built against the south-east angle of the original chancel, as

shewn in the drawing (fig. 11). This east wall of the chancel was three feet thick, and built with larger blocks of stone than those used in the tower; but the trench dug was not deep enough to shew how far the wall extended below the present level of the churchyard.

The south wall (*ge*) of the present chancel, with the remains of the sedilia, stands on the original wall built with large blocks of Barnack stone. One of the stones tied into the east wall shewed inside the church a clear face of 3 ft. 6 in. \times 1 ft. 10 in. The west end (*e*) of this wall had been disturbed by the introduction of a staircase to the rood loft; but when a breach was made, at (*c*), for a new entrance to the room (*A*) now used as a vestry, the wall (*ef*) was found to be an original one, whose solid masonry had been only partially disturbed by the workmen who built the gallery between the College and the church in the 15th century. The north end (*e*), against which the pier of the chancel arch abuts, is built of large blocks of roughly hewn Barnack stone, and in the newer part of the wall connected with the staircase to the chambers of the College, similar blocks, fragments of the old wall, have been used over again.

When the panelling which had been set up against this wall in the last century was removed, the ruins of a double piscina were discovered near the eastern end, with those of an ogee-arch under which there had once been sedilia a little to the west of it; together with a door, blocked, which had once led into the vestry. Above there were two windows, of earlier work, which had probably been blocked when the College buildings were erected against them at the end of the fifteenth century. The

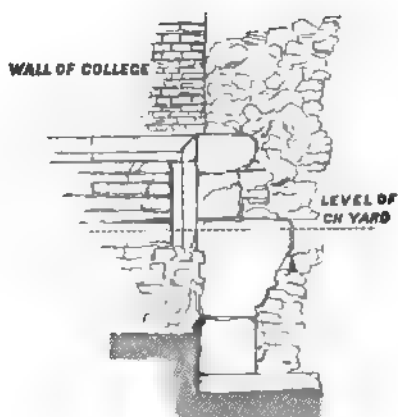


Fig. 11. South-east angle of the Chancel, *g* (fig. 1), with the adjacent wall of the College, reduced from a measured drawing made on the spot in 1872, by the Rev D. J. Stewart. Scale, one quarter of an inch to one foot.

piscina and sedilia were perhaps erected at that time, for the arch over the sedilia is built across the lower part of the easternmost window. Between, and slightly above, these windows, there is a third, more modern, which once opened into the College building. These architectural fragments have all been carefully preserved.

When the north-east pier of the nave was laid bare by the destruction of the north wall of the chancel, its eastern face (*h*) was found to be part of the first church, with the original rough-cast undisturbed, and quoins formed of blocks of stone laid without the precise regularity observed in the tower, and of larger size (fig. 12). This wall had been built on a footing of Barnack stone, and was joined at right angles by the remains of a coeval wall (*hk*), which represented the north wall of the original chancel. This original east arm of the church was separated from the body by an opening which may have corresponded in style with that which is still preserved in the east wall of the tower (fig. 10), for the remains of the simple bases of the piers were found in their original position. Immediately above them stood fragments of a much later pattern, which may have been put there in the 13th or 14th century, and on the top of these was the rudework of the chancel set aside

by Mr Blomfield, in which were concealed some fragments of a stone screen which have been spared. The walls of the church had been finished inside with a coating of fine plaster, on which



Fig. 12. North-east angle of the nave of the original Church, showing the "quoins" at *h* (fig. 1) at the north chancel pier, reduced from a measured drawing made on the spot in 1872, by the Rev. D. J. Stewart. Scale, one quarter of an inch to one foot.

various patterns of diaper had been painted, as may still be seen near the north chancel-pier.

When the floor of the nave was taken up in 1872 faint traces of the foundation of a south side-aisle wall were seen. A distinct line of disintegrated mortar represented the outer wall of an aisle with a width of ten feet corresponding to the indications of old foundations observed in 1853 on the north side of the church. The solid wall (*ef*) must have been the eastern boundary of this aisle, if it ever existed, but the termination of these side-aisles westward must be supplied from conjecture.

Any attempt to lay down a plan of the first church from fragmentary evidence of this kind must be to a great extent pure guess-work; but it is quite possible that although the old church in Luthborne lane was built originally without side-aisles they were very soon added to it. The traces of old foundations give at any rate a certain plausibility to such an assumption. The masonry of the east end of the structure was so much more massive than that of the west end as to suggest that the plan of the church may have grown even in the hands of those who began it, and the existence of the old wall (*ef*) is certainly favourable to this theory, for if side-aisles had not existed it is not easy to see why this wall was built.

The dotted lines on the plan represent the positions of old foundations which have been observed at various times, and it is a curious coincidence that the dimensions of this plan, which has been laid down entirely from structural remains, turn out to be multiples of five, a peculiarity which is common in very early buildings. The measures are as follows:

Chancel	5 feet × 3 feet = 15 feet width.
	5 " × 4 " = 20 " length.
Side-aisles	5 " × 2 " = 10 " width.
	5 " × 11 " = 55 " length.
Tower	5 " × 4 " = 20 " square (externally).

Having thus attempted to reconstruct the early church, we will proceed to collect the few facts that can be recovered relating to its history. On the 6th of June, 1452, the following contract for a new roof to the nave of the church was made with Nicholas Tofts of Reche in the county of Cambridge.

"This indenture made the vijth day of the monyth of Junij the yere of the reyn of kyng herry the sext after the conquest the xxxth bytwene Thomas Byrd and Thomas Wrangyll otherwyse called Thomas Richardesson Cherghe Revys of the Parysshe of seynt Benettys of Cambrigg on the on partye, And Nicholas Toftys of Reche in the shire of Cambrigg Carpenter on the other partye wittenessith that the seyd Nicholas shamake newe a rooffe to the cherche of seynt Bennettys A. foreseyd.

First .iiij. principal Bemys with braces and pendaunttes xvj^{ne} inche in depthe atte the crest and .xiiij. inche atte the endys And in brede ij of the Bemys shalbe .xij. inche inbowed with lozinggys And the other .ij. Bemys the whiche be called end Bemys shalhaue the same depthe and .viij. inche in brede Also the said Rooffe shalhaue a crest tre thorowhe, in depthe xvj^{ne} inche, conueniently wrowht accordyng to the Bemys.

Item iij sengulere Principalls in werkyng in inbowyng and in Scantlyon accordyng to the Principalls with somere trees conuenient vnto the werk. Also Jowpyes xvj^{ne} inche in brede with a Batylment by nethe with a Crest above and a Casement fulfyllng to the werk.

Also the sparres to same Rooffe shalbe .viij. inche in brede and .vj. in Thyknesse and .viij. inche be twene euery sparre.

Also the selyng boord by twene euery sparre shalbe quartere borde an inche thyk clene planed, and the sparres shalbe planed also.

Item atte euery joynt of the Crest tre atte the Principalls and sengulers shalbe half Angells.

Also atte euery joynt of the somere trees shalhaue a boos.

Item atte euery end of the pendaunt shalbe a angell.

Item atte euery end of the sengulers atte the Jowpye shalbe an Angel.

In wittenesse were of the partyes a. foreseyd to theis present indenturys there selys iche to othere hath putt. Yeuyñ the day yere and place before seyd etc."

Documents of this nature are so interesting in themselves, and so few of them have been preserved, that we will attempt to interpret this one in detail.

The length of the nave of S. Benedict's was about 37 feet, consequently it would be divided into three severies, each about 12 feet wide, by the four principal beams (A, B, C, D, fig. 13) Two of these (ibid. A, D) are to abut against the east and west walls, whence they are called "end-bemys." They are each to be 16 inches broad at the upper end (*ab*, fig. 14), and 14 inches broad at the lower end (ibid. *cd*). Each is to be "inbowed," or curved, and the outer surface ornamented with lozenges. The two inner beams (B, C, fig. 13) are to be twelve inches broad, the two terminal ones (ibid. A, D) eight inches broad. All are to have braces (ibid. I, K) and pendants, terminating in angels. The crest tree, or ridge-piece, is to be "thorowhe," that

is, it is to extend from one end of the church to the other. It is to be sixteen inches in depth, and was probably "inbowed" between the principals, as this member of a roof often was, though the contract contains no directions on that point (fig. 13). At the points where the principals meet it "a half-angel" is to be placed, which has been interpreted to mean half an angel's face with one wing fitted into each of the angles (fig. 14).

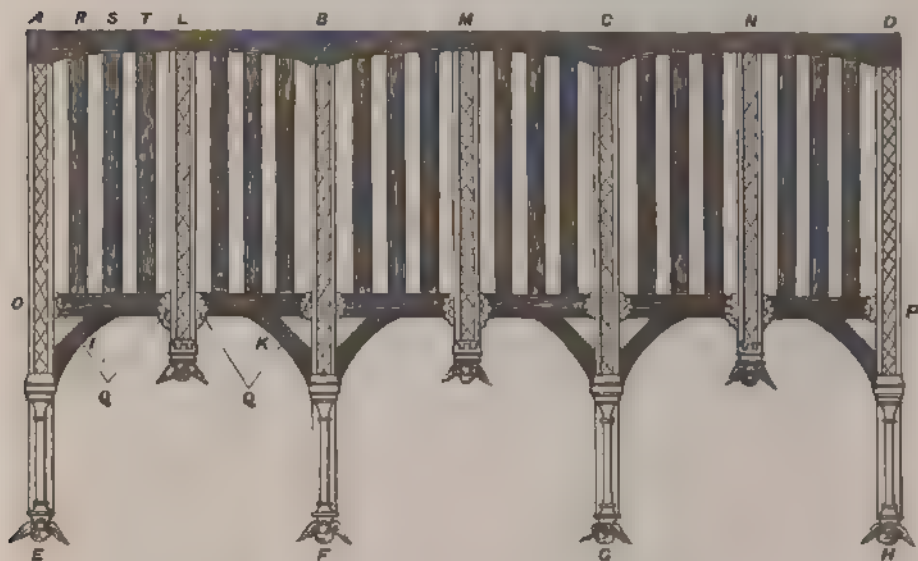


Fig. 13. Elevation of the roof, according to the contract, 1452

Between the principal rafters, shorter beams called "singulere principalls"¹ (L, M, N, fig. 13, fig. 15), in all respects similar to the principals, are to be placed. Each of these is to have a "jowpy," that is, a "jaw-piece" or triangular piece of wood (*abc*, fig. 15), sixteen inches broad, interposed between itself and the spars forming the roof (*ibid. de*). Moreover each is to be finished "with a Batylment by nethe with a Crest above and a Casement fulfylling to the werk," and to terminate like the others, with an angel; that is, the angel

¹ [After this interpretation had been worked out by Mr Stewart, a copy of the contract was found among Prof. Willis' papers, on the margin of which he had made a sketch of the roof, which shewed that he held the same opinion respecting the meaning of these words as that given above.]

is to be combined with a corbel, of which the leading idea is a battlement finished by a crest above, and below, by a hollow

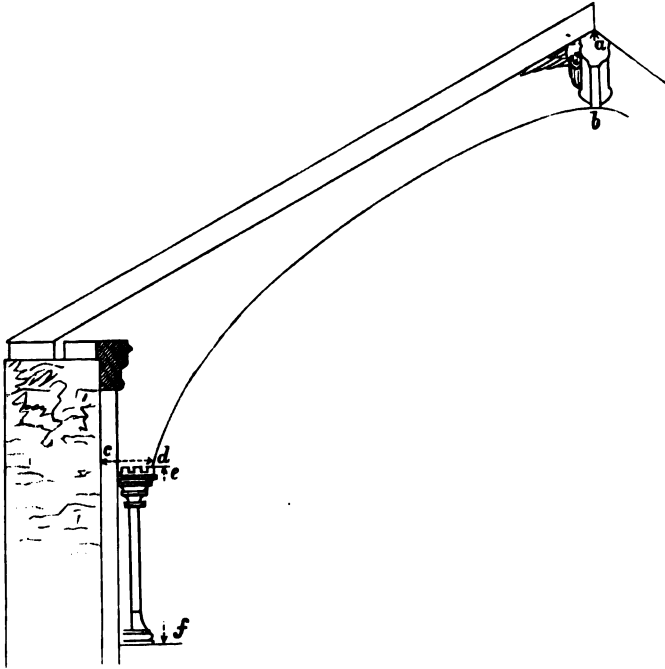


Fig. 14. Elevation of one of the "principal bemys," with the "pendaunte."

mold known to mediæval carpenters and masons as a "casement." There is to be also a "sommer" (OP, fig. 13) "conuenient vnto the werk," and at all the points where the rafters intersect it (Q, fig. 13), a boss is to be placed.

The spars are to be eight inches broad, and six inches thick, planed, with an interval of eight inches between each pair, which is to be filled in with ceiling-board one inch thick.

The dimensions given above

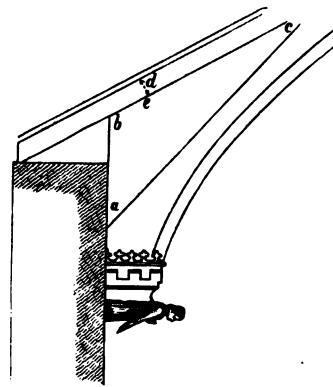


Fig. 15. Elevation of part of one of the "singular principals."

make up the required length of 37 feet, as nearly as mediæval documents usually record measures, in the following manner :

	ft.	in.
Two end-principals, each eight inches broad - - -	1	4
Two principals and three singular principals, each twelve inches broad - - - - -	5	0
Six spaces, each containing three spars and four intervals (24 + 32 = 56 inches × 6) - - -	28	0
	34	4

Cole, writing Sept. 3, 1744, has left a rough pen-and-ink sketch of the exterior, as it then appeared. It shews a small leaden spire on the top of the Tower. He records that it was

"all in very good Repair, both within and without side, especially y^e last, it having been within these few years entirely beautified, in y^e true meaning of y^e Word....An elegant Screen of modern Workmanship separates y^e Nave from y^e Chancel: over w^{ch} are y^e Royal Arms curiously painted, wth *Fear God, Honour y^e King*, under them; on each side agst y^e side Walls in y^e Nave are fixed two very fine Frames, gilt and otherwise adorn'd, wth a List of Benefactions to y^e Parish...There are only 2 stone Pillars on each side to separate y^e Nave from y^e side Isles: y^e modern elegant Pulpit of fine inlaid Work stands agst y^e 1st on y^e S. side: and y^e beautifull new Font of white Marble, on a Step of black Marble inlaid wth Freestone, stands at y^e bottom of y^e S. Isle agst y^e Wall in a Place where a Door used to go to Benet College, now filled up. The Pavement of y^e whole middle Isle is new, of free Stone: from y^e middle of y^e handsom oak Roof adorn'd wth carv'd work and gilt, hangs an elegant Brass Branch by an Iron Rod, gilt and otherways decorated wth Iron work: on y^e top of y^e said Branch is a Mitre, and at y^e bottom of it this wrote: "The Gift of William Bacon Vintner 1725¹."

The "elegant Screen" had been removed before Le Keux's print, taken in 1847, was executed. At that time the church was filled with high pues set up by subscription in 1732, and the Tower arch was blocked by an Organ-Gallery; arrangements which subsisted until the alterations described above.]

The members of the College appear to have been content to use the church of S. Benedict as their Chapel until the Mastership of D^r Cosyn (1487—1515). He erected a chapel on the south side of the chancel, and joined it to the College by a range of building carrying a gallery or passage on the first floor, at a

¹ [MSS. Cole, vi. 49. Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 5807.]

cost of £170. 7s. 3d., except the glazing of the south and west windows, which was paid for by other benefactors.

[These works are thus described by Josselin:

"The Chapel next the Parish Choir, the small gallery adjoining it, the Chapel with a vaulted gallery, and the vestibule beneath it, were built at the expense of Thomas Cosyn, Master; he also panelled the inner chapel and placed in it the desks and books which are still there, the works namely of Chrysostom, Nicholas de Lyra, Cardinal Hugo, and Phny. The cost of all these works attained the sum of £170. 7s. 3d. Moreover the students having become so numerous that they could not all find sitting-room in the private Chapel, where they are in the habit of attending private prayers, lectures, and acts, in this very year, 1569, a part of the wall which separates the Chapel from the external gallery has been pulled down to enlarge the place for the aforesaid purpose, and enable them to hear better."

These rooms will be most easily identified, and their arrangement best understood, by the section (fig. 16), which has been drawn along the dotted line in the plan (fig. 1). The "Chapel next the parish Choir" is the ground-floor room (A), approached from above by a turret staircase (*ee*). It originally communicated with the choir by a door (*a*) at Q, fig. 1, and with a narrow room B, the "gallery adjoining," or "*parvum ambulatorium adiacens*," by a second door (*f*) at R, fig. 1. The south wall of this room is in its original condition, and there clearly was never any entrance through it from the College. The archway (C), once vaulted, was the original church-way for the parishioners when the porch was on the south side of the church, as Hammond's plan (fig. 3) shews*. Above the chapel on the ground floor (A) there was a second or upper chapel (E) of the same size, approached from the College by a long narrow gallery (D). This upper chapel

Josselin, § 19. "Excepto etiam sacello parochiali choro proximo, et parvo ambulatorio adjacenti, et sacello cum testadine, et atrio sub eodem, que quidem constructa sunt sumptibus et expensis Thome Cosyn magistri etc.; cum tabulatione interioris sacelli, cum pluteis et libris qui nunc ibidem sunt, operibus viz. Chrysostomi, Iyram, Hugonis Cardinalis, et Phny. Que omnia sic perfecta pertigerant ad summam centum septuaginta librarum septem solidorum ac trium denariorum." Ibid § 73. "Et quam numerosior iam turba studentium fuerit quam ut omnes in privato sacello locari et sedere poterint (ubi prius precibus probematibus et disputationibus interesse solent) ut commodius auscultare valeant hoc etiam anno pars illius muri qui sacellum ab exteriori ambulatorio dividerat diruta est, ut locus in predictum finem augeatur."

* [Cole, I c, 55, speaks of "this very old Arch, wth a stone Roof to it" as though the roof was still in existence when he wrote.]

must be the room that Josselin calls "*interius*," or, "*privatum sacellum*;" and the alteration mentioned by him consisted in making the opening (*g*) from the gallery as wide as the whole distance between the side walls¹. By this means those who sat at the north end of the gallery ("*ambulatorium exterius*," or "*testudo*") would be able to see and hear what was going on inside the chapel, which seems to have been used as a Lecture

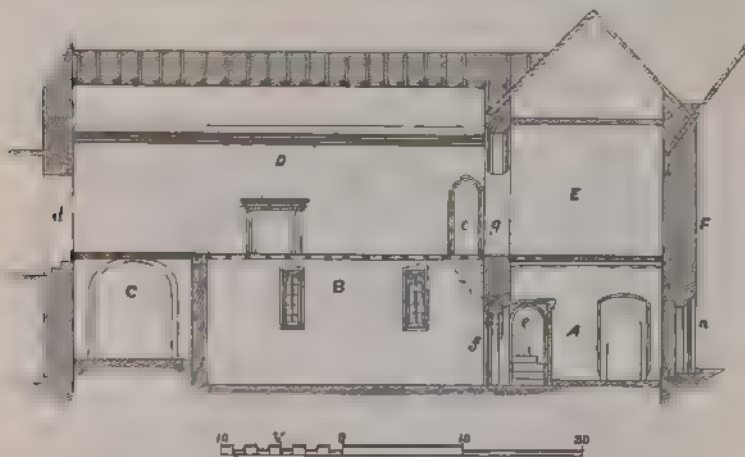


Fig. 16 Section of the buildings between the College and S. Benedict's Church, looking west along a line drawn from north to south.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| A Chapel next the parish Choir | d Door from the College into the Gallery |
| B Lower Gallery | ee Stair from the upper Gallery to the lower |
| C Archway into the Churchyard | Chapel |
| D Upper Gallery | f Door leading into the lower Gallery from |
| E Upper Chapel | the lower Chapel |
| F Chancel of the Parish Church | g Door from the upper Gallery into the |
| a Door into the Choir | upper Chapel, made larger 1509. |

Room, as well as for devotional purposes. In the north wall there was originally a window looking into the church. The remains of this were to be seen in Cole's time, who says:

"In y^e S. Wall [of the Chancel] above y^e Wainscote, w^{ch} has a Door¹ also in y^e Place, is an Hole, now stop'd up, for a Window into a Gallery of Corpus Christi College, w^{ch} joyns to it by this Peice of a Building."

¹ [This was opened out, and the modern ceiling removed from the gallery (D) by the occupier of the room, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Fellow, in 1878.]

² [This door was in the wainscot which concealed the ogee-arch over the sedilia.]

The upper chapel still retains its high-pitched roof, masked internally by a modern ceiling. The west window has been blocked, but the hood-mold still remains. The east window has been replaced by a modern sash, and a window that once existed on the south side has been entirely removed. The east



Fig. 17 West side of the Archway leading into the Churchyard of S. Benedict, and of the Gallery connecting the College with the Church.

window of the lower chapel has also been modernised. When Cole wrote, it was used as the Archdeacon's Court, and also as a vestry, although one had been fitted up at the west end of the south aisle¹. It is now used as a vestry and Sunday-school room.] The gallery building (of red brick, the College being of uncoursed rubble) is a picturesque remnant of good perpendicular work. A view of the west side is here given (fig. 17).

¹ Cole speaks of "a neat Vestry, which is fitted up with proper Desks and Seat for y^e Archdeacon; it being his Court; y^e Vestry at y^e W. end of the S. Isle is a sort of Lumber Room."

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE SEPARATE CHAPEL.

THE erection of a separate Chapel within the walls of the College was due to the munificence of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England. It was begun in 1579, after a plan agreed upon between him and the Society during a visit that he had paid to Cambridge the year before. The details are recorded in a formal agreement drawn up between him and the College dated 24 January, 1578—79¹, as follows :

"This indenture made the foure and twentieth daye of Januarie, in the one and twentieth yeaere of the reigne of our soveraigne ladie Elizabeth .. Betwene the right honorable Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knight, Lorde Keeper of the greate Seale of Englande on thone partie, And the Master and fellowes of the Colledge of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin Marye in Cambridge commonlie called Bennett Colledge on thother partie, Witnessith;

That wheare the saide Master and fellowes have most humblie and earnesthe made suyte to the saide Sir Nicholas that it would please his Lordshipp to erect and sett up within the saide Colledge a Chappell, whiche shoulde conteyne in length within the walles threescore foote, and in breadth within the walles twentie six foote, and of suche forme and fashion as is prescribed in a platt hereunto annexed; the cause of which suyte did growe and ryse by reason that there is in the saide Colledge never a convenient place for the companie of the saide howse to repaire to devine service, nor to use the exercises of learninge that by thorder of the same howse ought to be kept and observed, by reason that the number of fellowes, schollers, and studentes in the same Colledge be somuche increased and daile do encrease;

The saide Sir Nicholas, beinge in his yonger tyme brought upp in the saide Colledge, and havinge founded there six Schollershipps, uppon consideracion of this their so necessarie and behovefull a suyte hath assented and agreed, for the better maintenance of Godes service and for the better execution of all exercises of learninge, francklie and frellie to give to the saide M^r and felowes the some of two hundreth poundes of good and lawfull money of Englande for the performaance of this Woorke, whereof one hundreth poundes is paide to the saide M^r and fellowes the daie of the date hereof, and the other hundreth poundes the saide Sir Nicholas covenanteth and grauntith for him his heirs and Executours to and with the saide M^r and fellowes and their successours,

¹ Masters, 208-212. All the historical facts here stated are derived from Masters, but abridged where necessary. [The agreement, with the plan attached to it, is in the College Treasury, Drawer 26, No. 11.]

to paie or cause to be paide to them. to the use abovesaide, as the Woorke of the saide Chappell shall goe forwardes

In consideration whearof the said M^r and fellowes for them and their successours do covenaut and graunt to and with the saide Sir Nicholas his heires and executours that they . shall and will builde, erect, and perfectlie finishe, . . . a Chappell covered with tile or slate, within the saide Colledge, of brick, lyme, sande, and stone, with suche Walles, Roofes, Gables, Windowes, Buttrises and doores, and of suche biggnes, length, widenes, and depth as is conteyned and set forth in the platt hereunto annexed, before the feast of the Nativitie of John the Baptist which shalbe in the yere of our Lorde God a thowsande fyve hundreth and eightie."

Other benefactors followed his example, of whom one promised the stalls, another the ceiling, others a window¹ each. The Queen sent 30 loads of timber, the Earl of Bedford 146 ton of stone from Thorney Abbey², and Mr Wendy³ 182 loads of the same from Barnwell Priory, besides what the College

¹ [Blomefield, *Collectanea*, 150, gives particulars respecting these windows. One on the north side was glazed by M^r Edward Lucas of London, with this inscription, "Edward Lucas of London Gentleman made this Windowe 1582." The south window nearest the east was made by Thomas Buttes of Great Ryburgh in Norfolk, who appears to have been a member of this College, though he did not graduate. He was son to Sir William Buttes, Physician to Hen. VIII. Blomefield's *Norfolk*, iii. 840. In the window were his arms and the following acrostic on his name :

The longer Lyfe that Man on Earthe enjoys
 It is God so much the more he doth offende;
 Offendinge God no doubt Man's Soule destroyes,
 Mans Soule destroyed his Torments have no Ende,
 And endless Tormentes Sinners must endure
 Sith Synne God's Wrath agaynste us doth procure.
 Beware therefore, O wretched sinfull Wight
 Use well thy Tongue, doo well, thinke not amysse,
 To God pray thou for Grace, 'tis his Delighte,
 That thou mayest treade in alle the Pathes of Righte.
 Embrace thou Christe, and followe all his Waye
 So shalt thou reigne with him above for aye.

This version is in the main that of Cole, who says "Here was also I remember'd a good deal of writing; w^{ch} upon enquiry after I found at y^e Glasiers; from whence I redeem'd it, and with M^r Heton, one of y^e Fellows of y^e College, at my Room made out from severall broken scraps y^e following imperfect Verses." Blomefield gives a slightly different version; and Masters, App. No. 68, a third. He also gives two other sets of verses, on Buttes' motto.]

² [A Benedictine Abbey about 8 miles N.E. of Peterborough.]

³ [M^r Thomas Wendy, son to D^r Wendy of Haslingfield, some time Physician to King Henry VIII., was the lay-unproprietor of the Priory. See "Some Account of Barnwell Priory," by Marmaduke Prickett, M.A., 8vo. Camb. 1837.] Churches of Cambridgeshire, 105.

tenants at Landbeach and Wilbraham could bring in two days with their teams from the same place, all of which was delivered by Father Tibolds, one of the late monks there. The whole charge of the building (exclusive of some gifts and of the Scholars' labour, "who were oft employed in assisting the Workmen, and allowed 'Exceedings' for their pains"), amounted to upwards of £650, of which £450 was collected from friends of the Society by the Master. [The contract with "Robert Gardiner of Havarell in the county of Essex carpenter" for the woodwork of the roof, floor, screen, seats, etc., is dated March 21, 1579. It enumerates all the pieces of wood that are to be used in the roof and elsewhere; and gives their dimensions with the utmost minuteness. The whole is to be delivered "before August 20 next following." The stalls are to be made "in suche forme and fashion as y^e seats in y^e chapple within S. John's College nowe be made and there do stand within the said chapple;" and they are to have "a rising and falling seat," i.e. misereres. The contract for the slating, with Ralph Woodward and John Scatliffe of Easton in Northamptonshire, slaters, is dated 24 October, 1579¹.] The work seems to have gone on slowly, for though the east window was glazed in 1583, and the Altar-furniture paid for in 1584, the wainscoting and ceiling were not finished until the Mastership of Dr Jegon (1602—17).

[It will be seen from the ground-plan (fig. 1), and from Loggan (fig. 4), that the Chapel was built as directed in the "platt," which is still attached to the indenture preserved in the College Treasury. The same plan shews two windows, each of four lights, on the north side, and three similar windows on the south side. The east window was of five lights². There was also a west window, but the size is not recorded³. The general appearance of the interior, as it appeared at the begin-

¹ | These two contracts are printed in the Appendix, Nos. v. vi. The building-accounts of the Chapel are in the College Treasury. They consist of a day book recording the wages of the workmen, etc.; and a more succinct account audited and signed by the Master and Fellows.]

² [A second plan, preserved in the College Library, Miscell. Letters and Papers, No. 41, shews the east window of 7 lights.]

³ [We learn this from a passage in Cole's description of the Chapel. "In y^e Anti. Chapel are two other Atchievements agst y^e W. Wall, on either side of y^e W. Window; that to y^e S. and near y^e Door w^{ch} leads up to y^e old MS Library has these Arms," etc.; and also from the print in Ackermann, copied above (fig. 18).]

ning of this century, is shewn by Ackermann (fig. 18). The working drawing of one of the windows still exists, in the College Treasury, and shews the general accuracy of his drawing.

Sir Nicholas Bacon died within a month after the date of the above document, on 20 Feb 1578--79; but his benefactions

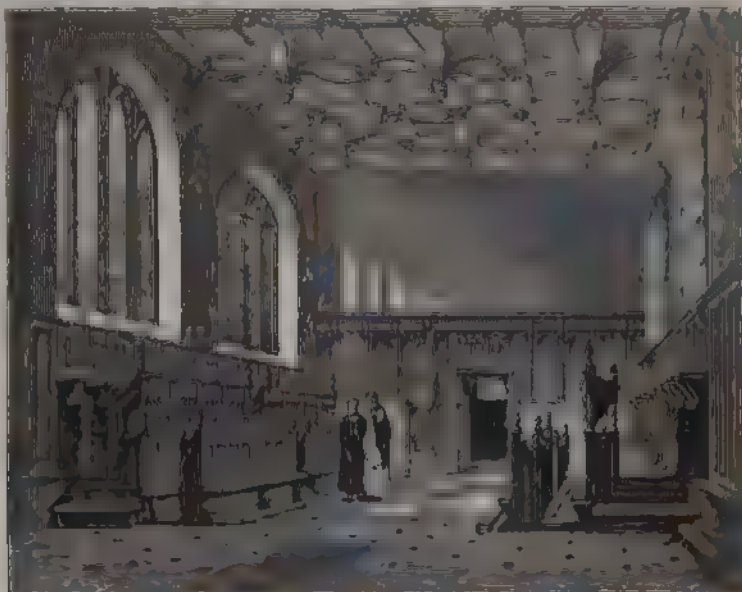


Fig. 18. Interior of the old Chapel of Corpus Christi College, destroyed by Wilkins, reduced from a drawing by Westall in Ackermann's History

were continued and augmented by his widow¹, who gave in addition 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d) towards the erection of a porch on the north side. This, as the woodcut (fig. 19), enlarged from Loggan², shews, was a handsome Jacobean composition. The following extracts from the accounts³ give interesting particulars respecting it. It was built in 1583--84.

¹ [She was his second wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, Tutor to Edward VI. She died 19 Sept. 1616.]

² [It illustrates a paper in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1826, p. 393.]

³ [The account for the porch was kept separate from the others. There is a copy of it in the College Library (Miscell. Letters and Papers, No. 140) from which the above has been in the main derived. It has been supplemented from the building-accounts, the additions being distinguished by square brackets.]



Fig. 29. Porch on the south side of the Chapel, erected by Lady Bacon, destroyed by Winkins.

“ For y^e Chappel dore of y^e Lady Bacon, rec^d xx^l.

Bargained wth John Martin fremason for his woorkmanshipe
of y^e stone woorke of y^e same accordinge to y^e nowe
revised plat [wth y^e armes and creastes]

xx^l

Payd to Harwood of Eversden for iij tun of white stone at
4s. 4d. a tun

xiijs.

It^m payd for 7 tun of frestone from y^e quarrye in Kings Chiffe
in Northamptonshire at 4^s y^e tunne at y^e pitt

xxviijs

It^m payd for y^e cariage by cart of y^e sayd stone from y^e
quarrye vnto y^e waters side at Gunwoorth at 3^s y^e tun

xxis

It^m for wharfage there at ij^d y^e tun

xiiij^d

It^m to Martin y^e fremason for his labour viij dayes in travel
ing to y^e quarrye for to bye y^e sayd stone, & to helpe to
lode y^e same to y^e carts, and goinge wth them to y^e waters-
side wth y^e sayd stone, at 14^d a daye

ixs. iiij^d.

It^m payd to Edw. Buck of Marche in y^e Ile of Elye Keleman
for cariage by water of y^e sayd stone from Gunwell in
Northamptonshire vnto Jesus greene in Cambridge at
3^s y^e tun

xxjs.

It^m payd at London for Sussex marble

xxs.

Item payd to a carman for y ^e cariage of yt fro Southwark unto y ^e Bull in Bishops gate streat	vjd
Item payd to Cutche for his labour w th his horse and cart to bringe from Goramburye to Cambridge the pece of tutch stone w ^{ch} my Ladye Bacon hath gyven vnto this woorke	xxiij ^s . iiij ^d
Item payd for a sawe made of purpose to cutt y ^e sayd tutch stone	iiij ^s
Item payd for ye expenses of one [in riding] to London to chuse and bye ye foresayd Sussex marble	xviij ^s . ix ^d
Item for 2 tun of welden stone	xs
Item payd to Tho. Hobson ye cariar for cariage of y ^e Sussex marble from London to Cambridg [into y ^e Colledge, y ^e weinge 8 C at 2 ^s y ^e C in toto	xvi ^s]
[Item for a great marble ston from Ely	vjs viij ^d]
Item [p ^d to John Martin] for y ^e working of a marble stone for y ^e threshold of y ^e dore	vs
It for y ^e paving [with freston ashler] before y ^e dore	xxxiiij ^s iiij ^d
It [to Henry Rice] for paynting [and gilding] y ^e armes [and creastes] of y ^e dore [with other parts thereof]	ls
[Item to Parkes seruant for roughcasting and filling the place behind the armes and Creast w ^{ch} standeth highest	xxd
Item for v claspes of yron to hold the stones together	xd"]

It may be conjectured that the Weldon oolite would be used for the plinth, and general structure of the porch; the Sussex marble for the pillars; the clunch for the ornamental scrolls at the top; and the "touch-stone," which perhaps was only a piece of black marble, for the shields on which the coats-of-arms were carved. In the centre were those of Sir Nicholas Bacon, quartering Quaplude; and on the tablet beneath, in gilt letters:

HONORATISS . DS . NICOLAVS BACON
CVSTOS MAGNI SIGILLI ANGLIÆ
EXTRVXIT .

The shield on the right bore the same arms impaling Fernley, his first wife, with the crests of Bacon and Fernley above; the shield on the left the same again, impaling Cooke, his second wife, with the crests of Bacon and Cooke above. On the tablets beneath the shields were the following inscriptions:

DOMINICÆ	SALVTIS	1578
REGNI	ELIZABETHÆ	21
ANNO ÆTATIS	SVÆ	68
CANCELLIÆ—	RIATVS	21

The intrinsic beauty of this porch, and the historic interest attaching to it, did not however avail to preserve it, or indeed any portion of it, from destruction, when in 1823 Mr Wilkins succeeded, not without difficulty, in persuading the Society to authorize the destruction of their ancient Chapel.]

Immediately after the Restoration, Dr Wilford being Master (1661—1667), "a diligent search was made after the Consecration of the Chapel," which was to have been performed when several others were consecrated by Archbishop Laud about 1636¹. But as no instrument of it could be found, the Bishop of Ely performed the ceremony, Sep. 21, 1662². On this occasion an organ was bought by the Master, and Dr Laurence Womock (afterwards Bishop of S. David's); and the hangings and rails about the Altar were put up³. In 1694, a legacy of £50 from Dr Spencer (Master, 1667—1693) was laid out upon a pavement⁴; and about 1742 a gift of £100 by Sir Jacob Astley was bestowed, in the words of Masters⁵,

"upon a new Altar-piece and wainscoting the upper end, according to a Plan of that ingenious Architect James Burrough Esq^r, President of Gonville and Caius College. The windows were then entirely new glazed, the Organ taken down, and the whole fitted up with great neatness and elegance."

Other changes, and the general appearance of it at this time, are described by Cole⁶, whose account is dated August 27, 1744:

"For an Account of this antient College see y^e printed Books that treat ab^t it... I purposing only to take an acc^t of y^e pres^t Antiquities in y^e Chappel, w^{ch} indeed are very few: y^e College having quite new glased and wainscoted y^e Chapel, and put a new and elegant Altar Peice of carv'd Oak supported by two large Corinthian Pillars, and in y^e middle a Pannell of crimson Velvet in a gilt Frame: with new Rails, and on

¹ Masters, 160.

² [The Act of Consecration has been preserved by Cole (Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 5808) and by Baker, MSS. vi. 28. The Bishop states that the Chapel had been built 80 years before, and that it was the desire of the College "ab usibus quibuscunque communibus et profanis prorsus separare, atque in vsus solummodo sacros ac divinos consecrare et dedicare." These words imply that it had hitherto been the custom to use the Chapel for other purposes than those of divine service.] ³ Masters, 161.

⁴ [Cole says; "Several of y^e Masters of this College have been buried in y^e Chapel; but upon y^e new paving...their Monuments, if they had any, were removed..."]

⁵ Masters, 210.

⁶ [MSS. Cole, Parochial Antiq. of Cambridgeshire, vi. 20. Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 5807.]

two Steps: y^e old Altar Peice is removed to Wilbraham Church, belonging to this College.

The Stalls are old, but y^e Wainscote above them all round y^e N & S and E sides of y^e Chapel is new: but y^e Wainscote of y^e W. Part is old, wth 4 small Pillars between y^e 3 Stalls on each side of y^e Door for y^e Master and 2 Fellows on one side, and y^e President and 2 others on y^e N. side;...y^e S. Door into y^e Antichapel...is a very handsome one wth Pillars and other Ornaments in Stone. Proceed we now into y^e Chapel: and 1st over y^e Door are 3 Coats of Arms carved in y^e Wainscote: that nearest y^e Master's Stall has 16 Quarterings for Manners Duke of Rutland. The 2^d Coat belongs to y^e College, and is exactly over y^e Door in y^e middle.. On y^e other side near y^e President's Stall is only one Coat. for Jegon, who was Master of y^e College I suppose when this Part of y^e Chapel was wainscoted: viz. y^e Latter End of y^e 16th or Beginning of y^e 17th Century, for there was two Masters who succeeded one another of y^e name of Jegon¹.

Over these Arms about a year ago was a neat small Organ w^{ch} projected a little into y^e Chapel, which, at y^e new fitting up of y^e same, as it had for some time been useless and out of repair, it was, by y^e Society, judg'd rather an Eyesore than an Ornament; for w^{ch} reason it was taken quite away, and y^e Place where it stood filled up: in y^e same manner a very handsome brass Eagle w^{ch} stood in y^e midst of y^e Chapel and on w^{ch} was used to be read y^e 1st and 2nd Lesson, as it stood in y^e Way of y^e new Altar peice, was within these few days removed entirely away and laid up in a Lumber Place². In y^e N Wall by y^e side of y^e Altar is a neat Stone projecting Window out of y^e Master's Gallery, for him to overlook if he should not be at Chapel, or indisposed. The Chapel is entirely paved wth handsome Squares of freestone wth small squares of black Marble at y^e Corners. The Windows are all new glazed; & y^e old Glass Coats of Arms w^{ch} formerly were in y^e Chapel, are all now removed into y^e Hall... On y^e Ceiling..., w^{ch} is very handsomely decorated, are 4 large Shelds in y^e middle of it, wth abt 38 Coats in each, but being so high and fill'd up with y^e Whitening, I could not easily distinguish them particularly... The Antichapel is paved with free Stone in Squares..."

The ceiling was flat, with pendants and intersecting curved lines in plaster, after the manner of the ceiling in Neville's great room at Trinity Lodge, which was wrought about the same time. The bosses of the pendants appear to have been identical with those at Trinity, but the ribs from which they

¹ [Blomefield decides that they were the Arms of John Jegon, Master 1590—1601.]

² [This Eagle had been given by a Mr Hawshead of Malton. The following extracts from the Accounts refer to it. Compare Masters, p. 209.

"For y^e hire of 2 horses to ride to Malton to speak with Mr Hawshead for y^e Eagle

xviij^d.

Item to George the goldsmith for making v newe claws to the Eagle, and for sothering on a peece of brass to the wing therof

vjs vjd^{ss}.)

proceeded were curved downwards, so as to suspend them at a considerable distance below the general level of the ceiling. In Trinity Lodge the bosses are attached immediately to the ceiling, which is coved at its junction with the side walls¹.

When the New Court was built in 1823, the Fellows proposed to retain this Chapel, extending it eastward. As the plan shews, it would have projected some twenty feet into the New Court at a distance of about eight feet to the south of the centre—an eccentricity of position which would have given occasion for a picturesque and characteristic effect in the hands of a genuine mediæval architect. Wilkins, however, was possessed with a spirit of symmetrical arrangement, and the historical monument was sacrificed thereto. The present Chapel, the same in dimensions as the old one, was built with its gable exactly in the middle of the eastern range of chambers, and in tame continuation of the line of wall on either side. [The original stall-work was retained, except the canopies at the west end, four of which are now in the hall of the Master's Lodge. The fate of the rest is unknown. In 1870 the Chapel was lengthened eastward, as far as the extent of the ground would permit, under the direction of A. W. Blomfield, Esq., Architect.]

CHAPTER VI.

PLANS FOR PROVIDING ADDITIONAL ACCOMMODATION.

THE NEW COURT.

THE foundation, in the reign of Elizabeth, of additional Scholarships and Fellowships, with special chambers assigned to those who held them, had completely filled the Old Court, notwithstanding the additional space obtained by the construction of garrets, as described in the second chapter; and the College was therefore unable to accommodate any "external students," as Josselin terms them, or as we should now say,

¹ [A portion of this ceiling is figured in the History of Trinity College.]

"pensioners¹." It has been already related how, in order to diminish this inconvenience to some slight extent, the Tennis-court was fitted up in 1569, so as to contain six sets of rooms, after which it was called "The Pensionary" (F, fig. 4), and in 1578, a license to appropriate the Rectory of S. Benedict having been granted by the Bishop of Ely, the Rectory House², which was in contiguity with the north side of the quadrangle, was taken into the College, and fitted up for chambers, and a Porter's Lodge. In the petition from the College to the Bishop, praying him to grant the appropriation, it is alleged among other reasons that certain buildings belonging to the Parish Church are in contiguity with those belonging to the College, and are exceedingly necessary for them; that the deficiency of chambers is so great that many students admitted to the College have to be sent away again, and others who desire to come refused, to the great disadvantage of the College; for otherwise more persons would have to be lodged in each chamber than can be safely allowed, for fear of infectious disease, which at this time so frequently breaks out in Cambridge³.

A new quadrangle had been contemplated as early as 1624, as we learn from the magnanimous resolution of the Master and Seniors in that year which has been already quoted in the first chapter. Nothing however was done at that time, either in the way of suggesting a plan, or of collecting subscriptions.

A ground-plan is prefixed to the history of the College by the Rev. Robert Masters, of which the first part was published in 1753. [This plan, however, had been drawn in December, 1747, and was probably circulated at that time, or shortly afterwards, for in September 1748, James Essex set forth his claims to be its real author by issuing the following advertisement, dated "Cambridge, Sept. 20, 1748;"]

¹ [Josselin, § 73. "Ut magister et socii existentes grata recordatione prosequantur aliquot externos studiosos qui continuo in eo collegio versari cupiant"]

² John Raysom, one of the first fellows appointed, afterwards Rector of S. Benedict for 30 years, bequeathed this house to the College in 1381, for the use of his successors in the Rectory. Masters, 31.

³ The documents relating to this appropriation are copied by Baker, MSS. xxx. 163 [The distribution of the chambers will be seen from a plan of the Old Court, preserved in the College Library (Miscell. Letters, etc., No. 138), and printed to illustrate the edition of Josselin referred to above]

"Proposals for Engraving and Printing by Subscription, A Perspective View and Geometrical Plan of an intended Addition to *Corpus Christi College* in Cambridge, According to a Design made in December, 1747, for the Rev. Mr. Robert Masters, B.D. Fellow and Bursar of the said College. By James Essex, Jun. of Cambridge."

Masters replied, Cambridge, Oct. 3, 1748:

"Whereas James Essex, jun. of this place has lately publish'd Proposals for Engraving and Printing by Subscription at the Price of Two Shillings and Six-pence, a Plan of an intended New Building in *Corpus Christi College*, without the Consent or Approbation of the Society, and likewise insinuated that it was of his Designing: This is to inform the Publick, that the Original Draught of it by Mr Masters's own Hand, with the several Alterations and Additions which have been since made, may be seen by any one at his Chambers in the said College, and that Essex was no otherwise employ'd therein than copying out his Design.

N.B. Mr. Masters has already printed a sufficient Number for Presents to his Friends, which was all he at first intended, but if Essex should persist in his Scheme will think himself obliged to print more very soon, which will be sold for One Shilling each."

On the very next day (Oct. 4), Essex challenged

"Mr Masters to produce the Plan and Elevation of his pretended Design, with the Copy thereof, to publick View, so that they may be compared; and the said Essex will not only make it appear that it is his own Design, but that the said Mr Masters is incapable of making such a one; and that the Prints he has publish'd are incorrect Copies of the rough Drawings made by the said Essex, which has been copy'd without his Consent or Approbation."

Whether this challenge was accepted or not, we need not inquire¹, nor need this squabble detain us further. It is only worth notice as shewing the way in which Essex was led to draw his plan for a new College.

Masters' plan was guided by the principle which was subsequently adopted, namely, that as much of the old College as possible should be retained. The Hall was lengthened sixteen feet. That portion of the Lodge which extended southward into the garden was pulled down, but the new portion was connected by a passage with the old, and the original entrance was still used. The Chapel was retained, and its unsymmetrical position was

¹ [The next step in the controversy was the publication of "Mr James Essex's Letter to His Subscribers to the Plan and Elevation of An intended Addition to *Corpus Christi College* in Cambridge," dated Feb. 20, 1748-49. It is a bitter attack upon Masters, reiterating his former charges in greater detail.]

ingeniously concealed by the introduction of a cloister, apparently copied from, or suggested by, that at Emmanuel, with a Library above it on the south, which extended across the west front of the Chapel, and corresponded with the Master's Gallery on the north. The court of which this cloister formed the east side, was open to Trumpington Street on the west. It measured 150 feet from north to south, by 130 feet from east to west. The south side consisted of a range of chambers. The north side had three sets of chambers at the west end, and the kitchen and butteries at the east end, with the Combination Room over the latter. Each set of chambers was apparently intended for two occupants, as it had a single sitting-room on the side next to the court, with two bed-rooms behind. The buildings throughout were of one story, with garrets, in the plainest Ionic style. There was a pediment on the east side, in the centre of the cloister, supported on six engaged Ionic columns, which rose from a plinth projecting slightly into the court; and pediments surmounted each of the doorways which gave access to the chambers. Otherwise the design was destitute of all ornament.

The plan by Essex¹, which was published by him in its final form in 1773, consisted of a single quadrangle open to Trumpington Street, measuring 200 feet from north to south, by about 125 feet from east to west. It was more ambitious than its rival, inasmuch as it required for its realisation that the ancient buildings should be wholly swept away. The buildings were in two stories without garrets. In the centre of the east side of the quadrangle was the Master's Lodge, projecting slightly into the court, and approached by a flight of five steps. Its façade was sixty-five feet wide, of which the central portion, advanced in front of the rest, was decorated with six Ionic columns, rising from the level of the first floor. They supported an entablature and pediment which enclosed the College Arms. A cloister, of seven arches on each side, extended north and south of the Lodge. Over this was the Combination Room on the north, and the Library on the

¹ [This design, accompanied by a very carefully drawn ground plan, is inscribed "Jac^s. Essex desig^t. et del^t. 1773. Major sculp^t." Several sketches for details, and alternative contrivances for arrangements, shew that it was the result of much thought and study. Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 6776.]

south. The Chapel¹ was placed at the south-eastern corner of the Lodge; and the Hall, with kitchen and offices beyond, at the north-eastern corner. Both of these were conveniently entered from the Lodge and from the Cloister. The north and south sides of the court consisted of ranges of chambers, thirty-five feet wide, surmounted at their west end by pediments. There were two doors on each side, and a third under the cloister, so that there were six sets of chambers on the ground-floor, each consisting of a sitting-room and two bed-rooms. These latter were all lighted from the outside; an arrangement which shews that the buildings were intended to be set clear of other structures. The walls were surmounted by a plain solid balustrade; but no ornament of any kind was introduced.

Neither of these plans appears to have been accepted by the Society; but the idea of building was certainly entertained by them, for in 1738 Dr Thomas Hering, formerly fellow, and then Archbishop of Canterbury², bequeathed to the College "one thousand pounds in the old South Sea Annuities, as his contribution towards rebuilding the College."

A more important contribution to the same purpose was made by Dr Mawson, Bishop of Ely (Master, 1724—1744), who in 1770 bequeathed to the College "three thousand capital Stock in the South Sea Annuities, to be kept in government securities until, with the accumulated interest arising thereupon, it should amount to a sum sufficient to defray the charges of taking down and rebuilding the College³;" and on 29 January, 1757, the following College Order was made:

"Agreed, y^t y^e money for Plate, w^{ch} Fellow Commoners are requir'd to give at taking leave of y^e College, be henceforth apply'd to raise a Fund for improving y^e old Fabrick, or erecting a new one, at y^e discretion of y^e College."

¹ [The extent of the Chapel eastward is not shewn on the plan. Although it was of nearly the same size as the old one, it could not have been the same building, for there would not have been sufficient space between it and the street for the width of the court (125 feet) together with that of the Lodge (50 feet).]

² [He had been applied to by the College, on the Mastership becoming vacant by the death of Dr Edmund Castle in 1750, to recommend a successor. He suggested Dr John Green, whose election occasioned several severe attacks upon the College. Masters, ed. Lamb, 240. Baker, ed. Mayor, 710.]

³ [Masters, ed. Lamb, 233. The codicil containing this bequest is dated September 17, 1770. The Bishop died on November 23 in the same year.]

The construction of the New Court was at last undertaken during the Mastership of Dr John Lamb (Master 1822—50). His own account of the commencement and progress is so interesting, that I proceed to quote it nearly entire.

"The first object of the Society, upon the election of the new Master [10 January, 1822], was to ascertain whether any steps could be taken towards the rebuilding of the College. Upon an investigation of their pecuniary means, it was found that the funds appropriated to this purpose now amounted to between £50,000 and £60,000; and moreover, that there were accumulations to a considerable amount of other funds, which might, if necessary, be applied to this object. There were several circumstances which seemed to mark the present as a most favourable period for such an undertaking. The stocks were remarkably high¹. Building materials of all descriptions were fallen in price. Labourers were to be had in abundance at a moderate rate. The change from a state of war to that of peace had occasioned an influx of students to the Universities, so that there was a demand for increased accommodation within the walls of the Colleges. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it was agreed at the audit, 1822, to apply to W. Wilkins Esq. M.A., and late Fellow of Caius College, a celebrated architect, for a plan and estimate of a new building, with a front towards Trumpington Street.

During 1822, steps were taken preparatory to the commencement of the work. The College obtained possession of their houses in Trumpington Street at Michaelmas. In October the materials of these houses, as well as those of the College stables, outhouses, and of the old Tennis Court, (a large building used as a warehouse, and occupying the west side of the Master's present garden), were sold by public auction, and the whole space cleared of buildings. In the spring of 1823, Mr Wilkins' plan of the Lodge, Library, and west front (nearly as they appear at present) was approved of by the Society, and a contract for this part entered into with Messrs Phipps and Ward, builders in London, for the sum of £31,138.

At this period, it was the intention of the Society to retain the Hall unaltered; and to convert the east side of the old court into kitchens, having the butteries &c. on the ground-floor of the late Lodge. This plan would probably have been carried into execution, had not considerable difficulty arisen from the narrowness of the building bordering on Free-School lane. Upon this obstacle presenting itself, it was determined to convert the old hall into kitchens, and to build another on the north side of the new quadrangle, instead of students' apartments as was at first intended. It was also proposed to retain the chapel, merely lengthening it toward the east, but this was ultimately found impracticable.

The building was commenced in May, 1823. The foundations of the Lodge and of part of the west front being in a state of forwardness in

¹ [Dr Mawson's building fund had accumulated to £30,000. This was sold at 93, a considerable part of it having been bought in under 60. Dr Lamb.]

the following July, the ceremony of laying the first stone took place [on Wednesday, July 2]. The Earl of Hardwicke, High Steward of the University, kindly undertook, at the request of the Society, to perform this ceremony. At one o'clock the Vice-Chancellor and other members of the University met at the Senate-House in full academical costume, and walked in procession to the site of the new buildings, where they were received by the Master and Fellows. An elegant and appropriate Latin speech was delivered by the Rev. T. Shelford, one of the Fellows and Tutor of the College¹; after which the upper half of the foundation-stone [a large cube of Ketton stone] was raised, and the Master presented the gold, silver, and copper coins of the present reign to the Earl of Hardwicke, who deposited them in a cavity in the lower half of the stone². [A brass plate, bearing a Latin inscription, was laid over the cavity. After the usual ceremony of laying the stone], the Master offered up [the following] prayer:

"O God, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy, look down upon us, and prosper the work of our hands. Do thou graciously perfect that undertaking, which, with thy blessing, we have so prosperously commenced. With thanksgiving and praises to thy holy name, we lay this foundation stone, and faithfully commit the accomplishment of our work into thy hands, knowing assuredly that 'except the Lord build the house their labour is but lost that build it.' As thou hast honoured our ancient house by making it the seat of learning and piety, so now honour this building, which we would consecrate to thy service. May a double portion of that spirit which rested upon our forefathers, rest upon us their children. May we send forth from these walls many able and active ministers of the Gospel of Christ, duly qualified by their learning and zeal to promote thy glory upon earth. Grant this, we humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour."

[This was] followed by the Anthem, 'Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem,' sung by the University Choir. The Vice-Chancellor then pronounced the blessing, and the procession removed from the ground.

The work advanced rapidly during 1823 and 1824, without occasioning any interruption to College business, as it was not necessary to pull down any part of the old College. But soon after the commencement of 1824, a contract was entered into with the same parties, to build the Chapel and the Fellows' apartments, completing the eastern side of the new quadrangle. Upon this it was necessary to give up a great part of the lodge, the chapel, and the pensionary, a building which stood at the north-west corner of the chapel, containing four sets of rooms.

The Master accordingly vacated the Lodge in the beginning of August, and took possession of the new Lodge in the beginning of October, many parts of it being yet in an unfinished state. Preparatory likewise to the demolition of the chapel, the manuscript library of Arch-

¹ [I have heard Professor Willis say that much of the excellence of the design of these new buildings, which he considered far superior to any other work by Wilkins, was due to the architectural knowledge and taste of Mr Shelford.]

² [The spot chosen for this foundation-stone was the north east tower of the gateway. 1st Lamb.]

bishop Parker, which was kept in a room over the antechapel, was removed into one of the Norwich scholarship rooms, where it remained until the summer of 1827. At the same time the other books of the College were removed into a ground-floor room of the new Lodge, where they remained until the new Library was ready for their reception. During this year, that is, from Michaelmas 1824 to the commencement of 1825, the old hall was used both as a dining-room and as a chapel. At this period the Society were much inconvenienced for want of rooms, several sets being rendered useless, and none of the new ones habitable. During the summer of 1825, the hall was converted into kitchens, and the necessary alterations made on the ground-floor of the old Lodge; and in the following October, the whole of the west front and the rooms under the Library were inhabited; the library itself, which was completed, except the painting of the ceiling and the laying of the floor, was used during the ensuing year both as a hall and as a chapel. In May, 1825, a third contract had been entered into, namely, that for the new Hall, at £7,000. This building was so far completed by the October of 1826, as to enable the Society to dine in it; and it served during this year for a chapel likewise, the interior of the new one not being finished until the Michaelmas of 1827; when the whole work may be considered as completed, having been commenced in 1823, and in progress four years.

It will be observed that the total amount of the three contracts is only £45,438; but this sum is very far short of the actual expenditure. There were various items in such an undertaking, which could not be brought under any contract, and the extras upon each separate contract were unavoidably very heavy; so that the total amount, including every expense connected with the new building, was a sum far exceeding that which had been contemplated when the work was undertaken. Fortunately the contracts were so much below the funds possessed by the Society, that upon winding up the accounts, it was found that there was only a small deficit, which sum has been borrowed to be paid off in ten years by the room rent, and some other means possessed by the College for that purpose¹.

[The arrangement of the new buildings, which are in a plain Gothic style, will be understood from the plan without further description. Access to the Hall is provided by a staircase at the east end. The Combination Room adjoins it on the west and the Buttery is beneath it. The Library, approached, like the Hall, by a staircase at the east end, has the Muniment Room, and rooms for undergraduates, beneath it. The west front, next Trumpington Street, consists of a range of chambers in three floors, with a Gate of Entrance in the centre, flanked by towers, like the more ancient examples.

¹ [Masters, ed. Lamb, 261.]

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

- 1342-1346. The Gild of Corpus Christi acquires a site in Luthburne Lane, equal in extent to the Old Court of the College.
1352. Letters patent of Edward III. to the Gilds of Corpus Christi and S. Mary, now united, for founding a College, and accepting the advowson of S. Benedict's Church. Commencement of the buildings.
1353. The site of Gonville Hall and the advowson of S. Botulph's Church acquired by exchange. Tenement and Chantry bought from the University.
1356. The Master's Garden acquired on lease.
1358. A quarry at Hinton granted for building purposes.
1377. Completion of the buildings.
- 1379-1389. Alterations to Master's Lodge.
1411. Purchase of ground from the town of Cambridge to complete the site.
- 1443-1474. Botwright's work on Library and Master's Lodge.
1456. Bakehouse, afterwards Tenniscourt, and finally Pensionary, commenced.
1459. Sale of advowson of S. Botulph's Church to Queens' College.
- 1487-1515. Buttresses in the Court built by the Duchess of Norfolk. Buildings connecting the College with S. Benedict's Church built. Master's Lodge and Fellows' chambers newly fitted up. Hall wainscoted, windows enlarged, screens set up.
1500. Part of S. Benedict's Churchyard acquired.
1534. Purchase of S. Bernard's Hostel from Queens' College.
- 1544-1553. Dovehouse built. Gallery added to Lodge. Ground occupied by Master's Garden bought and walled.
- 1557-1569. New Library made over the Kitchen.
1569. Pensionary fitted up.
1578. Rectory-House of S. Benedict added to the College. Chapel commenced, with a room over it to contain Archbishop Parker's Library.
1615. General repairs of the Court.
1618. Wall built between the Churchyard of S. Benedict and the entrance to the College.
1648. Sale of plate to provide money for a general repair of the Court.
1686. Subscription set on foot to pay for repairs.
1757. The Gate of Entrance altered to its present state.
1823. First stone laid of New Court.
1876. Chapel lengthened eastwards.

APPENDIX.

I. *Tripes verses, 9 March, 1826.*

Miratur molem Æneas, magalia quondam,
Miratur portas, strepitumque, et strata viarum.

Si te, Plance, fori fecere negotia fessum,
Et libet urgentes paullum deponere curas;
Dum fera tempestas tota bacchatur in Urbe,
Dum nihil est nisi rupta fides, et terror ubique,
Dum facies populi longa est, et 'Deficit ille',
'Deficit hic', rursus vicinia tota reclamat;
Sis sapiens, nostramque urbem dignatus adire,
Otia tutus ama: nostris nam sæpe sub umbris,
Tranquillas inter sylvas et amœna fluentia,
Sollicitam dulces frontem explicuere Camœnæ.

Quin novus hic rerum status, et mutata locorum
Invitat facies; cernes ingentia passim
Atria, regalesque domos ad sidera molem
Erigere; exuimus sordes, et tempore longo
Rubigo contracta fugit; fervemus ubique,
Certatimque novo incipimus splendescere cultu.

Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum compita lustrans
Olim nota tibi, ignotas miraberis ædes
Surrexisse locis; frustra magalia quæres,
Mole caduca sua, et primo sub Cæsare nata;
Fallerisque vagans, et ubi sis sæpe rogabis,
Vicorum inflexu, et versarum errore viarum.

O quid non ætas, semperque volubile tempus
Provehit in melius? non arcta palatia longum
Stramineasque domos habitavit Romulus: arces
Marmoreæ cepere solum, et volventibus annis
Patriciæ septem crevere in collibus ædes.
Et nos cœpit amare Deus, quicumque Deorum est
Oppida cui curæ in terris nitidoque columnæ
Marmore candentes; tota cernuntur in urbe
Plaustra, redemptores; passim cæmenta, trabesque,
Artificesque operum, et gypsata corpora turbæ.
Ipse pater, multa labens cum pace per agros,
Camus, arundineo ripas dum præfluit alveo,
Amne pio moles, et fundamenta domorum
Devehit; et viridi gaudet deponere in herba
Marmora, porticibusque trabes decora alta futuris.

Eia age, tu mecum spatiabere, et omnia circum
Visemus; primum mirare, ubi candida vultu

Assurgit renovata ædes, et luce recenti
 Fulgens, oppositas Catharinæ prospicit umbras.
 Clarum opus! et quisquam tam curto in tempore credat,
 Hanc molem egregiam, et splendentes marmore turres,
 Emovisse situm veterem, et squalentia quondam
 Atria? nam magica quasi virga tacta, repente
 Mutata est natura loci: pro sordibus ædes
 Stant saxo nitidæ, stat frontis pura venustas
 Marmoreæ, solidumque decus pro mole labanti.

Nec procul hinc Tauri domus, et notissima fama
 Hospitii veteris sedes; mox occidet, eheu!
 Occidet, atque ibit quo Tullus dives et Ancus.
 Et, modo Dii faveant faciles¹, queis cura domorum
 Evertendarum, decedet et angulus ille²,
 Qui nunc denormat vicum; tum plana patebunt
 Compita, quaque, vides, rhedarum transitus arcto
 Urgetur spatio, tum nil terrebit euntes,
 Nec capiti mandram flectens auriga timebit.

O utinam Arabica Genius³ de gente magorum,
 (Mystica quem lampas, dominusve in pensa vocaret
 Annulus) has secum tacita sub nocte revulsas
 Ferret, et in Libyæ campis deponeret ædes!
 Actum etenim nihil est, nisi clara in luce patentes
 Pieridum sedes, et amantes carmina turres,
 Aspicimus; sanctasque domos, ubi floret avito
 Læta sub hospitio, serosque fidelis in annos,
 Musa pio Henrici Manes veneratur amore.
 —Fiet et hoc quondam; et veluti post sæcula tellus
 Ostendit patefacta urbes, quas molibus olim
 Obruerat superinjectis; et reddita luci
 Apparent Divum delubra, et tecta virorum;
 Haud aliter, celata diu, regalia tandem
 Atria se pleno spectanda in lumine pandent;
 Et quoties curru invectus per strata viator
 Venerit huc, sylvas Academi invisere fervens,
 Sistet equos, fixusque obtutu hærebit in illo,
 Miratus turres, veterisque palatia Grantæ.

Plurima quæ laudes, quædam ridenda videbis,
 Et quæ Democriti pulmonem, credo, moverent,
 Si foret in terris; sunt qui simul omnia miscent,
 Gothica queis facies Græcis adjuncta columnis
 Arridet; doctique modis confundere miris
 Terrarum simul atque ævi discrimina, certant
 Omnigenas gentes imitari et sæcula; dumque
 Contendunt modo nos Romæ, modo ponere Athenis,
 Orbis totius crescit pictura per urbem.
 Ora linunt alii, et vetulæ de more puellæ,

¹ Juvenal x. 7.² [The houses at the corner of old King's Lane.]³ Vid. Noct. Arab.

Antiquos renovant vultus : nitidumque colorem
 Inducunt, falsamque nova cum fronte juventam.
 Linquamus tamen illa ; dies non sufficit unus,
 Nec levis hic labor est, urbis spectacula magnæ
 Omnia perlustrare ; age, dum Sol ardet in alto,
 Scandamus, sodes, collem qui proximus urbi
 Imminet : hic duri loca quondam conscia aratri
 Tempora nutarunt : hominumque boumque labores
 Emovit domus, et candentia marmore tecta.
 Antistes stellarum illic, semotus ab urbe
 Fumosa, gaudet sublimi e vertice collis
 Cœlorum servare vices, Lunæque meatus,
 Longinquoque iterum redeuntem ex orbe cometen.
 Cui datur astrorum aërio modulamine serpens
 Exaudire melos ; puroque sub ætheris axe
 Sideribus vacat, et carpit commercia cœli.
 Felix ille virum, et felici sidere natus
 Oh ! quicumque paras taciturni ad flumina Cami
 Errare, et salices inter pallere quietas,
 Viribus, i, totis, furcæque expelle Camœnas ;
 Teque ipsum doceas et somno et inertibus horis
 Posse carere diu. patuloque in corde mathesin
 Accipiens dominam, semper sublimia cura,
 Cumque oleo consume oculos ; sic itur ad astra.
 Sed nunc, Plance, domum gressus revocare vagantes
 Expediet ; cœlo jam Sol inclinât : eundum est ;
 Audin' ? et optatam fessis quæ nuntiat horam,
 Tinnitu resonare docet campanula sylvas.

II *College order for the erection of a Bakehouse.*

Memorandum that the Fryday prox' ante festum natiuitatis beate Marie virginis anno domini 1456 concordatum est per magistrum Collegii Corporis Christi et singulos fratres eiusdem quod in omni congrua et possibili festinancia fiat de sumptibus predicti Collegii vnum novum pistrinum tante longitudinis quante est media domus nouiter edificata per Magistrum Andream Duket et tante altitudinis sub stillicidio quante sunt superiores partes fenestrarum nouiter in hospicio Bernardi male positarum.

III. *Thendenture of John loose leyer for the bakhouse.*

This endenture made the iijth day of Decembre the yere of Kyng herry the sexte xxxviiith betwene Maister John Botwright Maister of the college of cor^{ps} Xri and of our ladi seint Marie en cambrigg and the ffelaws of the sayd College on that on partye and John Loose of the

same town or ellis sumtyme of Burston in Norfolk mason on that other partye Witnessith that A Counant is made in maner and fourne folowyng

That is to say that the seyde John Loose shal make or do make sufficiently the walles of a bakhouse the length acording to the ground that also is take by the ouersyght in warkmanship of the sayde John lose with the ground also of a fauce boterace for diuerse considerations to be made in the said counaunt the cause longe bifore know to the said John loose of the whech Boterace after the grond biforsaid taken therefore : of a foot and half in thikness the heyest of the creste after ij tyles and an half heygh but a foote aboue the wyndows of sent Bernardis hostell Notwithstanding the walles of the said Bakhouse beyng of Ragge clunch and Tyle ij fotes of the standard from the gronde leuell to the water tabil round aboute A meteyrd in heyght of Large mesure and from the said watter tabill the heyght of the walle of the said sent Bernardis hostell therto adioynant and yet heyer bi a foote of assyse and so rounde aboute leuelled of ston and lyme with ij pyke walles of the same stuffe And a doore in brede iiij foote standard of fre ston from the base soyle also of freston the heyght of iiij foote assise large and upwarde in heyght to the thyrd peynt of the Centre .v. foote more al of breke. Alle the said freestoon to be hew atte the costis of the said John Loose w^t iiij Wyndows of breke ych of theym of ij lyghtes and the said water tabell half the house round aboute alle of freeston hewyn at the costis of the said John Loose that other half tabill of the best endureng breke. Also the said maister and felaus schal fynde al maner of stuffe and mater redy at alle conuenient tyme to werk And alle other ordinaunces that schal perteyne vnto the same werk so that this werk forsaid schal be bygonne at the fferrest by sent gregores day in march next comyng And sufficiently be ended by the fest of lambmess next comyng after the date of this present writeng in peyn of xl. s to be payed and content bi the said John loose, Takeng for his werkmanship and labour xi marc vjs. viijd and a gowne of yomanis leuere of the said college or ellis a noble therefore so alle thyng be thus thorow and content ; and more if it can be thought bi conscience of the said Maister and felaus so to doo. And of this xj marc vjs. viijd to be payed at theis diuersez tymes that is to say in the begynneng of the werk liijs. viijd. and other xls. when the werk is half made. And other xls. when the walles are alle leuelled And xxs. when the werk is ful complete And more ouer the sayde John schal haue withinne the sayde College a chambre j bedsteed and a bedde And his mete to be dyght in the kechyn at there costis as longe as he is werkyn in the said werk

Theis beyng his borows Maister Thomas Lane Maister of Peterhous and Maister Water Smyth parson of sent Benetis in cambregg Witnessis maister Richard Brochier Maister Thurston and M Rauf Seyton with many other yeven the day and yer aboue rehearsid.

IV. *Construction of the wall between the College and the vicarage of S. Botolph.*

Anno domini 1457.

Memorandum quod Johannes Bale mason alias Loose vocat' leyer nuper factor noui muri lapidei apud predicatorum domnicam proximam ante festum natiuitatis beate Marie anno predict' 1457 venit et pepigit cum magistro collegii teste M Ric. Brochier de factura eciam vnus muri lapidei iuxta Collegium predictum et terram nuper vicarie sancti Botulphi ad longitudinem 4 rodarum et di' qualibet roda continente xvij pedes de standardo regio. Et habebit in grosso vel xl. s. cum decoctione cibariorum in coquina collegii et potagium tantum durante termino facture predict' cum asiamento camere et pistrino ibidem et pro lecto iij hominum ad prandend' et iacend'. Ant habebit pro qualibet rodâ et iuxta ratam illius di' rodæ sicut dicit se habuisse ad domum Petri pro qualibet roda ibidem burs' cum ceteris asiamentis supradictis ad electionem dicti magistri Collegii et erit dictus murus eiusdem latitudinis sicut est latitudo muri latrine hospicii sed altitudo cum crista dict' muri erit tanta quanta est altitudo murorum collegii: petri posterius dictus mason sue layer quod per duos laborarios collegii ad fundamentum accusetur: unde in partem solutionis coram magistro Thoma Lane recepit et pro strena totius pacti integri iij d.

V. *Contract for the Woodwork of the Chapel.*

This indenture made the xxvth daie of Marche in the xxiith yere of the reigne of our Soueraign Ladye Elizabeth Betwene Robert Norgate Bacheloure of diuinity and master of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge on the one partye and Robert Gardiner of Havarell in the county of Essex carpenter on thother partye. Witnesseth that wheras the said Robert Norgate by the meanes of his goode freinds is purposed to erecte and builde a Chapple within the said College for the exercise of diuine service there and thathe agreed and assented to committ to the said Robert Gardiner the prouisyon of all suche timber of Oke as shalbe nedefull for the said Chapple, The said Robert Gardiner do by these presents covenante [that he] shall before the xxth daie of June next cominge after the date hereof deliuer...so muche goode and substantiall cleane timber well tried hewed and sawen to a scantlin herein expressed as shalbe requisite and nedefull to the buildinge of the rouse of the said Chapple w^{ch} scantlon is as followeth vid. eight wallplats eche of them xvj foote longe xj vnche square; tenn peces, eche of them ij foote longe ix vnche brod, x vnche depe; xxxix coapple of peces of timber, ij foote longe, vij vnche square; for v coople of principall sparrs, eche pece to be xxij foote longe x vnche depe ix vnche brod; x pendons to the principals, eche of vj foote longe ix vnche square; and for x lower braces vj foote and half longe, ij vnche thicke and ij foote broad in the middest; And for x upper braces to the principals eche of them xj foote longe iij vnche thicke ij foote brod within fower foote of the lower ende; fyve windbeames to the principals eche windbeame xvj foote long ix vnche square; and

for xxxix cople of single sparres eche of them xxiiij foote longe, vij vnche brod, v vnche and halfe thicke beneath at the foote, and at the topp vij vnch brod and v vnche thicke; xxxix wyndbeames to the single sparres eche of them xvij foote longe vij vnche square; and xxxix cople of braces to the single sparres eche brace ix foote and half longe vij vnche brod v vnche thicke; and for xij purleus eche of them xvij foote longe v vnche brod, iij vnche thicke; and for xliij cople of sparr feete eche of them iij foote longe vij vnch brod, iij vnch thicke; and for xliij cople of studds, eche of them ij foote longe, v vnche brod, iij vnch thick; and for v pendons ech of them xv vnch longe vij vnch square; and ij beames eche of them xxxij foote longe and x vnch square; and for a pece to lye alonge y^e topp of the wall under the peces wheron the sparr feete must be framed ij vnch thicke and iij vnch brod, contayninge the length of the chapple on both sides vid. vj score foote; and ij beames ech of them xxxij foote longe, x vnch square; and one dorman xxviiij foote longe xij vnch square; ij crosse dormans xv foote long xij vnch square; xxxiiij Joyces ix foote longe a pece vj vnch brod iv vnch thicke; and for the partition of the said Chapple, j groundsell xvij foote longe viij vnch square, the doare iiij foote and halfe wide: iiij postes xiiij foote longe x vnch brod vij vnch thicke, ij girts xj foote longe vj vnch thicke, ix vnch brod, xiiij pillers vj foote longe vj vnch square; xvij pillers iij foote and halfe longe vj vnch square; and for a floare or plancher onder the outwarde chapple so many studds Joyces and boards the boards to be solke for seaven shillings the hundreth and to be deliured in the said College by the feaste of Pentecost next and Immediately followinge as shalbe requisite to y^e same; and for studd and space for the staires goinge vpp to y^e said chamber iij studds xiiij foote long vij vnch square; ij girts vj foote and halfe longe viij vnch brod v vnch thicke; ij groundsells vj foote and halfe long vij vnch square; xx studds vij foot longe iiij vnch thick vj vnch brod; for the spindle a pece xvij foot longe iiij vnch square: As also for the stalls within the said chapple so much timber, and planke of three vnch thick at xviij^e the hundreth and of j vnch and halfe thick at xj^e. y^e hundreth and board sawen hewed and well tried to suche scantlin as is mete for y^e purpose to make the seats in suche forme and fashon as y^e seats of y^e chapple within S^t Johns Coll: nowe be made and there do stand within the said chapple; vid. xvij planks of vij foot long a pece eche xvij vnch brod iij vnch thicke; xx planks v foot long a pece xvij vnch brod iij vnch thick; v planks xx vnch brod xj foote and halfe longe iij vnche thicke for y^e stall to lye on the booke; v planks xj foot and halfe long apece xv vnch brod for the schollers books to lye on; ij peces xxij foot longe a pece j foot brod v vnch thicke; lxxv foote of planke in length vij vnch half thick ix vnch half brod for the seat y^e riseth upp and doune; ij peces of x foot long apece vij vnch and half thick viij vnch half brod; ij peces xxxj foot long a pece vij vnch half brod vj vnch half thick for the upper peces at y^e back; iiij peces for groundsell for the seats xxx foot long a pece vij vnch square; ij peces ech xj foot long vij vnch square; xxxvj Joyces iij foot viij vnch long apece vj vnch square; ij planks x foot longe apece xvij vnch brod iij vnch thick for the rising and falling seat; lxx peces iij foot iij vnches long apece iij vnches thick v vnches brod; viij peces iij foot long apece vj vnches square; iiij peces xj foot long apece vj vnches brod v vnches thicke; iiij planks j vnch and halfe thick ix vnch brod xj foot longe; iiij planks xij foot long iij vnches thicke ix vnches brod for formes: and this timber and all stuffe for the stalls to be deliured before the xx date of August next following y^e date of these presents. In consideration wherof the said Robert Nongate agreeth to paye or cause to be paid to y^e said Robert Gardiner

for every foote square of timber so hewed well tried and sawen to the scantlin as is before expressed and deliuered within y^e said College at the times before appointed v^e somme of v pence of good english mony. In parte of payment wherof the said Robert Gardiner hath receyved at the date of the making herof of y^e said Robert Norgate wherof he y^e said Robert dothe acknowledge him selfe by y^e presents to be fully satisfied contented and paid y^e sum of xv poundes. The rest of y^e mony is to be paid as v^e said timber shall by y^e said Robert Gardiner be deliuered into the said College in Cambridge.

VI. *Contract for the Slatyng of the Chapel.*

This Indenture made the xxiijth daye off October in the yere off our Lord god 1579 between Robert Norgate master or keper off Corpus Christi Colledge in Cambridge on the on partye, and Raffe Woodward, and Thon Scatliffe off Easton in Northamptonshire Slaters, on the other partye Witnesseth, that the sayd Raffe and Jhon haue bargayned and sould xxiij thousand off good and hable slate to be raysed out of the quarrye, carryed bye Land and water, and so to be deliuered at the highe bridge or at Jesus grene in the towne of Cambridge afforsayd, lye the Laboure costs and charges off the sayd Raffe and John, at or befor the Feaste off Whitsuntyle or Pentecoste next ffoloweinge after the date hearoff. In consideration wheroff the sayd Robert Norgate do covenante and graunt to paye for everye thousande of such goode slate the summ of xi shillings flower pence off good Englishe monye, parte of the sayd monye to be payed in Lent next, when they come to worke with Doctor Hatcher in Cambridge, and the rest to be payed when it is all deliuered at the high bridge or Jesus grene afforsayd. And also for the tolladge at bottle bridge off the cartes y^e shall carrye the sayd slate from the quarrye to the water syde the sayd Robert dothe covenante to paye to the saydd Raffe and John the summ of six shillings of good Englishe monye, as also to fynd the caryage off the sayd slate from the sayd places in Cambridge vnto the Colledge off Corpus Christi in Cambridge befor sayde: And to fynd all manner off stufte that is needfull to them for the workmanshippe and Layinge off the sayd slate uppon a Chappell newelye to be erected and builded within the sayd Colledge, as Lyme, sande, Lathe, cove dounge, horse dounge, slatepyne, and nayles, Ladders, Lynes, Cordes, and rouffe tyle: and the said Raffe and Jhon shall forthwith uppon the deliverye and Layinge off the sayd slate in the backsyde off the sayd Colledge called the hostile, dresse the sayd slate and fynd all manner off Labor and workmanshippe, to the making off the mortar and other workmanship whatsoever shall be requisite to the Layeing off the sayd slate uppon the rouffe of the sayd Chappell, and shall perfectlye and workmanlye finishe the slateinge off the sayd rouffe, and cover the sayd rouffe with the sayd slate workmanlye and substantiallye with so much spede as they can goe fforewarde in the sayd worke, without anye intermission or leaving off, off the sayd worke, vntyll it be so perfittlye slated and finishe. In consideration wheroff, the said Robert do covenante to paye to the sayde Raffe and Jhon ffor everye pole or rod, being xviij foote square uppon the syde off the sayd rouffe, w^{ch} they shall so cover wth slate dressed etc. as is befor sayd, the summ of xv shillings to be payed, when the whole rouffe is covered. In witnes wheroff, the said partyes interchaungablye haue put ther hands and seales to these presents gyven the daye and year above written

VII.

King's College & Eton College.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE SITE OF ETON (1440—1449), AND OF THE SITE OF THE OLD COURT OF KING'S (1441).

[I. ETON COLLEGE.

IN order to relate the history of the Architecture and Topography of the two Royal Foundations of King Henry the Sixth with the greatest clearness, and to exhibit the gradual way in which the idea of a School and a College dependent on each other was developed by him after the first foundation of both, the two histories will be related together in a continuous narrative, a strict chronological sequence of events being observed as far as possible.

The present site of Eton College, with which alone we are concerned in the first part of this investigation, to the exclusion of the rest of the Parish of Eton, is bounded on the west by the road from Windsor to Slough; on the north by Datchet Lane; on the east by the River Thames; and on the south by some private houses and gardens¹. At the first foundation, however, it comprised only the Parish Church and Churchyard of Eton, with a piece of ground situated to the north of the latter, measuring 300 feet in length, by 260 feet in breadth. The assignment of this site to the intended College of "Our Lady of Eton beside Windesore" is announced in Royal Letters Patent, dated from Shene, 11 October, 19 Henry VI., 1440². The Founder had been careful to obtain the advowson of the

¹ [The shape of the site is so peculiar that it is impossible to shew the whole of it on the map (fig. 1).]

² [They are incorporated in the charter which was confirmed by the Parliament of 20 Hen VI., 1441—1442. Heywood, 387.]

Church before taking any other steps towards the realisation of his design. It had been formally conveyed to him, 29 August 1440, and converted into a Collegiate Church, to be assigned to the Provost and Fellows, and be by them administered as they should think best¹.

Of this site, rather more than half as large again as the present school-yard, with the buildings along its sides, except the Chapel, the boundaries are not given; it is simply described as "contiguous and adjacent to the burial-ground of the Parish Church, on the north side of the same". We are not even informed whether the longest dimension is from north to south, or from east to west. In the accompanying plan (fig. 1) the latter view has been adopted. We may however be tolerably certain that the site did not extend westward as far as the high road; because out of six pieces of ground conveyed to the College by the Letters Patent dated 1441—42, five are bounded on the west by "the king's highway leading to Wyndesore."

Two years before (10 August 1440), the king had purchased of Hugh Ailwyn, otherwise Hugh Dyer, two houses lying north of the Churchyard, and bounded on the west by the high road². They extended eastward as far as a garden, called "Huntercombe's garden" from a former possessor John Huntercombe³, which was 60 feet long by 30 feet broad. This was not acquired until 1442, and the two pieces were conveyed together to the College by Letters Patent dated 31 January in that year. If

¹ [The persons conveying it were William Whaplade, Nicholas Clopton, and John Faryngton, "armigeri." By letters patent dated 3 Sept. 19 Henry VI., 1440, the King gave them in exchange the advowson of Bilyng Magna in Northamptonshire.]

² ["In quodam fundo contiguo et adiacente cimiterio ecclesie, ex parte boreali eiusdem, continente trescentos pedes in longitudine et ducentos et sexaginta in latitudine." Letters Patent, 1442, Heywood and Wright, 388. The greater part of the documents relating to the foundation of Eton are rehearsed in the Bull of Pope Eugenius IV. which sanctioned it. It is printed in the "Correspondence of Bekynton" (Rolls Series) ii. 270. The documents are admirably explained by the Editor, the Rev. G. Williams, in the Introduction, § 131 sq. The earliest of the series, the appointment of proxies to act for the King, is dated 12 September, 1440. Ibid. ii. 287—290. The area of the site granted was 74,000 sq. ft.; that of the schoolyard and adjacent buildings is 47,600 sq. ft.]

³ [It will be understood that the conveyance of this, and of the other pieces, are in the Muniment Room at Eton, unless it is otherwise stated.]

⁴ [This was conveyed to the King by the same persons who conveyed the advowson of the Parish Church, Jan. 1, 20 Hen. VI., 1441—42.]

we allow 90 feet for the house, in addition to the length assigned to the garden, we shall be able to place the first site at 150 feet from the high road. The theory that a space intervened between it and the road is confirmed by the fact that the King had this property abutting on the street actually in his possession at the very time of the conveyance of the first site, but did not include it because it would have been detached and useless. North of this ground was a house formerly belonging to Walter Clay¹, and north of this again a "curtilage" 80 feet long by 24 feet broad, described as "extending from the high road through the middle of Eton in the direction of the King's College." This again shews that the site must have been at some distance from the street. North of Clay's house again was one belonging to "Robert Benorthe, clerk, called Goodgroome," extending from the high road on the west to a lane leading towards the College on the east². Mention is also made of a house called, from a former possessor John Rolff, "Rolffeshawes." It lay next to "Le Werde" on the north, and extended from the high road to a curtilage belonging to the College³.

"Le Werde" is known by the Letters Patent conveying it to the College, dated 9 August, 21 Hen. VI., 1443, to have contained ten acres⁴. It may be identified with the Playing-fields. In the same document an acre and three roods "on which our capital messuage was situated," is conveyed to the Provost and College. By the term "capital messuage," the site assigned

¹ [No further particulars are recorded of this house, the existence of which is known only from the conveyances of Dyer's houses, and from that of the next piece, which is dated Eltham, 20 Dec. 20 Hen. VI., 1441.]

² [The words are "situated inter mesuagium quondam Willelmi Symond ex una parte, et mesuagium quondam Petri ex parte altera *in latitudine*, et extendit se *in longitudine* a predicta via ducente per medium de Eton usque quandam venellam nuper ducentem versus Collegium nostrum." The use of the words "*latitudo*" and "*longitudo*" in this passage shews that they have been rightly interpreted above. The conveyance of Goodgroome's house is dated 1 Jan. 20 Hen. VI., 1441-42.]

³ [This conveyance is undated. In the letters patent of 31 January, 1441-42, "Le Werde" is spoken of as already part of the College: "*terram collegii nostri predicti*"—although not formally conveyed for more than a year and a half afterwards.]

⁴ ["Decem acras terre...simul iacentes ex parte orientali [*boreali?*] dicti collegii in quodam clauso vocato le Worth alias dict' le Warde alias le Kynges Werde inter aquam Thamys ex parte occidentali [*orientali?*] et altam viam que ducit de Eton versus le blough ex parte occidentali."]]

in 1440 must certainly be meant; and the dimensions, as given above, produce an area very nearly equal to that now described. This would be of sufficient extent to accommodate the most necessary buildings (fig. 1); but the dimensions are probably used in a general sense, and must not be understood to designate a rectangular area with exact boundaries.

The "Upper and Lower Shooting Fields" were conveyed to the College, 8 June, 1443, by the Prior and Convent of Merton in Surrey¹, together with a weir (*gurgis*) called "Bullockeslok," the rights of fishing, and four eyots thereunto appertaining. The ground is described as bounded by the Thames on the east, the road leading from Spitelbrigge (now Beggars' Bridge) to Datchet on the north, that from New Windsor to Slough on the west, and Le Werde on the south.

The ground called "Fellows Eyot," now a mere tongue of land jutting out into the Thames, but a peninsula within the memory of persons still living, was conveyed to the College, 1 February, 24 Hen. VI., 1446. It was separated from the Playing Fields by a stream which joined Barnes Pool to the Thames, passing under the College Kitchen² (fig. 2), and across the Fellows' Garden (fig. 1).

The southern boundary of the Churchyard was a house belonging to, and occupied by, Hugh Ailwyn, otherwise Dyer, who had already sold two houses to the King. It is of some importance to us in this investigation, for we shall find it specially mentioned as a landmark in the document called "The Will of King Henry the Sixth." It was next to the Churchyard on the south side of the same, and extended from the highway on the west to the College³. It did not become the

¹ [The deed is in the Muniment Room at Eton.]

² [The deed conveys "insulam vocat' le Eyte siue le heyte iacent' inter aquam Thamesie ex parte australi et Collegium predictum ex parte boreali, que quidem insula abutitur ad finem orientalem super filum aque predictae et ad finem occidentalem super quoddam Croftum vocat' Mille Crofte quondam hundrecombes Crofte."]

³ [The stream ran here with such violence that on 11 Dec. 1822 a boy named Edward Luke Booker, who had fallen into it, was carried under the kitchen and drowned. It has since been arched over, and earned directly into the Thames.]

⁴ [The words of the conveyance are "mesuagium meum in quo nunc maneo in Eton predicta ex parte australi cimiterii ecclesie Collegii predicti, iuxta idem cimiterium, et extendit se versus orientem super Collegium predictum, et versus occidentem super regiam viam ville predictae." See Heywood, 468.]



Fig. 2. Kitchen of Eton College, as it appeared in the last century, from a drawing by Paul Sandby.

property of the King until 1 April, 26 Hen. VI., 1448: and was confirmed by him to the College by Letters Patent, 6 February 1449. From the way in which the "tenements, shops, and houses pertaining to the said house" are mentioned, it must have been of considerable size; and perhaps occupied the site of the houses now standing on the south side of the Churchyard, together with that of the kitchen and other offices. The acquisition of it would provide access to the College from the south.

There remains only to record the acquisition of the meadow beyond the Slough Road, containing fifteen acres. This was conveyed to the College by the King 9 February, 1449. It was anciently called "Timberhaw" because the supply of timber for the building of the College was stored up there; a name afterwards corrupted into "Timbralls¹."

These different pieces were confirmed to the College by the charters of 1444, 1447, 1449, all of which were issued with the authority of parliament under the great seal. No buildings, except the parish Church of Eton, are alluded to in any of the documents quoted above; nor does it appear that any works, whether repairs or new constructions, were undertaken until the middle of the year 1441.]

II. KING'S COLLEGE.

We will now proceed to examine the history of the contemporaneous foundation at Cambridge. The selection of a suitable site was entrusted by the Founder to three Commissioners: John Fray, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, John Somerset, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and John Langton, Chancellor of the University. The dates of the conveyances of the pieces of ground purchased by them shew that they began their labours at about the time of the completion of the principal part of the site of Eton. They could not have met with many difficulties, for they conveyed the entire site of what is now known

¹ [This name has fallen into disuse, notwithstanding an attempt made to revive it a few years since by painting "Timbralls" on the benches given by one of the Assistant Masters. It is now (1879) better known as "Sixpenny," since the sixpenny-subscription cricket-ground, which for many years was that at the north-west corner of the playing-fields, has been transferred across the road to this field.]

as "The Old Court of King's" to the King in one deed, 22 January, 19 Henry VI. (1440—41)¹. This he granted by charter confirmed by Act of Parliament, 12 February following, to the College which he proposed to found "to the honour of Almighty God, in whose hand are the hearts of kings; of the most blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, mother of Christ; and also of the glorious Confessor and Bishop Nicholas, Patron of my intended College, on whose festival we first saw the light".

The Commissioners describe the site as "a piece of ground in School Street, with a bake house and other offices lately constructed upon it, next to the new Schools of Theology and Canon Law," and they then proceed to set down the abutments with much minuteness. It is bounded on the west by that part of Milne Street in the Parish of S. John Baptist which is opposite to Clare Hall and Trinity Hall; on the north by a narrow lane under the wall of Gonville Hall garden leading to "Scole lanes," and by some ground belonging to the University²; on the east by the following places, in order from north to south, viz.: a vacant place belonging to a chantry in the Church of S. Mary by the market (Great S. Mary's) (1); the aforesaid new Schools (2); School lane (3); a tenement (Le Horshede) of Corpus Christi College (4); a tenement of the Master and brethren of the Hospital of S. John (5); a tenement of Robert Lincoln (6); and on the south by a tenement of Thomas Fordham, and a tenement of William Bingham called God's House. The position of these pieces of ground will easily be understood from the plan.

We will now investigate the history of the three pieces of ground composing the site. Before doing so, however, it will be best to describe the direction of School Street or "Scole lanes." This opened into High Street (Trumpington Street) nearly opposite to the middle of the southern division of the burial-ground of Great S. Mary's Church. From this point the street extended westward to the south corner of the

¹ [Muniments of King's College, A. 76. The charter (*ibid.* A. 1) describes the site in the same terms with only a few verbal differences. This charter has been copied by Baker, MSS. xxxvi. 12, but so far as I am aware has not been printed.]

² [These words are translated from the preamble to the charter.]

³ [It is difficult to understand what is meant by this, unless it be intended to refer to the portion of School Street or Glomery Lane north of the Grammar School.]

University Library, but in such a direction that had it been prolonged further westward, it would have run under the south wall of the Library. It turned, however, at a right angle, and extended northward, under the front wall of the Schools, to the Gate of Honour of Caius College, which, as it was built expressly at the north termination of the street, serves as a landmark. It must be remembered that the modern front of the University Library is twenty feet in advance of the ancient front, and therefore covers the site of School Street. The portion of the present Senate House Passage which extends from the Gate of Honour to High Street, had no existence until the Senate House was built (1722—30). The western end of that passage, however, is of great antiquity, but has no specific name, being sometimes called the "lane under the garden of Gonville Hall," and sometimes "School lane," as a continuation of the other branches. These lanes, taken together, formed a zigzag communication from Trinity Hall to Great S. Mary's Church. The branch in front of the Schools was termed "North School Street;" that which joined the High Street, "East School Street" or "Glomery Lane," and in the seventeenth century it had acquired the name of "S. Mary lane."

The space on the west of the Schools Quadrangle was occupied by a garden belonging to Trinity Hall¹, which had been conveyed to that College at its first foundation, as already related (p. 211). It extended from the lane under Gonville Hall garden on the north, to Crouched Hostel on the south. Crouched Hostel² had formerly been the name of what at the date of the conveyance of the garden had become "a void ground," extending from Milne Street to School Street. It had once belonged to the Hospital of S. John of Jerusalem. The Prior of the Order (William Hulle) had sold it to the University, from whom the King's commissioners bought it, with the exception of a piece, 68 feet long by 10 feet broad, which was required for the New Schools of Canon Law. The breadth is not stated

¹ This garden was conveyed to the Commissioners 14 Sept. 19 Henry VI. 1440: King's College Muniments, A. 68.

² For the conveyance of Crouched Hostel, dated 10 October, 19 Henry VI. 1440, see King's College Muniments, A. 72. The description of it in the conveyance of the Trinity Hall garden is "*unam vacuum placeam terre pertinent' priori et confratribus sancti Johannis in Anglia nuper vocat' Crouched hostell.*"

in the conveyance, and therefore can only be arrived at approximately from the dimensions to be assigned to the Grammar School, which stood next to it on the east.

This building, called also "Le Glomery Halle," is described in the conveyance¹ as a tenement called "Gramerscole" in School Street, between a tenement called Art School on the east, and Crouched Hostel and a tenement belonging to Robert Lincoln on the west. To the eastern abuttals might have been added "Le Horshede," and the house belonging to S. John's Hospital, described in the general conveyance as part of the eastern boundary of the entire site. Their position is known so exactly that they could not have abutted on any part of the site other than this School. It must consequently have been a building of considerable size, and accordingly Crouched Hostel has been laid down as about 80 feet wide.

It will be seen from the map, that the ground thus acquired included, in addition to the site occupied by the buildings of the Old Court, the whole of the ground on the south as far as the north wall of the Chapel, and even part of the chapels on the north side, extending eastward about as far as the Chapel itself does. This supplied a garden on the south of the College, and a gate of entrance at the end of School-lane, or Glomery-lane.

The remainder of the site north of the Theological School was not confirmed to the College until the charter of 1449. The piece at the corner of Gonville Hall Lane and School Street was obtained from Michael House, 17 November, 1447. The northern half of it may be identified with a piece at the corner of School Street, described in the Otrynham Book as measuring twenty-five feet from north to south, by thirty-six feet from east to west, which had become the property of Michael House in 1396. It had then the chantry ground (1) on the west, with a small garden belonging to Thomas Frevyle of Little Shelford on the south, occupying the space between it and the Theological School; and upon it stood a building called the School of S. Margaret². The chantry-ground was conveyed to the

¹ King's College Muniments, A 74. It is dated 16 Nov. 19 Henry VI. 1440.

² [Otrynham, p. 59. In the margin is the following note in a contemporary hand, "nota de scola sancte Margarete ubi modo est gardinum," to which a later corrector has added "prepositi regalis prope orientalem partem ecclesie regalis." The cartulary

King by the churchwardens and parishioners of S. Mary's after the acquisition by him of the piece from Michael House¹: but the date of the acquisition of Frevyle's garden is not known.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE OLD COURT OF KING'S.

THE College erected on the small site described in the last chapter was soon superseded by a larger foundation, the history of whose site and buildings we will shortly investigate. Before doing so, however, a brief history and description of the buildings of the first foundation shall be given. Their subsequent history belongs to that of the larger College. The first stone was laid in the right or southern turret of the gate towards Clare Hall, on Passion Sunday (April 2) 1441, by the King in person, if we may trust the following curious verses²:

"Luce tua qui natus erat Nicholae sacer rex
 Henricus sextus hoc stabiliuit opus
 Unctum qui lapidem postquam ponebat in Eton
 Hunc fixit, clerum commemorando suum
 M. Domini. C. quater quadraginta monos patet annis³
 Passio cum domini concelebrata fuit
 Annus erat decimus nonus mensis sed Aprilis
 Hic flectente genu Rege secunda dies.
 Confessor Nicholae dei cum virgine sumpta
 Celis da regi gaudia summa Poli.

Seint Nicholas in whos day was born Henry the sext our souerein lord
 the king

After that his excellence at Eton had leyd the anoynted stone⁴

Here established this werke hys clergy tenderly remembryng

The yere of oure lorde a thousand foure hundred fourty and one

called "Otryngham's" or the Otryngham Book will be fully described in a note to the history of Michael House below.]

¹ [The King conveyed it to the College 10 Feb. 1448—49, by letters patent recited in the charter of 1449. Heywood, 367.]

² [They are at the end of the Register of Papal Bulls, made by order of Provost Wodelarke, Muniments of King's College, Box M. 9.]

³ [Over "annis" the gloss "1441" is written in a different but contemporary hand.]

⁴ [A marginal note in the handwriting of the gloss mentioned above here adds: "Lapis iste positus est in dextra scilicet meridionali turre porte versus Clare halle."]

The secunde day of Aprill that tyme sunday in the passion
 The xix yere of reigne here kneling on his knee
 To the honour of seint Nicholas first founded this edificacion
 With whom in heven to be laureat graunt might the holy trinitee."

[The building-materials must have been in preparation before
 the ceremony of laying the first stone, for on 14 February

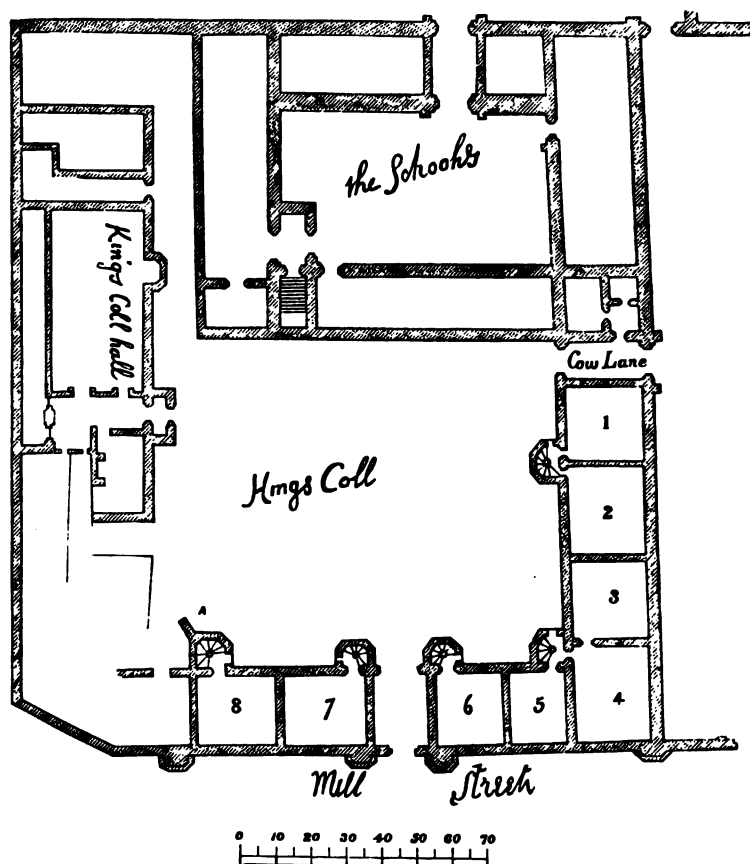


Fig. 4. Ground Plan of the Old Court of King's College, reduced from a plan of Clare Hall made about 1635¹.

in the same year, the King had granted to the "Rector and Scholars of his new College of S. Nicholas" by way of assistance to them in building, the old hall and a chamber

¹ [The scale of this plan is inaccurate.]

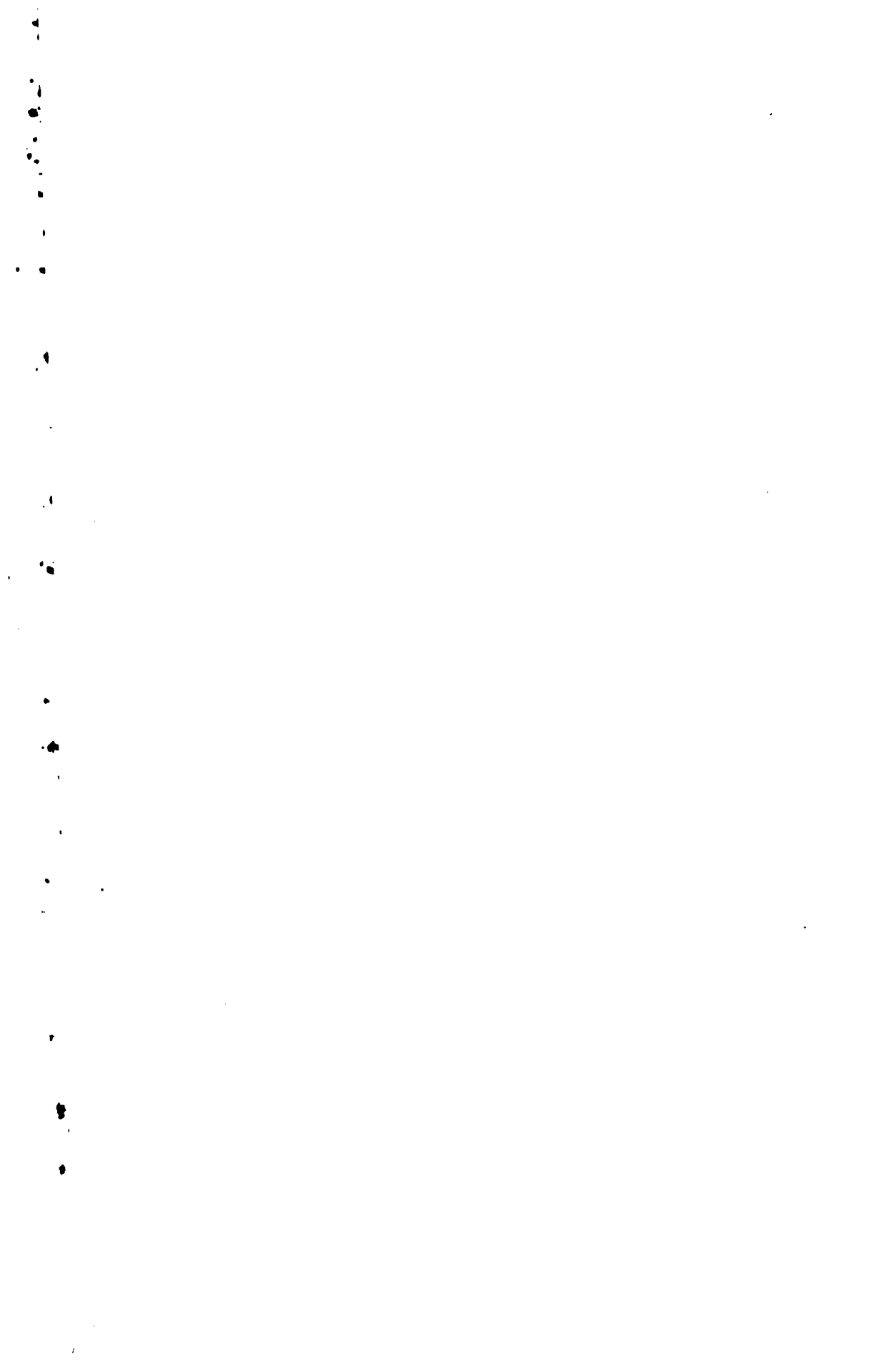
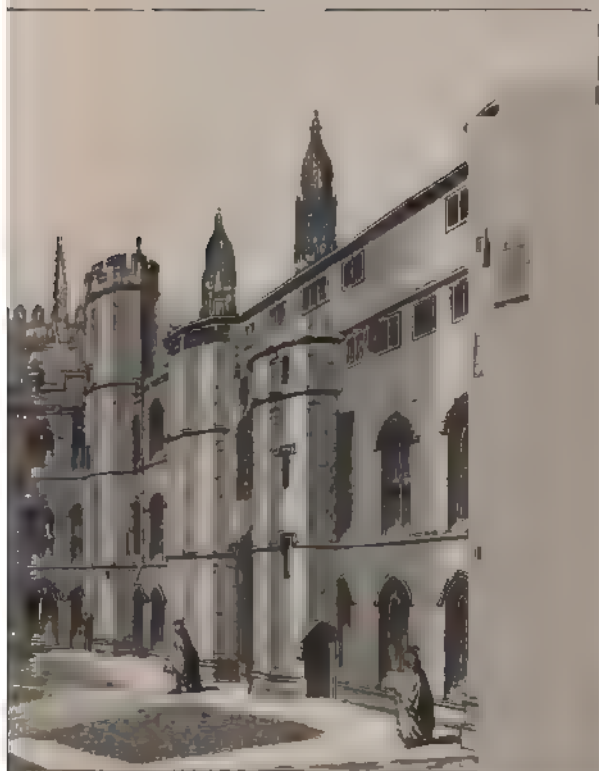




Fig. 5. Interior of the Old Court of King's College.

10 face pp. 322, 323.



South, reduced from Loggan's print taken about 1688

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next to it in the Castle of Cambridge, then in a state of ruin and wholly unroofed¹. The work could not, however, have progressed rapidly, for three years afterwards (16 June, 1444) he issued letters patent² to Reginald Ely "head mason of our College Royal of S. Mary and S. Nicholas," William Roskyn and Henry Beverley, clerks of the works³, directing them to impress stonemasons, masons, carpenters, plumbers, tilers, smiths, plasterers, and all other workmen required for the building of the College; and to provide all the necessary materials.]

These facts comprise nearly all the information that can be recovered concerning the history of these buildings. A fragment of a single building-account is all that exists; and the earliest Bursar's book is that for 1447—48. We are therefore left completely in the dark as to their early history and progress; and our knowledge of them is derived solely from entries in the accounts for subsequent years, after they had been for some time in use. It must be remembered moreover that they were left in too incomplete a state to enable us to judge of the whole of the plan originally intended; for when the King determined to enlarge the College, or rather to reconstruct it on a far grander scale, the old court was clearly finished off in a temporary manner; the necessary offices being built hastily, and of less durable materials than the earlier portions, as though not intended to last for more than a few years.

The unfinished Gate of Entrance, and portions of the walls of the rooms next to it on the south and north, are the only portions now remaining of these buildings. It is not however difficult to recover their general arrangement and appearance. In the first place a ground-plan (fig. 4), with that of the adjoining

¹ [The words are "omnes parietes nostros cujusdam veteris Aule et Camere eidem Aule annexe infra castrum nostrum Cantebr' super quibus quidem aula et camera nullum edificium ad præsens existit, eo quod omnia edificia super eisdem ab olim habita ad terram corruerunt et nichil eorundem edificiorum præter parietes prædict' penitus discoopertas ibidem remanet in præsentem." MSS. Baker xxv. 443. Baker notes at the end "Privy seal, signed by Hen. 6 with his monogram 14 Feb. a: 19, ad instantiam Johannis Somerset (who was Dr of Physic, his physician, and a Poet, Warden of the Mint, and in many Employments)."]

² [Printed in the Appendix, No. I. A.]

³ [We learn that these persons held this office from the account of the foundation of the College given by Provost Woodlarke in his *Memoriale Nigrum*, described in the History of Catharine Hall.]

Schools, forms part of the plan of Clare Hall made about 1635, which was described and partly reproduced in the history of that College. Secondly, several views of the exterior and interior have been preserved. Loggan has figured the south side and half the west side of the interior (fig. 5), Storer, the north side, with the remaining half of the west side (fig. 6) and also the west front¹. The latter is shewn better in a plate (fig. 7) at the top of the University Almanack for 1822, which



Fig. 6. Interior of the Old Court of King's College, looking north-west, reduced from Storer.

shews also the turret at the south-west angle and the south front. The easternmost portion of this, with the building between the College and the Schools, is included in Loggan's plate of the west front of the Chapel, and has been reproduced below (fig. 53). The north-west corner of the exterior forms the background of Ackermann's plate of the east front of Trinity

¹ [Besides the plate in the *Cantabrigia Illustrata* he published a large engraving, 11 in. x 9 in., taken opposite Clare Hall Chapel. This is not nearly so accurate as the view, by J. Burford, taken in 1822 (fig. 7), which is plainly the work of an artist who drew only what he saw. A poor figure by Le Keux, 11 1/2, taken apparently during the demolition, is valuable as shewing the arrangement of the two-light windows on the ground-floor.]

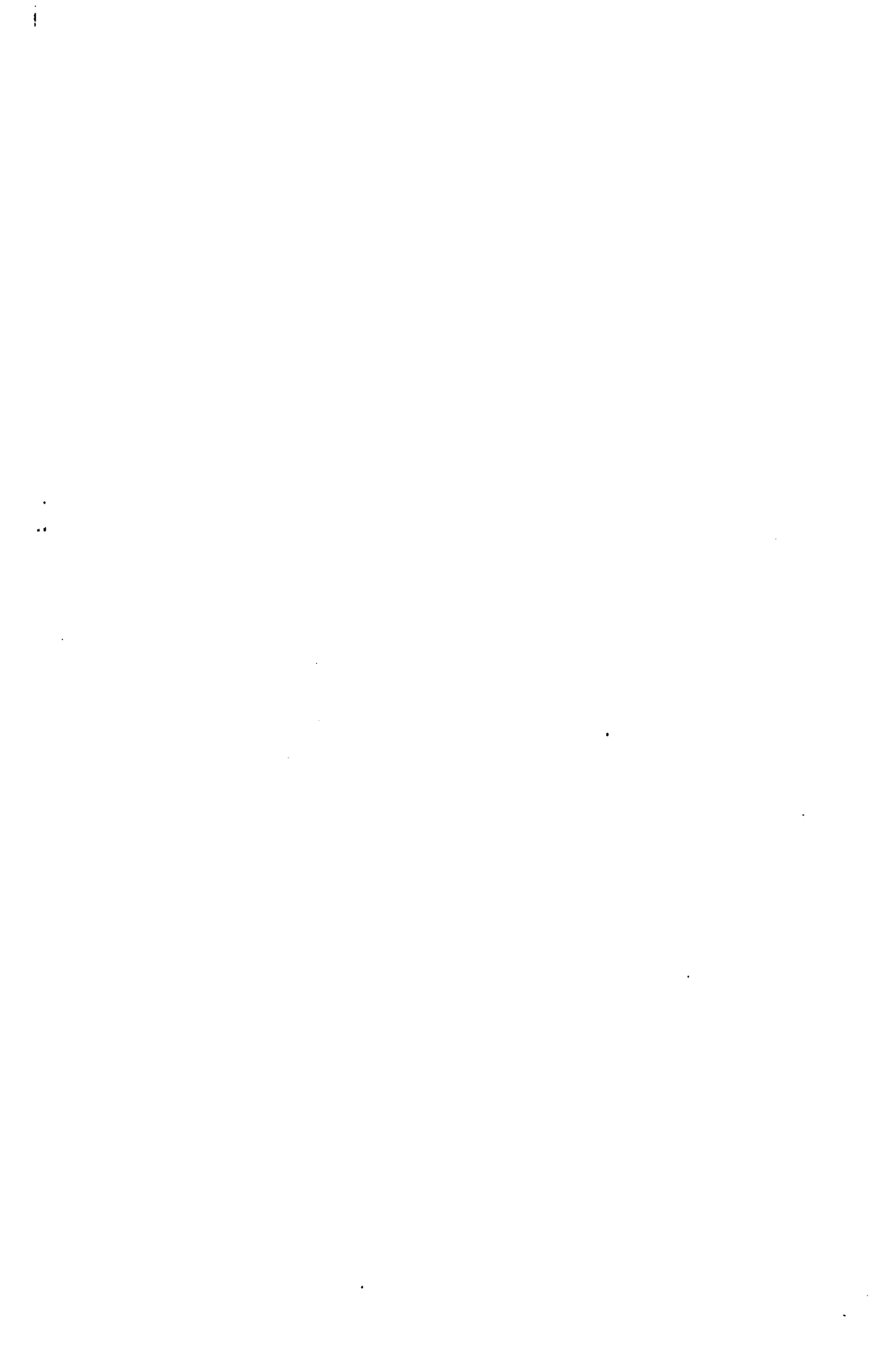




Fig. 7 Exterior of the south and west sides of the Old Court of
To face pp. 324, 325



reduced from a plate at the top of the University Almanack for 1872.

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Hall (fig. 9). It gives an excellent idea of the poor and unsubstantial character of the buildings which occupied the north side of the court.

From these authorities, assisted by College tradition, we learn the general arrangement and destination of the buildings. The court measured about 120 feet from north to south, by 74 feet from east to west; and the aggregate height of the rooms was just 40 feet¹. The entrance gate was in the centre of the west front towards the street, but rather to the south of the centre in the interior of the court. The south and west sides were occupied



Fig. 8. Fireplace in the room over the Gateway, Old Court of King's College.

by chambers. The Hall was near the east end of the north side, entered by a picturesque wooden porch (fig. 6). Behind the Hall there was a long narrow yard, and east of it a building the use of which is not known. Westward of it stood a timber-house containing the Butteries, and a room called "The Bursars' Parlour," in which the three Bursars dined together, apart from the other Fellows². The Audit Room was above this on the first floor. Westward of this again was the Kitchen, lighted by

¹ [Professor Willis gives the height of the first story as 15 ft. 6 in.; of the upper as 12 ft. 3 in.; and that of the lower can be ascertained by actual measurement to be 12 ft. The dimensions of the court are only approximate, the shape being so irregular.]

² [These and some of the following particulars were communicated to me by the present Provost, the Rev. R. Okes, D.D.]

the two large pointed windows shewn in the wall next to the turret (*A*, fig. 4, fig. 6). It is evidently unfinished, and may have been originally intended for a quite different purpose. On the top of it a small but picturesque belfry was placed. This, which had evidently been removed before Storer's view was taken (fig. 6), is shewn by Ackermann (fig. 9). The Treasury was over the gate opposite Clare Hall, occupying the room on the first floor. It still contains an original stone fireplace of excellent work, and in good preservation (fig. 8). Those in the other rooms on this side, and on the south side, were of similar design. At the eastern extremity of the south side there was a passage into the grounds south of the College called by the strange appellation of "Cow Lane." As this passage had evidently been constructed before the acquisition of the larger site, it proves that the earlier College must have possessed ground in this direction of sufficient extent to make a ready access to it necessary. It will be shewn subsequently that the Chapel which was used by the Society until the present one was finished, stood on some portion of this ground. The room on the first floor over this passage was used as a Combination Room after the erection of Gibbs' building.

The portions that were completed by the founder were manifestly designed by an architect of first-rate ability, and in style, as in materials and workmanship, were greatly superior to any previous work in the University. The form of the site was extremely awkward, the north-west corner being cut off by the direction of Milne Street, which makes a considerable inflection at that point; while the Schools on the east side of the court prevented any chambers from being erected there. This may have led to the adoption of three floors in the ranges of chambers, instead of the usual two floors. The south range and the return along the west side as far as the gateway were completely finished; but the gateway itself was carried up only to the level of the second floor. The great beauty of the finished portion makes the loss of the upper part greatly to be regretted. The walls of the remainder of the west range, and of the kitchen, were carried only as high as the gateway. The work was then evidently suspended, and these unfinished portions subsequently roofed over in a less substantial style.



Fig. 9. North-west corner of the exterior of the Old Court of King's College with the east front of Trinity Hall, by Pugin: reduced from an engraving dated 1815, in Ackermann's History of Cambridge.

Elevations and sections of the two fronts of this gateway, by Pugin¹, are here reproduced (figs. 10, 11). They were published in 1821, when the details of the ornamentation were evidently far more clearly distinguishable than at present. The figures of angels, for instance, on the exterior, are now almost wholly obliterated. The views are thus described by him :

"The first specimen, *A* (fig. 10), is taken from the inner front. The moldings of the principal arch are not carried on in the jambs, where only a plain chamfer takes place. Something stiff and forced is observable in the turn of the upper member of the arch, and the manner in which the finial is carried up into a pedestal to the niche above it. The windows on either side of this niche are remarkable for consisting of single lights only, in breadth: their details are elegant, particularly the 'casement,' studded with knots of foliage.

The second specimen, *B* (fig. 11), represents the outward front of the entrance, exhibiting a much greater display of ornament than the inward one. It is much to be regretted that so beautiful a composition should have been left imperfect.... Nothing could be added to its enrichments; and yet no part appears loaded with ornaments. Perhaps the curious little figures of angels, which range along the straight line over the arch, had better have been omitted, leaving the simple molding to define the two stories: the rest of the composition seems faultless."

The ground-plan of the gate (fig. 12) shews the system of vaulting, of which the springers alone remain, and are perhaps all that was ever executed of this part. It shews also the difference between the external and internal turrets; the way in which access was obtained into the chambers at the bottom of the staircase-turrets on the side next the court; and the arrangement of the windows on the ground-floor.

Access to the chambers was provided by stone staircases in the form of octagonal turrets projecting from the inner walls of the quadrangle, instead of by the usual internal staircases. Each turret, placed opposite to the alternate partitions of the chambers, gave access to right and left into them, so that on each floor there are twice as many chambers as turrets, as the plan (fig. 4) shews. These staircases are well shewn by Loggan (fig. 5). There were also turrets on the outside walls of the quadrangle, but these, as we see from the two remaining in the ruins of

¹ Specimens of Gothic Architecture; by A. Pugin, Architect. 4to. London, 1821. Plate xx.



Fig. 10. Elevation of the interior of the Gateway, Old Court of King's College, after Fig. 11
 a. Section of the archivolt moldings. b. Perpendicular section of the Gateway



Fig. 21. Elevation of the exterior of the gateway, Old Court of King's College after Pugin

a. Section of moldings to the great arch

b. Perpendicular section of the Gateway

the gate next the street, were merely buttress-turrets (fig. 12). Each chamber had a lofty narrow single-light window close to the turret, as is shewn in Loggan. According to my recollections of the building before its demolition, these long windows lighted a narrow slip about five feet wide, separated from the rest of the room by a transverse partition. This was again divided by another partition into two portions, one of which, that next the court, served as a vestibule; and the other, lighted by a window in the outer wall, was of course a study. In the first-floor chambers, which were very lofty, this slip was divided by a floor, so as to furnish in addition two other studies in the entresol. The upper part of the long narrow window lighted the one next the court; while that next the Chapel was lighted by a separate window on that side. The long window was divided by two transoms into three parts; and the space between the two middle ones was filled up within so as to conceal the floor and sill wall of the upper study. This peculiar arrangement for obtaining studies, being provided for in the ornamental masonry of the long windows of the court, must have been coeval with the building of 1441. These windows have disappeared with the exception of a fragment of one north of the gateway. Of the small two-light windows on the ground-floor two remain, one of which, with its moldings, is here figured (fig. 13).

[An inventory of the College property in these chambers taken in 1598¹ has fortunately been preserved, from which we learn the number of rooms on each floor, and the curious names that were given to them. The order is counted from the gate called "Cow Lane," and the plan (fig. 4) has been numbered in accordance with this arrangement. The ground floor was appropriated chiefly to the Scholars, four of whom were lodged in each room. The names are as follows :

1. The low Fellows chamber next the gate.
2. The first Scholars Chamber next the gate, called Lyons Inn.
3. 2nd do. Taylor's Inn.
4. 3rd do. The Tolebothe.
5. 4th do. Horsekeepers Inn.
6. 5th do. Colliers Inn.
7. 6th do. Barbers Inn.

¹ [Printed in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications, Vol. iii., by Henry Bradshaw, M.A., Fellow of King's College, and University Librarian.]

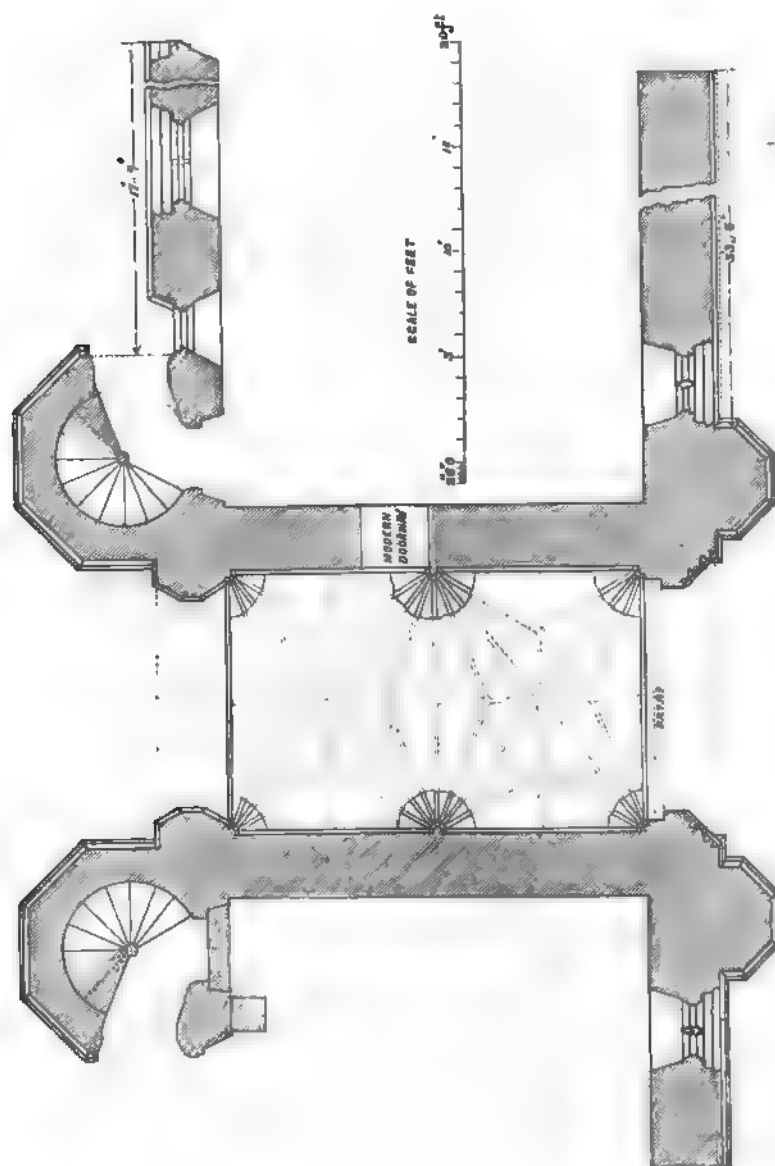


Fig. 12. Ground Plan of the Gateway, Old Court of King's College.

8. 7th do. The Coblers Inn.
9. 8th do. The Blockhowse (behinde the hall)¹.

The rooms on the first floor were, 1st middle chamber, occupying the space over "Cow-lane" and the "low Fellows chamber," 2nd middle chamber, and so on; those on the second floor, 1st upper chamber, 2nd upper chamber, etc. These floors were appropriated to the Fellows, of whom two were lodged in each room. By this arrangement the Old Court was made to afford the precise amount of accommodation necessary for the seventy members of the foundation.

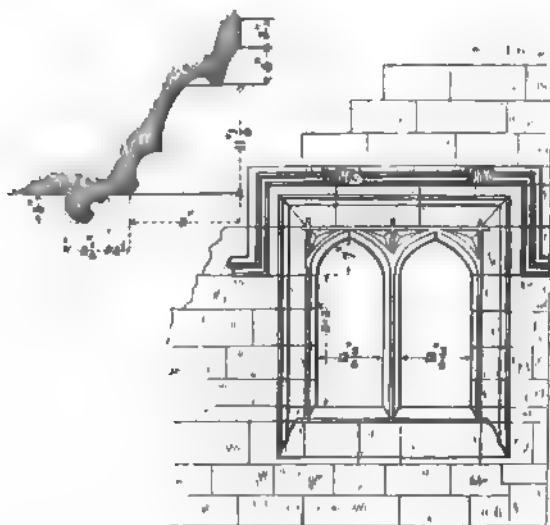


Fig. 13. Window on the exterior of the north side of the Gateway, Old Court of King's College.

The establishment of the College must have proceeded with considerable rapidity, for in the first of the series of Bursars' Account-books—in this College called Mundum-books—that has been preserved, the expenses are divided under the usual

¹ [The chambers at Winchester College were distinguished in a similar manner. A list of the curious names applied to them is given in a note to a paper on "The Architectural Works of William of Wykeham," by C. R. Cockerell, Esq., in the "Proceedings of the meeting of the Archaeological Institute held at Winchester, 1845." Two other names, "the Mounte" and "le Stable," appear at King's in the sixteenth century. Mundum-Book, 1587-88. *Reparaciones*. "Item solut' Parker et Bridgewater reficiendo muro trium cubiculorum vocat' the mownte xxxviij. iij^d." Ibid. 1588-89, "pro boarding le studie in cubiculo vocat' le stable."]

headings: "Expenses of Hall, Buttery, and Kitchen;" "Stable;" "Cost of the Church;" "Purchase of Wine;" and so forth. A Library also had been formed, by the charges for binding and chaining books. In 1449 the Pigeon-house was built and stocked, and in 1451 the "New Garden" was laid out. In 1454 the heading "Cost of the new building, and of the repairs" occurs for the first time in the accounts. This probably indicates that the College had then been completed, and that the maintenance of the new buildings had devolved upon the Provost and Fellows.

The further history of these buildings, which, in consequence of the delay in erecting the larger College intended to supersede them, remained in use until 1828, will be related, as far as is necessary, in Chapter XII. The new buildings having come into use, the site of the Old Court was sold to the University, 25 November, 1829, for £12,000¹; but the destruction of the buildings was not approved by the Senate until 2 December, 1835, when it was decided to clear the ground in view of the immediate commencement of a new Library. The report recommending this contained the following clause:

"The Syndicate however, considering it probable that the University, or some public body connected with the University, may be disposed to re-erect or restore on some other site, the Old Gateway of King's College (as a venerable and beautiful specimen of Architecture), recommend that it should for the present be left undisturbed."

The clearing of the ground had commenced before the adoption of a design for the New Library; an unreasonable and unnecessary proceeding which at length excited so much indignation² that the further destruction of the South and West fronts was arrested, 11 June, 1836. It is to this late repentance that we owe the preservation of the few fragments, besides the Gate, that still remain.]

¹ [This transaction, the negotiations for which lasted from 1823 to 1829, will be related in the History of the University Library.]

² [A letter in the form of a petition, signed "The Old Court of King's," appeared in the Cambridge Chronicle, 6 May, 1836. The writer implores "a little mercy;" appeals "against the barbarous demolition now going on," and suggests that "a skilful adaptation of the more sound and beautiful portions of the stone work yet left standing would be as good as a subscription of £1000 towards the erection of the new Quadrangle."]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE ENLARGED SITE OF KING'S¹.

THE site described in the first chapter was sufficient for the small College which the King then proposed to establish. Three years after, however, he commenced the acquisition of the noble site on the south of the first; which, intersected as it was by public streets and lanes, and in the possession of so many independent proprietors and tenants, he was yet enabled to purchase, and finally to grant to his College in 1449. In letters patent of that year he describes this new ground as bounded by High Street on the east, the Common River on the west, Whitefrerelane² and a new lane (S. Austin's Lane) next to S. Austin's Hostel, on the south, and by Clare Hall and the eastern part of School Street on the north. To these last the southern limit of the old site might have been added. The breadth of the ground at the eastern border is stated in the same charter to be 410 feet, and at the western border 384 feet. The length is 700 feet³.

[A desire to surpass the College built by William of Wykeham at Oxford has often been suggested as the reason for this change of plan. That the King borrowed largely from

¹ [The map which illustrates this chapter has been drawn from two plans of the site prepared by Prof. Willis, aided by numerous memoranda left by him. He had made most minute and elaborate tables to shew the history and position of all the pieces of ground composing it; but had only partly finished the description of it. This I have done my best to supply, but I have claimed as my own only those portions of it for which I discovered authority by my own researches.]

² So called from the Carmelite Friary (now part of the site of Queens' College), to the south of it. It was also called Cholles Lane, from the occupier of an adjoining tenement, according to Essex (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6767, p. 7). In an old undated charter he found the name "*Aspelonis Cholle de Cantebr', juxta venellam que ducit versus Cholleshythe.*"

³ [The eastern dimension is easily laid down on the map, extending from the south boundary of School Lane to the south boundary of S. Austin's Lane. The western dimension is not so easy to define; as the distance from Clare Hall to Cholles Lane exceeds 384 feet by about 30 feet. From the river to Trumpington Street the real distance is now nearly 720 feet, and originally must have varied from 730 feet along the southern, to 780 feet along the northern, border.]

Wykeham, both in buildings and in statutes, cannot be doubted. In this instance however it seems hardly right to set aside his own express statement, made in the document above referred to, that he had acquired the larger site because the provost and scholars had represented to him that the former site was too small, and had humbly besought him to provide them with more ample accommodation.]

At this period Milne Street was continued in a direct line from Clare Hall to Queens' Lane, and appears to have been a considerable thoroughfare, judging from the number of Colleges which it contained. Trinity Hall and Clare Hall had their front gates in this street, and at its north end it led to Gonville Hall and King's Hall. The space between Milne Street and High Street was intersected by Piron Lane¹, which, starting from a point opposite to the present S. Edward's Passage, entered Milne Street about thirty feet south of the site of the Chapel. This also was probably an important thoroughfare, as it led directly from High Street to Clare Hall, the Church of S. John Zachary, and several Hostels. From the west side of Milne Street two other lanes extended to the river. The northernmost of these was called Water Lane, and the southernmost Salthithe Lane, otherwise Strawey Lane, or Strawe Lane. Both were considerably to the south of Piron Lane.

[The new site may be conveniently divided, for the purpose of description, into three divisions, which we will style northern, southern, and western. The northern lay between the old site and School Street on the north, and Piron Lane on the south; the southern between Piron Lane and S. Austin's Lane. Both had Milne Street, here called S. Johnstrete, on the west, and High Street on the east. The western division was bounded on the north by Clare Hall, on the south by Whitefriars Lane or Cholles Lane, the river on the west, and Milne Street on the east.]

Beginning with the northern division, the tenements in High Street follow in order from north to south thus: at the corner of School Street and High Street was a house belonging to Corpus

¹ [The name is variously spelt in the documents of King's College; Pyrones lane 5 Ric. II.; Perewyn lane 18 Ric. II.; Pirwenlane 13 Hen. VI.; Pyrwynlane 15 Hen. VI. According to Caius, it derived its name "a piro:" and therefore should have been called "Pear-lane." Hist. Cant. Acad. i. 67.]

Christi College called "Le Horshede¹," west of which was a piece of land belonging to Great S. Mary's Church, and the Art School mentioned in the first chapter. South of these stood a tenement of the Hospital of S. John², with another house, let out in shops, belonging to a chantry in Great S. Mary's Church at its south-east corner next High Street³. This was succeeded by a large house, or rather two houses standing together, called "Arundell's⁴," the property of Robert Lincoln, draper, and extending westward from the street so far as to form the southern boundary of "le Glomeryhalle" or Grammar School. They stood partly in S. Mary's parish, and partly in S. Edward's⁵.

Lincoln evidently held out for as high a price as he could get, for his house was not acquired until 7 September, 1452 (31 Hen. VI.), and then upon terms so curiously stringent that the principal points insisted upon are worth quoting.

"This endenture made at Cambrigge the thurresday in the vigil of the Natiuite of oure Lady the yeer of the reigne of King Herry the sixt after the conquest of Englund xxxj^{te} betwix maister Robert Wode-larke prouost of the College Roial of oure lady and seynt Nicholas of Cambrigge of that one partie And Robert Lyncoln Burgeoys and Draper of Cambrigge aforsaid of that other partie witnesseth

that the said Robert Lyncoln hath solde to the said prouost .ij. meeses lyeng togedre in the town of Cambrigge that one in the parish of seynt mary nere the merket of Cambrigge And that othre in the parish of seynt Edward abbuttyng at the one heved vpon the high strete and at the other heved vpon the said College....

For the which meses the said prouost shal pay or do pay to the said Robert lyncoln or to his executours .C. marc of lawful money of Englund...And for these paiementes wel and truly to be done and kept the said prouost betwix this and the said fest of seynt Auldre shal fynde suffisaunt personnes in the towne of Cambrigge suche as the said

¹ [The position of this and the following piece is known only from the description given in the letters patent of 1449.]

² [King's College Muniments, A. 101.]

³ [Described in the charter of 1449. One of the conveyances of "Arundell's" speaks of it as "shoppas nuper cantarie beate marie."]

⁴ From John de Arundel, Bedell of the University, to whom it was conveyed 27 April, 1355, as we learn from one of its earlier muniments; in another of which, dated 5 December, 1313, "le Glomeryhalle" is the northern and western boundary. Ibid. A. 114. a.

⁵ The boundary between these two parishes touches the east end of the Chapel a little to the north of its centre. Space therefore having been allowed for part of Lincoln's, and for Fordham's tenement, Piron Lane must have been near the south wall of the Chapel, in continuation of S. Edward's Lane on the opposite side of the street.

Robert Lyncoln wol agreeto to be bounden to the same Robert lyncoln by their obligations for the said paiements...

And the said prouost...a noon after the said astate so to theym taken shal graunte ayeyn the said meses with thappurtenaunces to the said Robert and Agnes his wyf by dede endented to haue to theym terme of bothe their lyfis and to eyther of theym that ouer lyffith and to their executours a yeer after...

And also the said prouost shal yif to the said Robert lyncoln yerly duryng his lyf a gownecloth in sute with his gentilmen...

And the said Robert Lyncoln shal haue yeerly iiij principal daies his mete withynne the College or elles in the prouost place that is to sey Christenmesse Day Esternday Witsunday and thassumpcion day of oure Lady

In Witnesse herof the parties abouesaid to these endenturs enter-changeably haue putto their sealles¹..."

Between Lincoln's house and Piron Lane there were three shops together, belonging to Thomas Fordham, baker. The whole property was termed "Bungeys" in earlier deeds. It had two smaller houses at the south-east corner in High Street, one belonging to Richard Gibbes, and the other to the Hospital of S. John, with a frontage of 36 feet to the lane, and a third at the south-west corner in the lane, belonging to John Lichfield, "cordwaner." Fordham's house was bought for the King 26 August, 1443, and is the first purchase made for the new site.

On the north side of Piron Lane, next Fordham's house, was S. Thomas' Hostel, of which nothing more is known than the name²; and next to that, at the corner of the lane and Milne Street, the Grammar-College called God's House, founded in 1436 by William Bingham, Rector of S. John Zachary's in London. This, like Crouched Hostel, which is described in 1441 as "an open space," seems to have been a large piece of ground occupied at different times by two hostels and three gardens. Bingham's first acquisition was a piece called "Cat-Hostel," with a frontage of 22 feet to Milne Street, purchased in 1437 from Thomas Fordham and Simon Rankin. It consisted of a house with a garden eastward of it. Previously to this he had leased only the piece to the north, belonging to Barnwell Priory, called

¹ [Muniments of King's College, A. 109. One hundred marks amount to £66. 13. 4. This sum would represent nearly £800 at the present day.]

² [It is described in the conveyance of Fordham's house to Langton, as "tenementum quondam magistri Thome Fordham vocat' Seint Thomas Hostell." Ibid. A. 77. a.]

"Tyled Hostel" or "S. Giles' Hostel." Subsequently he acquired the ground between his first purchase and Piron Lane, and also S. Thomas' Hostel to the east; but the ground to the north remained in the possession of the Priory. On some portion of this ground, probably on that first acquired, Bingham founded a College for a chaplain and 24 scholars, who were to be instructed in grammar, and, after they had taken their degrees, to be sent into different parts of the kingdom, to take charge of those Grammar Schools which, as he mournfully sets forth in his petition to the King, had once been flourishing institutions, but had then fallen into decay¹. The whole property was conveyed by him to the royal commissioners, who transferred it, with other acquisitions, to the College, 25 July, 1446².

The southern division offers no object of interest except "the vicarage house of S. Edward called S. Edward's Hostel," which stood at the corner of Piron Lane and High Street. South of it, in High Street, were tenements held by the following persons in order from north to south: John Colbroke, Edmund Goldyngton, Agnes Jacob, Edmund Goldyngton, and John Duxworth. On the side next Milne Street the house at the northern corner belonged to the White Canons of Sempringham³, and abutting on it south was one belonging to the nunnery of S. Rhadegund.

¹ [See Caius, *Hist. Cant. Acad.* i. 67: "Produxit idem Henricus Collegii sui regalis fines hospitio seu collegiolo et hortus tribus domus Dei, quod Gulielmus Bingham rector ecclesie S. Johannis Zacharie Londini, propter Grammaticorum paucitatem prope Aulam de Clare uni procuratori et 25 scholaribus grammaticæ studiosis ædificavit." For Bingham's petition see Le Keux, ed. Cooper, ii. 2.]

² [King's College Muniments, A. 84. The commissioners confirm to the College "tenementum nuper vocatum Goddeshous ac aliud tenementum vocatum Sainthomas hostel dicto mesuagio contiguum que nuper perquisivimus de Willelmo Byngham." Fordham's conveyance to Byngham and others, dated 25 July, 1437, and endorsed "Cat-hostel" (*Ibid.* A. 77 b), conveys "mesuagium cum gardino ad finem orientalem eiusdem iacens inter quandam vacuum et vastatam peciam terre priors et conventus de Barne Well super quam elun edificata fuit quoddam hospicium quondam vocat' tyled hostell quam peciam terre dictus Willelmus Byngham habet ad finem de priore et conventu predicto ex parte boreali, et tenementum magistrorum predictorum Thome Fordham et Simonis Randekyn ex parte australi; et abuttat ad unum caput versus occident' super regiam viam vocat' mylne strete ibi continens in latitudine viginti et duos pedes pauli et ad aliud caput versus orient' super tenement' Roberti Lyncoln, ibi continens in latitudine viginti et unum pedes pauli...."]

³ [*Ibid.* A. 96. The conveyance, dated 26 June, 1448, includes a garden adjacent to S. Edward's Hostel.]

South of these again were the houses of a number of proprietors, one of whom was Geoffrey Nevill, who let lodgings to scholars, and kept horses and cattle. He insisted on having another house provided for his use, and on receiving compensation for any loss he might sustain. The document drawn up between him and one of the royal commissioners shews so vividly the feeling excited by this extensive acquisition of property for College purposes that it is quoted entire :

"This bill endented the iij^d day of October the xxiiij yeer of the reigne of kyng Henry the VI. witnesseth: that it is agreed and accorded bituix maister John Langton on that on partie and Geffrey Nevill on that other partie after the Articles folowyng, That is to say that the said maister John Langton shal haue certain houses and groundes of the said Gefferey to the vse of the kyngis College after thappointement made bituix the said maister John, maister Nicol Cloos, and the said Gefferey; for the which the same Geffrey shal haue othre housyng sufficeant as wel for stables and hayhouses as for other of his beestis to be eased in. And that such persones as the said Gefferey hath latte his said houses and stables vnto, as scolers and othre, be recompensed in other houses so that they be aggreed and paid, or elles asmoche as shal lak in howsing to be recompensed in money to the said Gefferey vnto such tyme as he be pourveyd of a place as gode as that is at the day of the makyng of thees by estimacion of vj indifferent persones; that is for to say, maister John Welles maister Thomas Stoylle and John Secresten for the partie of the said maister John Langton, And the maister of Michelhous or maister Gilbert Worthington, if eny of hem be in towne and elles an other in her sted, maister John Hurt and Ric. Wright for the said Geffreyez partie; Also the said maister John Langton shal do his verray diligence to pourvey for the said Gefferey a place as gode to inhabit and as commodious by estimacion as his is at the day of makyng of thees endentures. And if it so be, the said Gefferey is or kan be founde verrailly hurt in eny thing in the mene tyme, as in herbage gardenis or such other, he to be truly recompensed as trouthe and conscience wol. In witnesse wherof the said parties haue to thee endentures entrechangeably sette her seelles the day and yeere abouesaid¹."

The centre of the space was occupied by the gardens attached to these houses, and by plots of ground belonging to different proprietors, the precise situation of which it is impossible to determine².

¹ [Ibid. A. 79.]

² [One of these belonged to Nevill, and the exact dimensions are given in the conveyance, with the abutments; from which the names of some of the occupants of the central space have been written down on the plan (fig. 3). Nevill's ground was 3½ poles and 5½ feet long, by 2½ poles and 3 feet broad.]

The western division is more interesting on account of the Hostels which stood there, and especially of the Church of S. John Zachary, known to have been destroyed by the King, but the site of which has never been accurately determined. From the muniments, however, and from the King's letters patent, a connected series of pieces of ground can be derived, all lying on the west side of Milne Street, and succeeding each other in the following order, beginning from the north: the Churchyard of S. John; S. Austin's Hostel; a tenement formerly belonging to Edmund Lyster called "Seint Edmondys hostell"; a tenement belonging to Elias Astley, with a small property of the convent of Ely at its south-east corner; and S. Nicholas' Hostel.

The precise position of the Church of S. John, and the extent of the Churchyard, I have been unable to discover from the muniments. They were no doubt considered to be so well known that a particular description of them in a document would have been superfluous. S. Austin's Hostel, which had a garden and other tenements adjacent to it, lay on the south side of the Churchyard. We may therefore infer that the vicarage, which is described as "a mansion or *hospicium* contiguous to the Church of S. John Baptist, called Saynt Johanes Hostel"¹ was on the north side of the Churchyard, between the Church and Clare Hall, as otherwise the hostel would have been described as abutting upon it instead of upon the Churchyard; and that the latter extended as far as the wall of Clare Hall, in the same way as S. Mary's the Less is next to Peterhouse, and S. Benedict's to Corpus Christi College. This position is supported by the fact that this consecrated ground would thus have been wholly included within the cloister which the founder proposed to place on the west of the chapel, and the soil of which was actually consecrated for a College Cemetery. According to this theory about 40 feet of the west end of the Chapel stands on the old Churchyard, for the direction of the ancient Milne Street passes across the Chapel from one door to the other; and if, as is very probable, the east end of S. John's chancel was placed close to the street, the western severy of

¹ [Letters Patent, 1444.]

the Ante-chapel would have included the ground on which the altar stood, a position which may have reconciled the King to the destruction of the church¹. The position of the ancient belfry, as shewn in Loggan's print of the south side of the Chapel, and in his plan of Cambridge (fig. 55), may be adduced in favour of this view. It is placed by him at a distance of about 150 feet west of the south porch, and it will be observed that it does not stand symmetrically with reference to the Chapel. The bells were given, and the belfry begun, in 1443; a corresponding present having been made to Eton in 1441. It will be shewn that the Eton belfry probably stood in the Churchyard of the Parish Church of Eton. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the Cambridge belfry would have been placed close to the Church used by the scholars; and the unsymmetrical position may have been due to the direction of the wall of the Churchyard, or of some lane by which it was approached².

The western abuttal of S. Austin's Hostel, purchased from Clare Hall, is not given³; but as in the grant from the town of Cambridge of certain streets, lanes, and commons⁴, dated 26 October, 24 Henry VI. 1445, Clare Hall is mentioned as the northern limit of the latter, it is at least probable that a portion of them lay westward of S. Austin's. S. Edmund's Hostel, a house formerly belonging to Edmund Lyster, is described as extending from Milne Street to the river, with a lane leading to "Walsch Hostel," another name for S. Austin's, on the north⁵. A garden belonging to Corpus Christi

¹ The Churchyard has been laid down on the plan as about 230 ft. long by 100 ft. broad. That of S. Mary the Less, the largest in Cambridge, is 270 ft. long, and that of S. Botolph 170 ft.

² [The history of the Bells, five in number, has been fully related in a paper by J. W. Clark, M.A., in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications, No. XXI. 1879. The belfry was pulled down in 1739, and the bells, which had been frequently recast, were finally broken up and sold in 1756, two being cracked, and the other three considered useless.]

³ [King's College Muniments, A. 97. It is called "quoddam mesuagium siue hospicium vocat' Saint Austyn's hostell, cum gardino et aliis tenementis eidem hospicio adiacent' in Milnestrete...inter cimiterium nuper ecclesie paroch' sancti Johannis Baptiste ex parte boreali, et aliud tenementum quod nuper fuit hospicium sancti Edmundi ex parte australi." The conveyance is dated 28 June, 26 Hen. VI. 1448.]

⁴ King's College Muniments, A. 87.

⁵ [Trinity Hall Muniments, N^o. 8. The conveyance from Simon Dallyng to

College was its northern boundary for a short distance from the river. Asteley's tenement extended from Milne Street to Salt-hithe, and Water Lane was its southern boundary¹. S. Nicholas' Hostel occupied, in 1440, the whole space between Water Lane and Strawey Lane, extending to the river along the former, and to a garden of the Abbot of Tilney² along the latter, and it would appear that subsequently it extended beyond Strawey Lane as far as Cholles Lane. Like Crouched Hostel, God's House and S. Austin's, it was an open ground, on which houses were built belonging to different proprietors. It was purchased by Langton from Thomas Gray, citizen and grocer of London³.

The open space between Strawey Lane and Cholles Lane seems to have been common ground, with a few tenements next to Milne Street. The property of John Wellys, described as abutting upon the river⁴; and that of John Seggefurd, described as in Strawey Lane⁵, may with probability be assigned to this portion of the site.

Hen. VI. (dated 28 June, 26 Hen. VI. 1448) gives the northern boundary as "quendam vacuum placeam nuper vocat' Walsshostell nuper pertinent' ad Clarehall"; and the same conveyance places the garden "quod quondam fuit Edmundi Lystere" between a garden of Corpus Christi and "Saltershithe."

¹ [King's College Muniments, A. 83. "inter venellam vocat' Waterlane et tenementum sive vacuum placeam Prioris de Ely ex parte vna, et tenementum quondam Edmundi Lyster vocat' Seynt Edmondys hostel ex parte altera, et vnum caput abuttat super regiam viam vocat' Mylnestret, et aliud caput super Salthyth."]

² [A Cistercian Abbey in Essex; Dugdale v. 624. Morant's Essex, Ed. 1728, ii. 435.]

³ [In a remission of quit rents from Barnwell Priory, dated 20 June, 26 Hen. VI. King's College Muniments, A. 89, we find "De decem et octo denariis de quodam mesuagio situat' in hospicio sancti Nicholai infra procinctum Collegii et nuper pertinent' Simon Thaksted et Magistro Willelmo Fly. Et de duodecim denariis de alio mesuagio situat' in dicto hospicio iuxta Cholleslane nuper pertinent' Johanni Harleston et magistro Willelmo Ely." The property is thus described in the conveyance to Langton (Trinity Hall Muniments, No. 24). "unum tenementum cum duobus gar. linis adjacentibus inter venellam voc' Waterlane ex una parte, et venellam voc' Strawylane ex altera parte, et abuttat dictum tenementum cum ubo gardino iuxta Waterlane in longitudine a regia via voc' Milnestrete usque ad communem ripam, et dictum tenementum cum alio gardino iuxta Strawylane abuttat a dicta regia via in longitudine usque ad gardinum Abbatis de Tilney. Et quod quidem tenementum modo vocatur hospiciu sancti Nicholai." (16 Nov. 19 Hen. VI.)] It must be remembered that another hostel of S. Nicholas, the property of Queens' College, stood in S. Andrew's Parish between Christ's College and Emmanuel (Caius, Hist. Cant. Acad. i. 30): and that there was another hostel of S. Austin on the south border of the site of King's, to be described below.

⁴ Letters patent, recited in the charter of 1449.

⁵ [Seggefurd's property is thus described in the above-mentioned release from

In 1445 (26 October, 24 Hen. VI.) the Mayor and Corporation granted to the King the portion of "Milnestrete, alias Seynt Johnstrete, extending from the lane under the wall of the Carmelites called Chollislane, alias Whitefrerelane, on the south, as far as Clare Hall on the north; the portion of Scole-lanes (School Street) extending westward from the High Street for 185 feet; the whole of Pyron lane; the lane called Strawelane; and a certain bank called Salthith"; and also, as mentioned above, "all the common soil contained in the space bounded by Chollis-lane and Clare Hall, Milnestrete, and the river bank¹." As the closing of all these lanes, especially Piron Lane and Salthithe Lane, cut off the passage for the townspeople to the river, it was stipulated that another way should be obtained for them through the ground north of Trinity Hall, called Henably. This latter was not granted to them until 1455 (15 March, 33 Hen. VI.)². The annoyance to the town caused by this arrangement is manifested in the following memorandum, dated 9 January, 1445³, addressed by the Town Council to the College:

"Hit is to be remembred that wher hit lyked the Kyng our souereing lord to send his gracious letters to his Meir and Bailifs of his towne of Cambrigge be wich he desired certen comyn groundes and lanes within the seid town of Cambrig' to the vse of his Colege of oure lady and sent Nicholas in Cambrig' aforseid for wich comyn groundes and lanes the kyng willed by his seid letters the seid Meir and comynte shuld be recompensed so thei shuld not be hurt: of wich comyn groundes and lanes among other hit is specially desired a comyn lane called Pyrion lane, wich lane the seid Meir and comyns graunt to the seid colege to be occupyed and closed at ther will be twyn this and the fest of sent Michell the Archangell now next folowyng, in recompense of which lane Master William Milyngton Provest of the seid Colege promitteth to the seid Meir and comyns that thei shall occupye with all maner of cariagez be twyn this and the fest of sent Michell a forseid the vsted way within the ground that is called the Henabbey dayly fro six of the Clok in the morow vn to six of the klok at aftyr non with out lettyng of any man. And mor over the seid Provest promitteth that yef hit happe Master John Langton Chaunceller of

quit-rents by Barnwell Priory. "Et de duabus solidatis annui redditus...de quodam mesuagio...iuxta Strawelane nuper pertinent' Roberto Seggeford."]

¹ [This passage is translated from the conveyance, King's College Muniments, A. 87.]

² [See History of Trinity Hall, p. 212.]

³ [King's College Muniments, A. 86.]

Cambridg' and John Ansty squyer wich are assigned by the seid kynges letters to comyn and conclude with the seid Meir and Comyns for the recompens of the seid comyn groundes and lanes not to accord be twyn this and the seid fest of sent Michell. that then the seid lane called Pyrion lane shall be leyd opyn and fre to be occupyed be all the seid comyns of the seid town of Cambrig' as hit is now at this day vnto tym that they may be fully concluded and accorded of all swich maters as they haue comynd of be for this tym etc. yefen at Cambrig' aforseid the ixth day af Januar the yer of the reigne of Kyng Herry the sixt the xxij."

The portion of School Lane granted included the whole of the eastern branch, but this was never taken into the site of the College. The other lanes have been already determined.

Although the southern boundary of the site is limited, in the general grant already quoted, by the new lane, yet the King proceeded to grant to his College land beyond it. At a distance of about 70 feet to the south of S. Austin's Lane, above described, was another lane called Plots Lane, or Nut Lane, which opened into High Street, exactly opposite to the present Bene't Street¹. Between the two lanes we meet with S. Austin's Hostel. It is described in the letters patent dated 10 February, 1449, by which, together with some other houses in Plots Lane, it was granted to the College, as "certain newly-built tenements, lying together, lately called 'Seynt Austyns Hostel.'" The exact dimensions and abuttals are given, so that the position of it can be accurately laid down on the map². S. Austin's Hostel is one of those which Caius³ enumerates as having

¹ It was anciently called Segrin's Lane, as the following extracts shew. "Habent Canonici de Bernewell ex dono Thome Plote unum mesuagium in villa Cantabr' iuxta Segrinnes lane." Rot. Hund. Ed. 1. p. 356: "Venella nuper vocata Segrin's lane, que nunc vocatur Plots lane." Essex' Collections, Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 6767, p. 7. Its direction was very irregular, but S. Austin's Lane was set out nearly straight, in continuation of Cholles Lane.

² It was bounded by a tenement belonging to Corpus Christi College East; by Mill Street West; by the new lane North; and by Nut Lane South. The eastern side measured 63 feet, the western 96, the northern 205, and the southern 235.

³ Hist. Cant. Acad. i. 47. The ground on which it stood consisted partly of a house purchased from Denny Abbey 26 Hen. VI. (King's College Muniments, A. 95) which stood on the east side next to the Corpus College property: next to this was a house belonging to Agnes Jacob: and somewhere else on the ground a house belonging to John Wering. [The description of the Hostel above-quoted, "quedam tenementa nostra insimul jacentia de novo super aedificata, modo vocata Seynt Austyns Hostel," shews that it resembled other hostels in being a number of detached houses, inclosed with a wall, and not a regular collegiate structure.]

been in use for the lodging of students in his own undergraduate time. It is manifest therefore, from the term *newly-built* applied to it, that when the Hostel of the same name to the south of S. John's Churchyard was pulled down, it was rebuilt on this new site, and given to King's College as a source of revenue, and that S. Austin's Lane was then made to supply for the town a better road to Cholles Lane and the river than was furnished by the narrow and tortuous alley of Plots Lane. Hammond's map (fig. 54) shews the south side of the court as nearly a straight line. This line must exactly represent the ancient direction of S. Austin's Lane. The property belonging to Corpus Christi College between the Hostel and Trumpington Street, was not sold to King's until 1535¹, when S. Austin's Lane was probably closed, for one of the causes of complaint at the insurrection in 1549 was that, "We fynde that the Kynges College hath taken in and inclosed Saynt Austen's lane leadinge from the high streete unto the waterside, withoute recompense²."

[The Founder also commenced the acquisition of property to the south of Plots Lane, by conveying to the College in 1444 a tavern called "Le Boreshede," which seems to have been situated at the corner of that lane, and Queens' Lane; and it is probable that he also purchased the houses that intervened between that tavern and S. Catharine's on the south, and another Inn called "The White Horse," on the east³. It should also be mentioned that measures were taken for a supply of water for an intended conduit. The charter of 1444 grants a piece of ground called "Holwelle," at Madingley, 30 feet square, belonging to Barnwell Priory, "near the grange called Morebernes belonging to the same convent.....for the construction of a subterranean aqueduct to bring water to the college⁴."]]

The whole of the property above described was confirmed to the College by Acts of Parliament in the 23rd and 28th years of the reign of King Henry the Sixth. At the conclusion of

¹ [King's College Muniments, A. 125. The conveyance is dated 2 Feb. 26 Hen. VIII.] ² [Lamb's Collection of Letters, etc. 159.]

³ [Charter of 1444, Heywood, 324.]

⁴ [Ibid. p. 328. The farm is still called "Moor barns." It is at the extremity of S. Giles' Parish, and the word "Moor" is derived from the open pastures, or moor, of Madingley, beyond it. The King further granted in 1448 the property of certain outlaws for the construction and repair of the said aqueduct. Pat. 26 H. VI. p. 2, m. 40.]

the last Act the King sums up his work in words which may be thus translated :

"For the better security of the said Provost and Scholars and their successors, we give them leave to build and construct not only the Church of the said College, but all manner of mansions and dwellings for themselves upon the said site, which we have granted to them for this purpose ; there lawfully to remain and dwell for ever, in as good or even better condition, than they, and their predecessors in times gone by, remained and dwelt upon the aforesaid site near the new Schools."

A few more additions to the College site remain to be noticed. Towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII.¹ John Erlich and Edward Heynes had bought from the Carmelite friars "a certain garden or orchard" to the south of Cholles Lane, and extending from Milne Street to the river. On it stood a small house ; and it was subdivided by four stone walls. This, which is still, as it always has been, the Provost's garden, presently became the property of King's College, but how or when is not exactly known. There are preserved among the College Muniments letters patent of Henry the Eighth², signed, but neither sealed nor dated, authorizing them to sell the property to the College ; so that we may safely assume that the transaction was completed before the end of his reign. These letters give also authority to the Mayor of Cambridge to grant Cholles Lane to the College, together with the portion of Milne Street abutting

¹ [This period is fixed by a deed of 6 Sept., 37 Hen. VIII., 1545, in which John Erlich, Master of Arts, sells the property to Richard Lyne and others. (King's College Muniments, A. 132.)]

² [King's College Muniments, A. 129-135. The bond given by Erlich and Heynes to the Friars (A. 131) is dated 18 Feb. 27 Hen. VIII., 1536, two years before they surrendered their house to D^r Mey, President of Queens' College, which they did, 28 Aug. 30 Hen. VIII., 1538. In the letters patent (ibid. A. 133) the property is described as "quandam parcellam fundi siue terre cum quadam parva domo superedificata una cum quatuor muris lapideis super predictam parcellam terre edificatis. situatam et jacentem infra precinctum domus siue habitacionis Prioris et Conuentus fratrum Carmelitarum inter communem venellam vocat' Cholleslane ducent' versus communem Riolum ex parte boreali, et ecclesiam ac cetera edificia, terras, et gardina, dicte domus siue loci fratrum predictorum ex parte australi, et venellam vocatam le Milnestrete ex parte orien', et dictum communem Riolum ex parte occiden', continentemque in longitudine a capite orien' vsque ad communem Riolum predictum qui est in capite occiden' trecentos sexaginta et unum pedes et dimid' pedes assis' ; et in latitudine in capite orien' per le Milnestrete predict' centum et septem pedes ac tres pollices assis', et in latitudine in capite occiden' per predictum communem Riolum centum et viginti ac quinque pedes et dimid' pedis assis' ." It is extremely difficult to reconcile these measurements with the ground in its present state.]

on the said garden ; as though it had then been in contemplation to include these lanes in the site. Shortly before, the vendors had covenanted with the Friars to make a common way twelve feet wide on the south of the property, from Milne Street to the river, and to build a stone wall eight feet high, and two feet wide. These arrangements were never carried out ; for Cholles Lane is shewn as an open thoroughfare in the maps of Hammond and Loggan, and remained so until 1823. Moreover, on 30 June, 5 Edward VI., 1551, Queens' College gives a receipt to King's for £26. 6s. 8d. for "making of a stone wall in the place and Rowme as the old mudde wall did stande." This is the wall still standing on the south of the Provost's garden.

It has been already related that in 1638 Clare Hall leased to King's a piece of ground seventy feet long by fifty feet broad, at the south-east corner of their site, in exchange for a lease of part of Butt Close, opposite to the College on the west side of the river¹. These leases were mutually renewed until 1827, when an exchange was agreed upon, by which Clare obtained Butt Close, and King's not only the piece of ground mentioned above, but the White Horse Inn, in Trumpington Street, to which it had a frontage of thirty-one feet. This house had been acquired for S. Catharine's College by the founder Dr Robert Woodlarke, in 1455. It was then called "Fordham's Place," as being the residence of Thomas Fordham, with whose name we are familiar as an owner of property in High Street. The College sold it in 1498 to William Myles ; received it again as a benefaction under his will, and finally sold it in 1556 to John Mere, the well-known Esquire Bedell, and benefactor to the University. Clare Hall received it as a bequest in 1708, from Thomas Pyke. In the time immediately preceding the Reformation, the house became a place of meeting for those who in secret favoured the new doctrines. Strype tells

¹ [History of Clare Hall, 91. Trinity Hall had been anxious to get the same advantage as Clare, for in one of the papers sent to Clare Hall by King's College in 1634 these words occur, "Trinity Hall having been sutors to us long before Clare Hall, and in a fairer way." The following extract from King's College Mundum-Book for 1636—37 shews that the Master of Trinity Hall, Dr Thomas Eden (Master 1626—1645), acted as the adviser of King's in their conduct towards Clare : *Circa lites et placita*. "Solut' doctori Eden pro sano consilio diversis temporibus in negotio Aulæ Clarensis 2 0 0"]

us that it was "afterwards nicknamed Germany by their enemies. This house was chose because they of King's College, Queens' College, and St John's might come in with the more privacy by the back door¹." This back entrance is known to have been in what was then Plots or Plutes Lane.

The house at the corner of the lane, immediately to the north of this, had also been given by Dr Woodlarke to S. Catharine's. It was then the residence of John Canterbury, and his wife Isabella, Woodlarke's sister. It was sold by S. Catharine's to John Mere, with the White Horse. The acquisition of it by King's College must be told in connection with the formation of the present King's Lane². When the plans for new buildings were under consideration in 1822, it was manifestly desirable to alter the southern boundaries of the College, and to occupy the whole of the site. No objection having been made to the closing of Cholles Lane, the Provost and Fellows asked permission from the Commissioners for Paving and Lighting the Town (4 November, 1822)

"to stop up the present King's Lane, and take within their premises that part of Queens' Lane lying between Friar's gate belonging to King's College and the present King's Lane, upon condition that King's College should at their own expense open a new King's Lane between the present King's Lane and the Bull Inn."

The Commissioners declined until King's College should be in possession of all the houses in and immediately adjoining King's Lane, because Mr Cory, the then possessor of Canterbury's house, had an entrance to his property on the north from the lane. After a year had been spent in negotiations, Mr Cory agreed to terms³ (16 October, 1823), and the Commissioners immediately afterwards (28 October) allowed the College to remove the site of King's Lane nearer to Catharine Hall, giving to it a width of fourteen feet throughout; and also to remove the site of the upper part of Queens' Lane nearer to the river, keeping the same width of roadway as at present. At that time King's Lane is described as "a detestable and filthy alley,

¹ [Life of Parker, 6. It is difficult to understand why S. John's should have been especially included in this enumeration.]

² The following narrative is abridged from a pamphlet entitled "Reply of King's College to the statement of the Commissioners of Paving, etc. 8vo. 1831."

³ He was to sell his house for £1500 and a new freehold brickhouse elsewhere.

nowhere more than 13 feet in breadth, and near its entrance in Trumpington Street, not quite 10 feet." The new buildings were accordingly proceeded with; the old lane being taken into the College, together with a portion of Queens' Lane, ninety-nine feet in length, by twenty-four feet in breadth. They had not, however, been long in progress before Mr Cory changed his mind, and demanded a price so exorbitant, that the transaction became impossible, and the court was made twenty-two feet narrower, so as to render the acquisition of his house unnecessary.

The new lane was made to start from the same point as the old one at the western extremity, but, running in a straight line, it joins Trumpington Street at a point about seventy feet to the south of the opening of the old lane. The eastern end, however, of the former lane was left, to suit Mr Cory's convenience; and it survived until 1871. The house was purchased by King's College in 1870, for £4,000, and pulled down in the following year, to make way for the additional buildings then in progress. At the same time the end of the lane, which belonged to the Town of Cambridge, was exchanged for a portion of the site of the house, which projected into Trumpington Street¹, as the plan (fig. 3) shews. It was a very ancient and picturesque structure, and may well have been the actual house in which Canterbury had resided. We shall see that he was Clerk of the Works at King's Chapel, when Woodlarke was Provost and Master of the Works; and it is an interesting fact, in favour of the identity of Mr Cory's house with his, that during some repairs a rough fresco of the Chapel, with newly planted trees in front of it, was found on one of the walls².

This completes the history of the site on the east side of the Cam. The ground on the west side, afterwards called "Butt Close," was acquired by the Founder (31 October, 27 Hen. VI., 1447), to whom the Mayor and Corporation of Cambridge granted a parcel of the common ground on the opposite side of the river "called 'le Ee,'" inclosed with hedges and ditches, 810 feet in length next the river, and 850 feet in length next the west border called "les Willoughes," and

¹ [King's College Muniments, A. 177.]

² [For the history of the White Horse and Canterbury's house, see a paper by the Rev. G. F. Browne, M.A. in *Camb. Antiq. Soc. Communications*, iii. 405.]

390 feet in breadth. This extended as far as Garret Hostel Lane, and was opposite not only to the College site, but also to Clare Hall, and to nearly the whole of Trinity Hall¹.

It should be added that in 1798 (31 October) a small portion of the north-east corner of the site was alienated, by exchange, to the University, when it was proposed to erect a building "opposite and similar to the Senate-house" at the south-east angle of the Library. This transaction will be narrated at length in the history of the Schools.

After the completion of the present Screen and Porter's Lodge, which were begun in 1824, a strip of ground, about ten feet wide, was ceded to the Town, in order to widen Trumpington Street, which previously, as the plan (fig. 3) shews, had been nowhere more than thirty feet broad.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DESIGN OF THE FOUNDER FOR THE TWO COLLEGES.

[BEFORE narrating the history of the buildings of either College, we will describe the plan devised by the Founder, although to do so it will be necessary to depart from strict chronological arrangement; for the documents in which it is developed are dated 1448, or nearly seven years after the works at Eton College were commenced, and nearly two years after the first stone of King's College Chapel was laid.

The most important of these documents is that known as "The Will of King Henry the Sixth." This, it must be remembered, is not a testament, but simply a record of what the King calls in the opening sentence, "My wille and myne entent," with respect solely to the arrangements and completion of his two Royal Colleges of Eton and Cambridge. It is drawn up as a tripartite indenture in English, dated 12 March, 1447-8. One of the three copies is preserved in each College; the third, we may presume, was retained by the King. We shall find described in it, with singular minuteness and

¹ [King's College Muniments. A. 177.]

clearness, the careful and well-considered plan which was made for the two Colleges. Both of them were commenced in accordance with it; neither of them completed. At Cambridge the Chapel alone was begun by the Founder, and this in subsequent reigns was entirely finished; but no other part of the College was touched with the exception of a small portion of foundation at the north-east corner of the great quadrangle. The Old Court is of course excepted, as belonging to a different College, and not even mentioned in the Will in question. At Eton the Chapel was undoubtedly begun by the Founder, and was far advanced before his deposition and death; but the rest of the College buildings, some of which were certainly begun in his reign, now present an arrangement wholly different from that prescribed in the Will.

Besides the Will, four other documents having reference to the College buildings are preserved at Eton. The first three of these, which were drawn up before the Will, are bound together, and endorsed on the parchment cover:

"Anno xxvj^o Regis H. VI^{ti}. Eton. For the Edificacion of the Quere of the kinges Colege of oure lady there Assigned by the kyng the demesions of the same at his Castell of Wyndesore the vij day of Februar' the yere aboue seid."

At the top of the third page, on which the text begins, we find the King's initials, R H, above the words

"The appointment mad by the king oure al souerain Lord as touchin certain demensions of the Chirch of his College Roial of our blessid lady of Eton¹."

These initials are repeated at the bottom of the fifth page, the first document ending on the sixth page. At the top of the seventh page, on which the second document begins, the royal signature is given in full, "R' Henricus," above the words

"The appointment made by the king oure al souerain lord for the edificacion of the quere of his college Roial of oure blessed lady of Eton as towchyng euery demension of the same quere the vij day of Februarie the yere of the Reigne of king henry the sext the xxvi.

Testibus { Will' Bushop of Wynchester
 { Will' Marchas of Suff'k and othere."

¹ [These documents are quoted in the order in which they are now stitched into the cover. The quires of paper on which the three are written are marked respectively C, B, E. The cover is certainly original, but the order of the quires has been changed, and probably two, marked A and D, have been lost.]

At the bottom of the last page it was signed again by the King in full. The third document begins on the first leaf of the last quire, with the King's initials above the words

"The appointment made by the king oure al souuerain lord as towching the demensions of the housing of his College Roial of oure lady of Eton."

These documents constitute together a first draft of the Will, from which, as originally drawn up, they do not differ in any important particular; except that on the ninth page, at the end of the directions about the "Quere," there begins a detailed estimate of the materials, workmen, and money required for the works during the 26th and 27th years of the King's reign. This will be referred to again. The most curious point, however, remains to be noted. In the first two documents the principal dimensions have been crossed out in a different and paler ink, and a larger dimension substituted. There is unfortunately no evidence to shew when this was done¹. These enlarged dimensions constitute a second design.

The fourth document, which is quite separate from the others, is undated, but, as it contains a third design which still further enlarges the dimensions given in the two former, it was certainly drawn up after them, and probably contains the final intentions of the King. This view derives confirmation from the fact that the existing Church corresponds almost exactly with the eastern portion of the Church therein delineated.

In the following pages the three first documents will be referred to together as "A," and the fourth, which from the opening words we will call "The kynges own avyse," as "B." We will now return to the Will, of which the portions relating to buildings shall be quoted at length.

The preamble, stating the King's motives for the foundation of the two Colleges, and the arrangements he had made for providing funds sufficient for their "edificacion" is as follows :

In the name of the blessed Trinity, fader, sone, and holy-gost, of oure lady saint Marie moder of Crist, and alle the holy compaignye of

¹ [Mr Lyte (p. 43) suggests that it must have been before 2 June 1448, when the Marquis of Suffolk was created Duke of Suffolk. This theory however depends upon the signature of the King and the witnesses being in the same ink as that used for the corrections, and of this I cannot feel certain.]

heuen: I, Henry, by the grace of god kyng of England and of Fraunce and lord of Irland after the conquest of England the sexte, for diuerse grete and notable causes mouyng me at the makyng of thees presentes haue doo my wille and myne entent to be writen in maner that foloweth¹: * * * *

First for asmuche as hit hath liked vnto oure lord forto suffre and graunte me grace for the prymer notable werk purposed by me after that I by his blessed sufferaunce took vnto my silf the rule of my saide Roiames forto erect founde and stablisse vnto the honour and worship of his name specially, and of the blessed virgine oure lady saint Marie, encesce of vertues, and kunnyng in dilatacion, and stablissement of christen feith, my two Colleges Roialx, oon called the College roial of oure lady of Eton beside Windesore, and the other called the College roial of oure lady and saint Nicholas of Cambrige, the edificacions of which Colleges by me nowe begonne aduised and appointed in maner and fourme as hereafter folowith mowe not be parftly accomplished withoute grete and notable godes assigned and purveid therto:

I wol pray and charge my saide feffees that vnto the tyme that the saide edificacions and other werkes of Brigges conduyttes closures and other thynges begonne and aduised by me in either of the seid Colleges be fully perfourmed and accomplished in more notable wise than any of my said roiaume of England: thei see that my same Colleges accordyng vnto the fourme of seuerall grauntes by me vnto theym made in that behalf haue and perceyue yerely of the issues profitez and reuenues comyng of the forseid Castellis lordsheps Manoirs landes tenementes rentes seruices and other possessions by the handes of the tenauntes fermours Occupiours and receyuours of the same M^lM^l.li. for the edificacions and werkes abouesaid that is to say to the Prouost and my said College Roial of Eton for the edificacions and werkes there yerely M^l.li. And to the Prouost and scolers of my saide College of Cambrige for the edificacions and werkes there yerely M^l.li. from the feste of saint Michel nowe last passed vnto the ende of the terme of xx yeres than next folowyng and fully complete.

And if hit soo be that the edificacions of my saide Colleges or of either of theyme accordyng vnto my seid devis and appointment herin conteyned shal not be fulli accomplished and finissed within the said terme of xx years, I wol than pray and charge my saide feffees that they doo graunte vnto either of my said Colleges M^l.li. to be take yerely from the ende of the seid terme of xx yeres finissed vnto the tyme that the edificacions of oon of my saide Colleges be fully perfourmed and accomplished of the issues profites and reuenues abouesaid. And that after the finissment of the edificacions of oon of the same Colleges the saide yerely M^lM^l.li. in semblable wise to be graunted vnto the other of the same Colleges whoos edificacions

¹ [In the passage here omitted the King, after reciting the names of the persons whom he had "enfeffed in divers castells" etc., belonging to the duchy of Lancaster, of the yearly value of £3395. 11s. 7d., and the dates of the letters patent, confirmed by Parliament, sanctioning these trusts, notifies to the said feoffees that the letters now issued contain his will, which he desires them to execute].

shal not than be finisshed to haue and perceyue of the issues profites and reuenues aboueseide vnto the tyme that the edificacions of the same College be fully finisshed and perfourmed, which edificacions of my said Colleges I haue fully deuised and appointed forto be accomplished in this wise that is forto wete.

This is succeeded by minute directions for the plan to be followed in both Colleges, beginning with Eton.

THE COLLEGE OF ETON.

CHURCH
Choir

I wol that the Quere of my saide College of Eton shal conteyne in lengthe .c.iiij. fete of assise; wherof behinde the high auter shal be .viiij. fete, and fro the seide auter vnto the Quere dore .iiij^{xx}.xv fete.

Item, the same Quere shal conteyne in brede from side to side within the respondes .xxxij. fete.

Item, the ground of the wallis shal be enhaunced hier than they be nowe on the vtter side, or hit come to the leyng of the first stone of the clere wallis .iiij. fete of assise, and in the ynnere syde or hit come to the leyng of the first stone of the clere wallis .x. fete of assise.

Item, the wallis of the seide Quere shal conteyne in height fro the grounde werkes vnto the crestis of the batelment .iiij^{xx}. fete of assise.

Item, in the est ende of the seide Quere shal be sette a grete gable windowe of .vii. daies and .ij. butterases, and in either side of the same Quere .vij. windowes, euery windowe of .iiij. daies, and .viiij. butterases, conteynynge in height fro the grounde werkes vnto the ouer parte of the pynacles .c. fete of assise.

Altar

Item, that the saide groundes be so take, that the first stone lie in the myddel of the high auter, which auter shal conteyne in lengthe .xij. fete of assise, and in brede .v. fete. And that the saide first stone be not remoued touched nor stered in any wise.

Vestry

Item, the vestiarye to be sette oon the north syde of the saide Quere, which shal conteyne in lengthe .l. fete of assise departed into .ij. houses, and in brede .xxiiij. fete; and the wallis in height .xx. fete, with gable wyndowes and side windowes conuenient therto. And the grounde werkes to be sette in height of the grounde of the cloister.

And I wol that the edificacion of my said College of Eton procede in large fourme, clene and substancial, wel replenysshed with goodely wyndowes and vantes leyng a parte superfluite of to grete curiouse werkes of entaille and besy moldyng.

Stalls

Item, in the saide Quere oon either side xxxii stalles and the rode loft there, I wol that they be made in like maner and fourme as be the stalles and rodeloft in the chapell of saint Stephen atte Westminster, and of the lengthe of .xxxii. fete and in brede clere .xii. fete of assise.

Roodloft

Nave

And as touchyng the demensions of the churche of my saide College of Eton, I haue deuised and appointed that the body of the same churche

betweene the yles shal conteyne in brede within the respondes .xxxij. fete, and in lengthe from the Quere dore vnto the West dore of the said chirch .C.iiij. fete of assise. And soo the seide bodie of the Chirch shal be lenger than is the quere fro the reredos atte the high auter vnto the quere dore by .ix. fete, which demension is thought to be right a goode, conuenient, and due proporcion.

Item, I haue deuised and appointed that the yle oon the either side Aisles of the body of the chirch shal conteyne in brede fro respond to respond .xv. fete, and in lengthe .C.iiij. fete, accordyng to the seide bodye of the chirch.

Item, in the south side of the bodie of the chirch a faire large dore Porch with a porche ouer the same for christenyng of childre and weddyngges.

Item, I haue deuised and appointed .vj. greces to be before the high auter, Altar-Steps with the grece called gradus chori, eueri of them conteynyng in high .vj. ynches, and of conuenient brede, eueri of them as due fourme shall require.

Item, in the brede of the chircheyrd fro the chirch dore vnto the wallis of the chircheyrd within the wal atte the west ende, which muste be take of the strete beside the high way, .xvj. fete of assise.

Item, the groundes of the cloistre to be enhaunced hier than the olde CLOISTER grounde .viiij. fete yer hit come to the pament, soo that hit be sette but .ij. fete lower than the payng of the chirch. Which cloistre shal conteyne in lengthe Est and west .CC. fete and in brede north and south .C.lx. fete of assise. Item, the same cloistre shal close vnto the chirch on the north side atte the west ende, and oon the north side atte the est ende of the chirch hit shal be close to the College, with a dore in to the same College. Item, the same cloistre shal conteyne in brede within the walles .xv. fete and in height .xx. fete with clere stories rounde aboute ynward, and vawted, and enbatelled on bothe sydes. Item, the space between the wal of the Chirch and the wal of the cloistre shal conteyne .xxxviiij. fete, which is left for to sette in certain trees and floures, behoueful and conuenient for the seruice of the seide chirch. Item, the cementorie of the chirch shal be lower than the pauyng of the cloistre .iiij. fete of assise, with as many greces vp into the chirch dore as shal be conuenient therto. Item, in the myddel of the west pane of the TOWER saide cloistre a grete square Tour, with a faire dore in to the cloistre which tour shal conteyne clere within the wal .xx. fete and in the height with the batelment and the pynacles .C.xl. fete.

Item, from the high way on the south syde vnto the wallis of the College WALLS a goode high wal with toures conuenient therto. And in like wise from thens by the water side and aboute the gardynes and alle the procincte of the place round a bout by the high way, vnto that hit come to the cloisters ende on the west side ageyn.

Item, that the water atte Baldewyne brigge be turned ouerthwart in to DITCH the Riuer of Thamyse with a dich of .xl. fete of brede. And the grounde betweene the same dicke and the College arreised of a grete height so that hit may atte alle flodes be pleyn and drie grounde where than wol be in distaunce fro the halle to the water atte alle tymes of drie grounde .iiij^{xx}. fete.

DIMENSIONS
OF SITE

And as touchyng the demensions of the housyng of my saide College of Eton, I haue deuised and appointed that the south wal of the procincte of the saide College which shal extende from the tenement that Hugh Dier nowe holdeth and occupieth, vnto the Est ende of the gardines efterlong the water side, shal conteyne in lengthe .M^cCCCCxl fete of assise with a large dore in the same wal to the water side Item, the Est wal of the saide procincte which shal extende fro the waterside vnto the high way atte the newe briggess atte the Est ende of the gardines shal conteyne in lengthe .DCC. fete of assise. Item the northwal of the said procincte which shal extende fro the Est ende of the gardines afterlong the high way vnto the southwest corner of the same procincte shal conteyne in lengthe .Mⁱ xl. fete of assise in which wal shal be a faire yate out of the vtter court in to the high way Item the west wal of the saide procincte which shal extende fro the saide west corner of the same procincte vnto the saide tenement, which the said Hugh Dier nowe occupieth shal conteyne in lengthe .Dx fete, and so the vtter walles of the said procincte shal conteyne in lengthe aboute the same procincte .Mⁱ Mⁱ Mⁱ Diiij^{xx}. fete of assise.

OUTER
COURT

Item, betwix the seid northwal of the said procincte and the walles of the College in the vtter court on the Est parte of the yate and the wey in to the College shal be edified diuerse housyng necessarie for the bakhous bruehous garners stables heyhous with chambres for the stuardes auditours and other lerned counsell and Ministres of the said College and other loggynges necessarie for suche persounes of the said College as shal happen to be diseased with infirmitees. Item in the west partie of the saide yate and the way in to the College in the north pane, .viij. Chambres for the pouere men, And in the west pane .vj. chambres, and behynde the same a kechene, Boterie, panetrie, with gardines and a grounde for fuel for the said pouere men.

QUADRANGLE
North side

Item, the northparte of the College shal conteyne .Clv. fete within the walles in the myddel of the which shal be a faire tour and a yatehous with .ij. chambres on either side and .ij. chambres aboue, vaulted, conteynyng in lengthe .xl. fete, and in brede .xxiiij. fete. And in the Est side of the said yate .iiij. chambres .ij. benethe and .ij. aboue euery of them in lengthe .xxv. fete, and in brede .xxiiij. fete. And in the west side of the same yate a scole-hous benethe of .lxx. fete in lengthe and in brede .xxiiij. fete and aboue the same .ij. chambres either of them in lengthe .xxv. fete and in brede .xxiiij. fete.

East side
LIBRARY

Item the Est pane in lengthe within the walles .CCxxx. fete in the myddel wherof directly agayns the entre of the cloistre a librarie conteynyng in lengthe .liij. fete and in brede .xxiiij. fete with .iiij. chambres aboue on the oon side and .iiij. on the other side and benethe .ix. chambres euery of them in lengthe .xxvj. fete and in brede .xviij. fete with .v. vtter toures and .v. yinner toures.

West side

Item the west pane of the said College .CCxxx. fete in lengthe in the which shal be directly agains the librarie a dore in to the cloistre, and aboue .viij. chambres and benethe other .viij. with .iiij. vtter toures byonde the

north side of the cloister, and .v. ynnere toures with a way in to the quere for the Ministres of the chyrche between the vestiarye and the same quere.

Item the south pane in lengthe .clv. fete in which shal stande the South side halle with a vaute vnthermethe for the buterie and celer conteynnyng in HALL lengthe .liij. fete, and in brede .xxxij. fete, with .ij. baywyndowes on inward an other outward with a toure ouer the halle dore And atte the Est ende of the halle a panetrie with a chambre benethe, and atte the west ende of the halle the Provostes loggyng aboue and benethe, conteynnyng in LODGE lengthe .lxx. fete with a corner toure inward and an other withoute And KITCHEN on the south side of the halle a goodli kichen and in the myddel of the quadrant withynne a condute goodly deuised to the ease and profit of the CONDUIT saide College.

Item, the height fro the strete to the enhauncyng of the grounde of the Cementorie .vij. fete and an half and the same wal in height aboue that .v. fete di' with grecis out of the high way in to the same pane as many as shal seme conuenient. Item, that the quadrant within the College and the vtter court be but a fote lower than the cloister. ENHANCING
OF THE
GROUND

Item, alle the walles of the said College of the vtter court, and of the walles of the procincte aboute the gardines, and as far as the procincte shal goo, to be made of hard stone of Kent And the said gardines to be enhaunced with erthe to the height of a fote lower than the cementorie of the said chyrche. MATERIALS
OF WALLS

From these directions—in some cases difficult to interpret—the accompanying plan has been drawn. This we will now explain, for as the dimensions of each particular portion of the buildings are not given in regular sequence, but scattered through different parts of the document, a minute commentary is indispensable.

The Choir of the Church was to be 103 feet long, 32 feet broad, and 80 feet high to the crest of the battlements, with two buttresses at the east end, and eight on each side, each 100 feet high, from the foundation to the top of the pinnacles¹.

In the draft of the Will mentioned above the following passage occurs at this point. It is important as shewing the King's desire for imitating and surpassing Wykeham's work :

"And so the seid quere is lenger than the quere of Wynchestre College at Oxenford by .liij. fete, Brodder by .ij. fete and the walles heyer by .xx. fete. The pennacles lenger .x. fete."

The east window was to be divided into seven "daies,"

¹ [The westernmost buttress has been laid down as part of the east wall of the aisle; an arrangement which seems to be implied by the mention of 7 windows and 8 buttresses.]

i.e. lights, and each of the fourteen side windows into four lights. A space of 8 feet was to be left behind the high altar, thus reducing the length of the ritual choir to 95 feet. The altar itself was to measure 12 feet by 5 feet, to be placed exactly over the foundation stone, and to be raised on six steps, each 6 inches high, and of convenient breadth. There was also to be a seventh step, called "*gradus chori*," of the same height. The stalls, 32 in number, and the rood-loft, 12 feet broad, and as wide as the church, were to be copied from those at S. Stephen's Chapel¹, Westminster.

The Nave, of the same breadth as the choir, was to be 104 feet long, or nine feet longer than the choir, exclusive of the space behind the high altar, a proportion to which much importance was attached, as we find it occurring, in different forms, in the three designs. There were to be no aisles to the choir, but those of the nave were to be 15 feet broad, and of the same length as the choir, namely 104 feet. On the south side there was to be a porch for christenings and weddings. It will be observed that nothing is said about windows or buttresses in the nave, or the number of bays into which it was to be divided.

The Vestry, communicating with the Choir on the north side, was to be 50 feet long, 24 feet broad, and 20 feet high, "departed into .ij. houses." This last direction is explained by that for the corresponding vestry at King's, which runs, "departed into .ij. houses benethe, and .ij. houses aboue," and certainly means separated into two floors with two apartments on each floor. This conclusion is also justified by the great height.

On the north side of the Church there was to be a large Cloister, 200 feet long from east to west, by 160 feet from north to south, and 20 feet high. The "deambulatory," as it is termed at King's, was to be 15 feet wide, vaulted. There was to be a clerestory—which may perhaps merely mean windows—on the inward side; and battlements to both inner and outer walls. It was to "close vnto the chirch on the north side atte the west ende," that is, a passage was to be made from the cloister to the church at the west end of the north aisle. There is no mention of a door in this place, but one has been indicated on the

¹ [For a description of this building, afterwards used as the House of Commons, see *Antiquities of Westminster*, by J. T. Smith, 4^o. London, 1807.]

plan, as otherwise there would be no use in continuing the cloister to the church. On the east side the cloister was to "be close to the College," which has been taken to signify that it was to abut against the west wall of the College¹; because it is expressly mentioned further on that there are to be three towers on the west side of the College "byonde the north side of the cloister;" a direction which clearly indicates that the cloister stood in the way of placing five on the outside to correspond with the five on the inside, as ordered for the opposite range. On this side there was to be a door out of the cloister into the College, which door is twice directed to be placed "directly agayns the Library." It is further directed, under the head of the "west pane," that there is to be "a way in to the quere for the Ministres of the church between the vestiarie and the same quere." This was no doubt a private way into the Church, as was usually provided in monasteries, for the use of the priests living in the College; but it is uncertain whether it was to lead out of the east walk of the cloister, and so round the vestry into the Church; or out of the south walk of the cloister into the vestry, and thence through it into the Church. In the middle of the west side of the cloister there was to be a Tower—probably a Belfry—20 feet square within the walls, and 140 feet high². A door from the tower into the cloister is mentioned, but no other. From this omission, coupled with the fact that the wall which was to surround the College is directed to pass between the cloister and the street, it may be conjectured that the tower was intended to have no egress, as we shall find expressly directed in the case of King's. The central space of the cloister was to be reserved as a burying-place for the members of the foundation³.

The garden between the cloister and the church was to be 38 feet wide. This width has been set out from the wall of the nave instead of from the wall of the choir; by which arrangement the south wall of the cloister falls in the same line as the north wall of the south range of the quadrangle.

¹ [In this passage "close" must mean "closed" (*clausus*) not "close to" (*juxta*).]

² [The directions respecting the position of the tower are the same for the two Colleges. Professor Willis (in his plan of King's) places the tower external to the walls, and so does Mr Essex; probably because the tower at New College Oxford is so placed with reference to the Cloister.]

³ [The right of burial there is regulated by the 37th Statute. Heywood, 577.]

The Quadrangle round which the buildings or "housyng" of the College were to be disposed was situated eastward of the cloister. It was to measure 155 feet from east to west, by 230 feet from north to south, "within the walles," that is, on the inside. In the centre there was to be a conduit. The buildings were to be of one story. The principal entrance was to be on the north side, through a tower-gateway, 40 feet wide, a measurement that has been understood to be taken outside the turrets that would flank the entrance. The height of the tower is not stated. It was to contain two rooms, one for muniments, the other for relics, plate, and jewels. Thus the whole structure would have resembled the Muniment Tower at Winchester, by which it was probably suggested¹.

This north side, or "pane," was to contain on the ground-floor two chambers east of the gate, each 35 feet long; and west of the gate a schoolroom 70 feet long. All were to have a uniform breadth of 24 feet. The first floor was to be occupied by four chambers, two on each side of the gate.

The principal building on the east side was to be the Library on the first floor, 52 feet long by 24 feet wide. The range was to be 18 feet wide, and, with the exception of the Library, was to be wholly occupied by chambers, each 26 feet long by 18 feet wide. It is clear however that the two chambers under the Library would have been 24 feet wide, and, therefore, that the Library building would have projected 6 feet beyond the rest of the range, thus forming the most prominent feature on that side of the College. Four chambers are to be placed on one side of it, and three on the other, so that its position would have been nearly central, as the plan shews.

The south side was to contain the Hall, raised upon a vaulted Buttery and Cellar, with a Pantry to the east, "with a chambre benethe," a direction which would enable the floor to be placed on the same level as that of the Hall. The Hall was to be 82 feet long by 32 feet broad, with two oriel windows, and was to be entered through a porch surmounted by a tower. The Provost's Lodge, 70 feet long, in two floors, was to be westward of the Hall.

¹ [The use of these chambers is described in Statute 35, which directs that the College Seal be kept "in quadam domo ad hoc...super dictam portam constructa."]

The west side was to be occupied by eight chambers, and by the passage into the cloister. The dimensions of neither are given.

It is further directed that there are to be five outer towers and five inner towers, attached to the eastern range; one outer and one inner tower to the Provost's Lodge; and three outer towers and five inner towers to the west range. The inner towers were probably staircases, such as we have already seen employed at Cambridge in the old court of King's. It will have been noticed that no towers are directed for the north range. On the assumption that the inner towers were staircases none would be required, as access to the chambers would be obtained by means of the corner towers ordered for the east and west ranges, and by the gate, in which we may assume that, as at King's, there would be staircases in the turrets towards the court. The reason for assigning three towers only to the outside of the west range has been already mentioned. The use of the outer towers, which it is not so easy to determine as that of the inner, will be discussed when we come to the description of the existing buildings. They have been laid down on the plan in accordance with the arrangements still subsisting.

The position of the quadrangle has been decided by that of the existing Hall, which is of the exact dimensions directed, and is the only part of the design that was so carried out, except the Pantry, or a portion of it, and the Kitchen. These buildings are distinguished on the plan by a deep black. The wall *ab* (fig. 16) is original, and, so far as it is possible to examine it, appears to be an outside wall, and not a party wall. It is not, however, so thick as the north and south walls of the Hall. It is therefore possible after all that it may have been intended to carry on this part of the College further eastward, and so to complete the quadrangle by the addition of a room to fill up the corner.

In attempting to reconcile the dimensions given in the Will, it must be remembered that they are all inside measures, and taken without reference to party walls, which were to be added afterwards. Beginning therefore with the north side we find that the dimensions of the several parts give a total of 180 feet. To accommodate this we have the directed width of the quadrangle, 155 feet, + that of the east side, 18 feet, + that of two walls (each of which may be supposed to be $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet thick), 7 feet

= 180 feet. On the east side the dimensions give a total of 234 feet, which may be accommodated, as the plan shews, by deducting the width of the south wall of the north range ($3\frac{1}{2}$ feet), and by setting that which was to terminate the range towards the south half a foot within the north wall of the Hall. On the south side the dimensions of the Hall and Lodge give a total of 152 feet. No dimensions are given for the Pantry, and it may therefore be made of any size that suits the dimensions of the other parts, as explained above. The west side offers no difficulty.

Between this quadrangle and the Slough road there was to be a court of entrance, called the "vtter court." The arrangements of this court are not laid down with the precision we find employed for the other buildings. All that we are told is that it was to be entered from the road by "a faire yate," that various offices such as the brew-house, bake-house, stables, granary, and hay-house, with rooms for the different servants and officers, were to be situated on the east side; and the Almshouse on the west side. This was to occupy two sides at least of a small subsidiary court, on the north side of which there were to be eight chambers, and on the west side six chambers. Behind these were to be a Hall¹, Kitchen, Buttery, and Pantry, together with a garden and a yard for fuel. These different buildings have been laid down on the plan, but in the absence of exact directions and measurements their position can only be conjectured.

A wall of Kentish stone, thirteen feet high, with towers at intervals, was to be carried round the entire site, in which the southern half of the Playing Fields was to be included, as the measurements prove. These correspond fairly well with those of the site in its present condition. The house occupied by Hugh Dyer, the position of which, at the south-west corner of the site, has been already ascertained, is taken as the point of departure. The south wall extended thence along the water side to the east end of the garden, for 1440 feet; a measurement which corresponds fairly well with the distance from Barnespool to the corner of the Playing Fields, where "Sixth Form Bench"—called "The Green Benches" in the 18th century—now stands (fig. 1). In this wall there was to be a water-gate. The east wall measured 700 feet, the distance from the last mentioned

¹ This is not directed in the Will, but in the draft marked A.]

point to what was then "the new bridge," now Fifteen Arch Bridge. The north wall measured 1040 feet¹. This distance, corresponding with the present boundary wall of the Playing Fields, brings us to the entrance to "Weston's Yard²:" whence 510 feet represent with tolerable correctness the length of the west wall, up to the corner opposite Barnespool whence we started.

The greatest care was to be taken to protect the College from floods. A ditch, 40 feet broad, was to be excavated from Baldwin's Bridge (Barnespool Bridge) to the Thames; and an embankment was to be constructed on the College side of it, at a distance of 80 feet from the Hall, so that the ground within might be dry at all times of overflow³. Moreover, as an additional precaution, the different buildings were to be "enhanced," that is, artificially raised, to a height which varied in each case. The accompanying diagram (fig. 14) has been drawn to explain this extraordinary scheme. What is called "the olde ground," that is, the ground on which the houses stood which were pulled down to make way for the College, was to be raised to a height of 3 feet above the level of the street over the whole area, including the gardens. From this level the "clere wall" on the outside of the Church was to rise. The Church-yard was to be raised to a height of 4 feet, from which a flight of steps was to lead up to the level of the Church on the inside, 10 feet above the same "olde grounde." The Vestry and Cloister were to be 2 feet lower than the floor of the Church, and the central area of the Cloister, or Cemetery, half a foot lower than the deambulatory. The level of the Quadrant and Utter Court was to be a foot lower than that of the Cloister, or 7 feet higher than the "olde grounde."

¹ [The Will says "afterlong the high way vnto the *south-west* corner." It should have been *north-west*. The total distance round the site, moreover, is wrongly summed in the Will. It should be 3690, not 3590. The number is rightly given in "A."]

² [So called from Stephen Weston, who lived there at the beginning of the 18th century. He was first Assistant, then Lower Master; admitted Fellow 9 Oct. 1707; made Bishop of Exeter 1724; died 1743. The following extract from the "Minute Book" marks the position of his house, and the erection of the wall between the Playing Fields and the Slough road. "1717. Jan. 14. Ordered that a Brickwall be Built from Longbridge along the Ditch to y^e corner of Mr Weston's wall."]

³ [The distance from the south-east corner of the Hall to the ditch which originally ran from Barnespool past the College buildings is just 80 feet, as the plan shews. This looks as though the direction quoted above meant that this existing ditch was to be deepened and widened.]

We will now consider the deviations from the plan above described which are found in the other documents. In order to avoid repetition these have been set down in the accompanying table, where the first column gives the dimensions of the Will, the second those of the corrected draft (A), and the third those of the "king's own avyse" (B). This shews that, in what we may call the second design, the choir and nave were each to be increased in length by 15 feet, and in breadth by 3 feet.

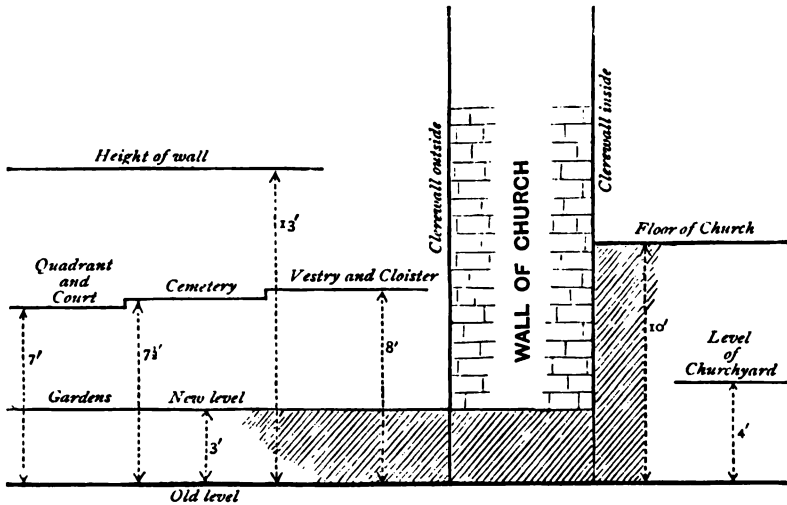


Fig. 14. Diagram to shew the "enhancing" of the site of Eton College.
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch to one foot.

The aisles were to be increased in breadth by 1 foot, and the rest of the dimensions were to remain unaltered¹. This design has been laid down in blue on the plan.

¹ [It should be mentioned that in "A" the excess of the Nave over the Choir from the High Altar to the Choir door is set down as 7 feet; no dimensions being given for the Choir. This gives a length of 97 feet for the Choir between the same points; and a total of either 103 feet or 105 feet for the entire length; according as we assume that the space between the High Altar and the East wall was 6 feet (so as to make up the 103 feet of the Will) or 8 feet as is there directed. It is possible that on the quire of paper that would have been marked "A," a different set of measurements for the Choir were given.]

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF MEASUREMENTS OF THE THREE
DESIGNS FOR ETON, AND OF THE DESIGN FOR KING'S
AS STATED IN THE WILL, IN FEET.

		ETON.			KING'S
		Will.	Second Design A.	Third Design B.	Will.
CHOIR	length	103	118	150	
	breadth between respond	32	35	40	40
	space behind High Altar	8	8	12	
	distance from High Altar to Choir Door	95	110	150	
	height to Crest of Battlements buttresses, height	80 100		80 100	90
ALTAR	length	12		11	
	breadth	5		4½	
VESTRY	length	50			50
	breadth	24			22
	height	20			22
NAVE	length, Choir door to W. door	104	119	168	120
	breadth	32	35	40	40
	excess over Choir	9	9		
AISLES	length	104	119	168	
	breadth	15	16	20	
TOTAL LENGTH OF CHURCH		207	237	318	222
CLOISTER	length, East and West	200			175
	" North and South	160			200
	Deambulatory, width	15			13
	" height	20			20
GARDEN BETWEEN CHURCH & CLOISTER		38			
TOWER	breadth (square)	20			24
	height	140			120
QUADRANT	East pane, length	230			230
	" breadth	18			22
	West pane, length	230			230
	" breadth	—			24
	South pane, length	155			248
	" breadth	—			22
	North pane, length	155			—
GATEWAY TOWER	" breadth	24			—
	length	40			30
	breadth	24			22
LIBRARY	height				60
	length	52			110
HALL	breadth	24			24
	length	82			100
SCHOOL- HOUSE, Eton	breadth	32			34
	length	70			40
HOUSE FOR READING, etc., King's	breadth	24			24

The document containing the third design (B) is so remarkable in every way, that it is here printed in full, line for line with the original¹:

The kynges owne avyse as touchyng certayne demensons also [as] well of the Qwere as of the body of the Churche with the yles of h[is] College Royall of oure blessed lady of Eton.

First he is avysed concluded and fully determened that the seyd [Qwere] schall conteyne in lengthe fro the Est ende with Inne the wall v[nto] the] Qwere dore Cl^r fote of assise . wher of be hynd the hye A[uter] xij. fote. And fro the Reredoce be hynd the hye Auter unto the lowes[t step] y called gradus chori . xliiij . fote. And fro thens for lengthe of the stalles in the Qwere iiij^{xx}. viij. And be hynde the Provostes stall vnto the qwere dore . vj . fote, for a wey in to the Rodelofte for redyng and syngyng and for the Organs and other manere observance there to be had after the Rewles of the Churche of Salesbury.

Item the same qwere to conteyne in brede fro syde to syde with Inne the walles . xl . fote of assise.

Item on euery side of the same qwere to be sett . viij . wyndowes euery wyndowe of . v . dayes clanky and substancially wrought. And in the Eest ende of the same a grete gable wyndowe of . ix . dayes.

Item the hye auter in the seid qwere schall conteyne in lengthe . xvij . fote and in brede . iiij^{or}. fote an a half with oute the Reredoce . Whiche schall conteyne in thiknesse . ij fote. And on the right syde of the seid hye Auter to be sett an ymage of oure lady. And on the left syde an ymage of seynt Nicholas. And a boue in the seyd Reredoce in the myddes to be sett a grete ymage of oure Savoure with the .xij. [A]postoles y sett on euery syde of the same ymage with sygnes and [to]kenes of here passion and martirdome.

[Item t]hat in the space be hynd the hye Auter schall be an Auter in [the myd]des vnder the gable wyndowe conteynyng in lengthe .ix. [fote an]d in brede .iiij. fote with an ymage of oure lady in the [mydd]es holdyng a childe in here armes.

Item that the body of the seyd Churche schall conteyne in lengthe fro the qwere dore vnto the west dore of the same Churche with Inne the walles . Clxviij . fote of assyse. And in the west end of the same a grete gable wyndowe of ix dayes.

Item the brede of the same body with Inne the Pylours to conteyne xl . fote of assise a cordyng to the wyde of the seid qwere.

Item he is avysed and concluded that the yle on eyther syde of the seyd body of the Churche schall conteyne in brede fro respond to

¹ [This document is a folio of 6 leaves, or three sheets, measuring 8½ in. × 11½ in. They are stitched into a parchment cover with 2 parchment thongs, protected on the inside by slips of the same material. The writing begins at the top of the second leaf, and is continued on both sides of the leaf, ending with 6 lines on p. 4. The words and portions of words supplied by conjecture are included between square brackets.]

² [Another dimension has been written in here and scratched out. The erased dimension is difficult to decipher but looks like cxlix.]

respond xx^{ti} fote. And in lengthe . Clxviij . fote a cordyng to the seyde body of the Church. And in euery ende of the seid yles a wyndowe of vj. dayes with a principall moynell in the middes also in euerich of the Eest endes of the seid yles to be sett. ij . Auters with ij Auters in the body of the seid Church to be sett on euery syde of the qwere dore. And in euery syde of the same yles schall be .viij. wyndowes euery wyndowe of . v . dayes to be sett directly a yens viij. Arches of the body of the seid Church.

Item that the walles of the seid Qwere and Church schull conteyne in heght from the grownde werke unto the Crest of the batilments of the same . iij^{xx} . fote of assise. And fro the Crest unto the fynnyng of the pynacles . xx^{ti} . fote. And so the heght of alle fro the clere grownde vnto the heyest part of the pynacles to be C. fote of assise. And so the seid Qwere schall be lenger than the qwere of the Newe College at Oxford bi . xlvij . fote brodder bi . viij . fote. And the walles heyer be . xx^{ti} . fote. And also heyer than the walles of seynt Stephenes Chapell at Westmonstre.

Item he is avysed and concluded that the first stone whiche is poynted to lye vnder the middes of the hye Autere be not stored removed ne towched in any wyse.

Item that the growndes of the Qwere whiche be nowe taken be nott removed ne stored for drede of hurtyng and enpeyryng of the seid growndes but hitt be in tho places as schall be seen be houffull or necessarye so that the growndes newe to be takyn be syde¹ the oold growndes for the enlargyng of the seid qwere be take lowe att the bottom of the fundement with . ij . courses, first . j . cours of platt Yorkschire stone playne and well bedded. After with the secunde Course of Yorkschire and Teynton ston medlyd and couched to gyder. And ther vpon the growndes a rysyng to be made with large substantial fre stone of Teynton w^t hethston and flynt y leyd and couched with good and myghtty mortar made with fyne stone lyme and gravell sonde vnto the clere wall. And fro thens vpward the walles to be made with Yorkschyre and Teynton ston. The same walles to be filled with the same ston and with hard and durable heth ston and flynt with good mortar to be made as hit is before rehersed. So that neyther in the seid growndes ne walles schall in any wise be occupied Chalke Bryke ne Reygate stone otherwyse y called Mestham stone² but oonly of the stuffe be fore rehersed.

Item that the growndes in the southe side of the seid qwere be take largeur with owte the clere wall than thei schall be on the North side of the same bi . ij . fote largely.

This design has been laid down on the plan in red. The dimensions, except the height, are nearly all increased, as the table shews. The choir is 32 feet longer, and 5 feet broader than in

¹ ["be syde" is written over. The word was originally "with oute."]

² [Several words have been scratched out here, and replaced by three flourishes.]

the second design; the nave 49 feet longer and 5 feet broader; the aisles 4 feet broader. The total length therefore of the church has now become 318 feet; for which the second design gave 237 feet, and the first 207 feet. Particular directions are now given respecting the nave. It is to be of eight bays, with a corresponding number of windows in each aisle, and it is to have a west window of nine lights, like the east window of the choir. The other directions, among which those for the altar, reredos, and stalls are much more precise, are explained with sufficient clearness in the document itself. Those relating to the measures to be adopted in consequence of the change of plan, and to the stone to be used, will be referred to in Chapter VII.

The design for Eton is succeeded in the Will by a similar one for Cambridge, from a careful study of which the accompanying plan has been drawn¹. This shall now be described. The task will be much easier than in the case of Eton, for there are no documents except the Will to be studied, and the directions given will be found to be simpler than the former, and therefore less difficult to reconcile. The text is as follows. The principal measurements have been set down on the table at p. 365 for comparison with those of Eton.]

THE COLLEGE OF CAMBRIDGE.

CHURCH

And as touchyng the demensions of the chirche of my said College of oure lady and saint Nicholas of Cambrige, .I. haue deuised and appointed that the same chirch shal conteyne in lenghte CCiiij^{xx} viij. fete of assyse withoute any yles and alle of the widenesse of .xl. fete and the lengthe of the same chirch from the West ende vnto the Auters atte the queris dore, shal conteyne .Cxx. fete, And from the Provostes stalle vnto the grece called gradus chori .iiij^{xx}. fete for xxxvj stalles on either side of the same quere, answeyng vnto .lxx. felawes and .x. prestes conductes which must be

¹ [This plan is by Professor Willis, who notes: "James Essex the Architect drew a plan from the will which has been preserved in a volume of his drawings in the British Museum (Add. MS. 6776). It is not accompanied by any explanation. My plan differs from it in no important particular. The sketch plan in Malden's Account of King's College Chapel (p. 29) is derived from this source. Another is given by Harraden (p. 89). A plan of the same kind drawn on a scale of 12 feet to the inch, hangs in the Provost's Lodge. It is said to have been copied in 1782 by J. Freeman from one given by Matthew Stokys, registrar of King's College from 1570 to 1576."]

de primâ formâ; and from the said stalles vnto the Est ende of the said chirch .lxij. fete of assise. Also a reredos beryng the Rodeloft departyng Roodloft the quere and the body of the chirch, conteynyng in lengthe .xl. fete, and in brede .xiiij. fete; the walls of the same chirche to be in height .iiij^{xx} x. fete, Walls embatelled vaulted and chare rofed sufficiently boteraced, and euery boterace fined with finialx.

And in the Est ende of the said chirch shal be a wyndowe of .xj. daies, Windows and in the west ende of the same chirch a windowe of .ix. daies and betwix euery boterace a wyndowe of .v. daies And betwix euery of the same boteraces in the body of the chirche, on bothe sides of the same chirche, a closette with an auter therin, conteynyng in lengthe .xx. fete, and in brede .x. fete, vaulted Side-chapels and finisshed vnther the soil of the yle windowes: and the pament of the chirch to be enhanced .iiij. fete aboue the groundes without, and the heighte of the pament of the quere .j. fete di' aboue the pament of the chirche, and the pament at the high auter .ij. fete aboue that.

Item, on the north side of the quere a vestiarie conteynyng in lengthe Vestry .l. fete, and in brede .xxij. fete, departed in to .ij. houses benethe and .ij. houses aboue, which shal conteyne in height .xxij.¹ fete in all with an entre fro the quere vaulted.

Item, atte the west ende of the chirche a cloistre square, the Est pane Cloister conteynyng in lengthe .Clxxv. fete, and the west pane as much; and the north pane .cc. fete, and the south pane asmuche, of the which the deambulatorie .xij. fete wide, and in height .xx. fete to the corbel table, with clere stories and boteraced with finialx, vaulted and embatelled, and the groundes therof .iiij. fete lower than the chirch groundes; and in the myddel of the west pane of the cloistre a strong toure square, conteynyng .xxiiij. fete within the walles, and in height .Cxx. fete vnto the corbel table, and .iiij. smale tourettis ouer that, fined with pynacles, and a dore in to the said cloistre ward, and outward noon.

And as touchyng the demensions of the housynge of the said College, QUADRANGLE I haue deuised and appointed in the south side of the said chirche, a quadrant closyng vnto bothe endes of the same chirche, the Est pane East side wherof shal conteyne .CCxxx. fete in lengthe, and in brede within the walles .xxij. fete: in the myddes of the same pane a tour for a yatehous, conteynyng in lengthe .xxx. fete, and in brede .xxij. fete, and in height .lx. fete, with .iiij. chambres ouer the yate euery aboue other; And on either side of the same yate .iiij. chambres, euery conteynyng in lengthe .xxv. fete, and in brede .xxij. fete; and ouer euery of thoo chambres .ij. chambres above, of the same mesure or more, with .ij. toures outward and .ij. toures inward. The south South side pane shall conteyne in lengthe .CCxxxviiij. fete and in brede .xxij. fete within, in which shal be .vij. chambres, euery conteynyng in lengthe .xxix. fete, and in brede .xxij., with a chambre parcellle of the Provostes loggyng, conteynyng

¹ [These numerals are illegible in the copy of the Will at King's, and are taken from that at Eton. These two copies have been carefully collated; but as they differ only in the spelling of words, and not in measurements, or any important particulars, it has not been thought necessary to note the various readings.]

	in lengthe .xxxv. fete, and with a chambre in the Est corner of the same pane, conteynyng in lengthe .xxv. fete, and in brede .xxij. fete; and ouer euery of alle the same chambres .ij. chambres and with .v. toures outward, and .iiij. toures inward: the west pane shal conteyne in lengthe .cc. xxx. fete, and in brede withinfurth .xxiiij. fete, In which atte the ende toward the church shal be a librarie, conteynyng in lengthe .cx. fete, and in brede .xxiiij. fete, and vnder hit a large hous for redyng and disputacions, conteynyng in lengthe xl. fete, and .ij. chambres vnder the same librarie, euery conteynyng xxix. fete in lengthe and in brede .xxiiij. fete, and ouer the said librarie an hows of the same largenesse for diuerse stuf of the College, in the other ende of the same pane an halle conteynyng in lengthe .c. fete, vpon a cawte of .xij. fete high, ordeigned for the Celer and Boterie and the brede of the halle .xxxiiij. fete on euery side therof a bay windowe, and in the nether ende of the same halle, toward the myddel of the said pane a panetrie and boterie, euery of them in lengthe .xx. fete, and in brede .xv., And ouer that .ij. chambres for officers, and atte the nether ende of the halle toward the west a goodly kichen: And the same pane shal haue .ij. toures inward ordeigned for the waies in to the halle and librarie: And in euery corner of the said quadrant shal be .ij. corner toures, on inward and on outward, mo than the toures aboue rehersed; And atte the ouer ende of the halle the Provostes loggyng that is to wete moo than the chambres aboue for hym specified a parlour oon the ground conteynyng .xxxiiij. fete in lengthe, and .xxij. in brede, .ij. chambres aboue of the same quantite And westward closyng therto a kechen larder hous stable and other necessarie housyng and groundes; And westward beyonde thees housynges and the said kechen ordeigned for the halle a bakhouse and bruehouse and other houses of Offices betwene which ther is left a grounde square of .iiij. ² fete in euery pane for wode and suche stuffe; And in the myddel of the said large quadrant shalbe a condute goodly deuised for the ease of the said College.
West side	
LIBRARY	
HALL	
LODGE	
WALLS	And I wol that the edificacion of my same College procede in large fourme clene and substancial, setting a parte superfluite of too gret curious werkes of entaille and besy moldyng.
Bridge	And I haue deuised and appoynted that the procincte of my same College of oure lady and saint Nicholas aswel on bothe sides of the gardine from the seid College vnto the water, as in alle other places of the same procincte, be enclosed with a substancial wal of the height of .xiiij. fete, with a large tour at the principal entree ageyns the myddel of the Est pane out of the high strete; And in the same tour a large yate, and an other tour in the myddel of the west ende at the newe briggge; And the seid wal to be crested and embatelled and fortified with toures, as many as shal be thought conuenient therto.

The Chapel is directed to be 288 feet long inside, and 40 feet wide; and is to be divided as follows. The "body of the church," or as we call it the ante-chapel, is to be 120 feet

long; the roodloft, extending across the whole breadth of the church, is to occupy 14 feet; the stalls, which are measured from that of the Provost to the *gradus chori*, 90 feet; and thence to the east wall 62 feet. These dimensions give a total of 286 feet. The difference of two feet may perhaps be accounted for by supposing the stalls to be measured from the front, and not from the back, of the Provost's stall. The total height of the walls was to be ninety feet. The east window was to be divided into eleven "daies," i.e. lights, the west window into nine; and the rest, of which one was to be placed between each pair of buttresses, into five each. The space between each pair of buttresses, twenty feet wide, was to be occupied, in the ante-chapel only, by chapels, called "closets," each ten feet deep, and rising as high, apparently, as the sill of the windows, so as to form a sort of aisle.

There was not the same necessity for an artificial elevation of the ground here as at Eton; still a certain amount of "enhancing" is directed. The pavement of the ante-chapel was to be 4 feet above the level of the court without; the pavement of the Choir was to be 18 inches above that of the ante-chapel; and the pavement of the altar-floor 3 feet above that again.

The vestry, as at Eton, was to be on the north side, 50 feet long, by 22 feet broad, divided into two floors, with two apartments in each. The building was to be 22 feet high.

There was to be a Cloister, as at Eton, but at the west end of the Church, instead of on the north side, probably because the ground did not admit of any other arrangement. It was to measure 175 feet from north to south, by 200 feet from east to west, with a deambulatory 13 feet wide, and 20 feet high to the corbel-table. In the middle of the west side there was to be a tower, 24 feet square within the walls, and 120 feet high to the corbel-table, above which four angle-turrets were to rise, terminating in pinnacles. The only means of access to this tower was by a door from the cloister. A door outwards is expressly forbidden. The ground within the cloister, four feet lower than the pavement of the Church, was to be reserved as a burial-place for the fellows, scholars, chaplains and clerks; for no one might be buried in the Chapel except the Provost, Vice-Provost, those fellows who were masters in theology, or doctors in any other

faculty, noblemen, or special friends. Moreover, no buildings might be erected in the cemetery except monuments¹.

Nothing is said about the exact position of the cloister-cemetery, which was certainly consecrated, and used for burials for many years. Loggan's plan (fig. 55) shews that the east wall of the bowling-green and garden stood nearly 250 feet from the west door of the Chapel. This ground measures, by his scale, 110 feet from east to west, by 175 feet from north to south². This latter dimension coincides so remarkably with the directed width of the cloister, that we can hardly doubt that it was originally laid out to occupy the space left between the cloister and the river. Again, "the newe brigge" directed in the Will stood at the south-west angle of the bowling-green, and the walk leading to it must have coincided with the southern limit of the cemetery. From these considerations we may infer that the latter was placed close to Clare Hall, but separated from the chapel by a space about 40 feet broad. We have seen that such a space, 38 feet broad, was to be interposed between the north side of the church and the cloister at Eton, "for to sette in certaine trees and floures behoueful and conuenient for the seruice of the chirch." As the cloister at Eton would have extended along the choir as well as the church, it is evident that, for half its length, the breadth of this space would have been increased by the width of the side-aisles, which are wanting in the choir, that is, by about 18 feet, and that on the whole it would have been of nearly the same area. In Wykeham's College at Oxford a narrow space of 12 feet in breadth separates the west wall of the chapel from the cloistered cemetery, placed like that of King's College to the west of the chapel. This cemetery also has a lofty tower on its northern side. At Winchester College also an irregular space having a mean breadth of about 25 feet lies between the chapel and the cloister, which there is placed on the south side of the former. At Salisbury a space 38 feet broad lies between the nave of the Cathedral and the wall of the cloister.

The "housynge" of the College, that is, the chambers and

¹ Statute 51.

² [The distance from the west end of the Chapel to the river is 359 feet by actual measurement, a strong testimony to the general accuracy of Loggan's plan.]

official buildings, were arranged about a quadrangle, or "quadrant," on the south side of the Chapel, which formed the north "pane" or side. The dimensions of this quadrangle are 230 feet from north to south, by 238 feet from east to west. The details of the plan however shew that the buildings of the east and west sides were intended to "close vnto bothe endes of the chirche," that is, to abut against the Chapel at each end beyond the side aisles or vestries, and that the measures of these "panes" include the whole of the buildings. The width of the aisle must therefore be subtracted from the 230 feet; which leaves 215 feet for the real width of the area of the court. In the centre there was to be a "goodly conduit." The east and south sides were each to be occupied by a range of chambers in three floors (instead of the two floors directed for Eton), of a uniform width of 22 feet within the walls. In the middle of the former side there was to be a tower for a gatehouse, 30 feet broad, and 60 feet high, with a range of chambers on either side, each 100 feet long, and containing on each floor four chambers each 25 feet long. These numbers make up the required sum of 230 feet. Thus this side of the College would have contained 27 chambers, without including those at the south-east corner, which are enumerated in the description of the south range. This, 238 feet long, was to contain seven chambers on each of three floors, each 29 feet long, and one at the westernmost extremity of the range, 35 feet long, which, with the two rooms over it, was to be a portion of the Provost's lodge. The seven rooms give a total of 203 feet, which, with the above-mentioned 35 feet, make up the allotted total of 238 feet. The whole number of rooms would have been, as on the east side, 27. The chamber at the south-east corner, of the same breadth as the others, is directed to be 25 feet in length. At first sight it would appear as if this chamber, occupying, as it does, the intersection of two ranges of building each 22 feet wide within the walls, must project three feet beyond the outer face of the building in one direction. It must be remembered however that in all these ancient ranges of chambers there are no party walls, but that the whole range is included within two parallel walls extending from one end to the other, the chambers being separated by stud partitions alone. At the angles of a

court the interior wall of one side is usually continued to the outer line, so that one range can be erected complete, and the other abutted against it, as shewn by the double lines on the plan. The corner chamber therefore will evidently be bounded on three sides by stone walls, and on the fourth by a thin partition. On this principle therefore the length of this chamber at the corner will be greater than the breadth by the thickness of the wall, for which we may allow three feet on the ground.

The west side of the quadrangle contained the Hall with its appendages, and the Library. The length was 230 feet, composed of the Hall, 100 feet long, at the south end, next to which was placed, as usual, the Pantry and Buttery, which were to occupy 20 feet, and beyond them the Library, 110 feet long by 24 feet broad, which completes the total of 230 feet.

The Hall is placed on a vault 12 feet high, for the Cellar and Buttery (which is mentioned twice), and its breadth is 34 feet, with a bay-window on each side. It was to be entered at the north extremity, and there of course the usual screen would be placed, cutting off a passage within the walls of the Hall containing the usual doors of entrance. The Pantry and Buttery, on the north side of the screens, were each to be 17 feet broad, with two chambers for officers (probably the butler, cook, etc.) over them. The Kitchen was not included in the range, but was placed on the west side of the Hall, and formed part of the north side of a small courtyard, 80 feet square. From its position with reference to the pantry and buttery above described it is clear that it could not have been reached by a central door and passage between those offices, as usual in the Halls of Cambridge, but probably by a door opposite to the entrance into the Hall, which is also usual when the kitchen has a lateral position.

Contiguous to the upper or south end of the Hall were placed three chambers for the Provost, namely, a Parlour on the ground-floor, and a single room on each of the floors above, in addition to those already mentioned on the south side of the principal quadrangle. Their ground-plan was to measure 34 feet by 22 feet, the respective breadths of the two ranges of buildings the intersection of which they occupy. Their position in the angle is thus clearly indicated. His kitchen, stable and other offices adjoined these chambers, and formed the south side of

the small court above described. On the north side the College bakehouse and brewhouse were placed, and in the middle area "wode and suche stuffe" were to be stacked.

Above the Library, extending its entire length, there was to be a storeroom, and beneath it a room for reading (lecturing), and disputations, 40 feet long, with two chambers each 29 feet long. These give a total of only 98 feet, leaving 12 feet to be accounted for. This may fairly be supposed to have been reserved for a passage to the bridge, cloister, and gardens, such as is usually afforded by the screens.

The stairs of the whole College were contained in turrets external to the walls, disposed as in the old court. But these all faced the quadrangle, and in addition another series of towers, square in outline, was placed outside the walls, as at Queens' College, but in greater number, for every pair of chambers had one, furnishing them with a small closet. All these towers are carefully enumerated in the Will. At every corner of the quadrangle there were to be two corner towers, one inward and one outward; in addition to these the east side was to have two outward and two inward; the south side five outward and three inward; and the west side two inward only, to give access to the Hall and Library. These have all been delineated on the plan. No outward towers, except those at the corners, are mentioned for the west side, and manifestly were not required [if the suggestion offered above respecting their use be correct; for this range was mainly occupied by offices and not by chambers]. The tower "ordeigned for the waie in to the halle" (for which purpose we have seen that a tower was ordered at Eton) would be broad and square to contain the steps required to rise to the level, which would have been about six feet above that of the court, for the vault 12 feet high was probably half below, and half above, the surface. A tower-porch to the Hall, of which the upper floors are used as muniment rooms, was employed by Wykeham at New College, and it is not improbable that this tower was intended to answer the same purpose¹. In

¹ [Statute XLVIII. directs that the College valuables are to be kept "in quadam domo ad modum et formam turris constructa." The muniments are to be kept "in inferiori sive bassiori camera domus predictæ;" the plate and money "in secunda camera dicte domus siue turris." Nothing is said about the position of this tower:

late examples it was very usual to carry the porch tower to the height of the walls, or even above them¹. The Library tower, as being a staircase, was probably of the same character as the other staircase-towers of the quadrangle.

Before the buildings of the present century were erected the easternmost window of the south side of the Chapel had its sill at the level of the transom of its neighbours, as shewn by

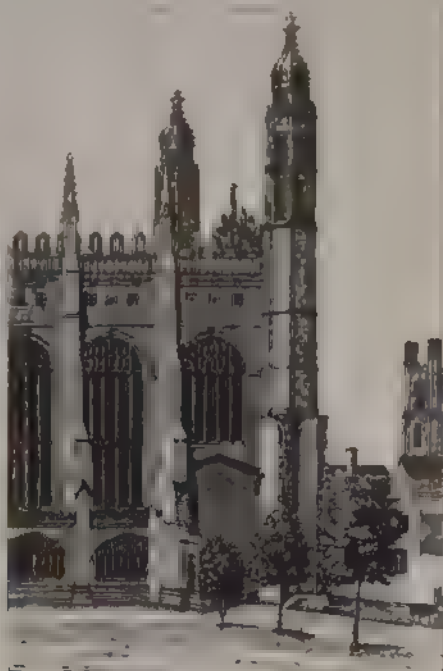


Fig. 15. East end of the south side of King's College Chapel: reduced from Loggan.

Loggan (fig. 15), and was glazed in the upper half only, the lower half being made up with panelling. The roof-line also of the intended chambers—which was to have risen nearly to the

height as the entrance tower is to have three chambers, and no member of the College is likely to have been allowed to live near the treasures, it seems most probable that the Tower of Entrance, and not that of the Hall, was intended to be the Monument Tower. The church plate is to be kept "in una aha domo ad hoc deputanda" words which imply a separate part of the College, probably the vestry.]

¹ Barsham Hall, Norfolk. Vicars' Close, Wells.

level of the sill of the window, a height of about 40 feet¹—was still to be seen, together with the octagonal stair-turret of the inner or north-east corner of the quadrangle, and the springing of the outer turret of the same corner, which was square (fig. 52), and abutted against the octagonal tower of the Chapel, rising about five feet higher than the transom of the window. These square turrets are employed at Queens' College in contrast with the octagonal turrets of the gateway; and this contrast was the more necessary at King's, where the towers of the Chapel and College were intended to be in actual contact. The foundations of the gate had also been laid, for Essex has recorded that "the basements which still remain of the Towers shew not only the form of the Towers but y^e width of y^e Gate itselfe."

The ground between the College and the river was to be laid out as a garden. This we learn from the directions respecting the wall, 14 feet high, which was to enclose the "procincte" of the College "on bothe sides of the gardine vnto the water," and to be continued along the river side again. This wall was to be "crested and embatelled, and fortified with toures as many as shal be thought conuenient therto." Besides these, there was to be one "in the myddel of the west ende," that is, in the middle of the western wall, by the river side, which was there to be crossed by a bridge, called "the newe brigge;" the other, "ageyns the myddel of the Est pane out of the High Strete." It was intended therefore to enclose the space between the street and the College with a wall, pierced by a gateway as at Magdalen College, Oxford.

It is directed in the Will that the west side also of the Court is to abut against the Chapel, and it is probable that the wall of the westernmost bay was left rough for this purpose, for it shews a plinth and facing of a different stone and workmanship from the tower. The intention, however, of erecting this range

¹ [It has been shewn in the History of the Old Court that the rooms had an aggregate height of about 40 feet. As it is clear from Loggan that the roof of the east side of the quadrangle was to have been of a very low pitch, there would clearly have been room enough for the three floors directed by the Founder, on the assumption that they were to be no higher than the former ones. Essex, however, commenting on the words in the Will "over every of these two chambers," remarks, "By the toothings that are left in the S.E. corner of y^e Chapel it appears very plainly y^e only one chamber over each was designed when that work was done." Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 6772.]

must have been abandoned when the Chapel was finished in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

[In studying the design of King Henry the Sixth it will have been observed that the arrangements are characterised by true medieval asymmetry. The Gate-House in the eastern front is neither in the middle towards the court, nor towards the street; the Hall is at the south end of the western range; the passage into the grounds beyond is not opposite to the entrance of the College; nor is even the cloister, with the magnificent tower, which would have been the grandest architectural monument in Cambridge, symmetrically placed with reference to the Chapel¹. By such an arrangement, however, the towers would not have interfered with one another, but would have formed an harmonious group, in which each would have had an appropriate place.

The detailed scheme for the arrangements of the two Colleges is succeeded in the Will by general directions respecting the choice of materials, the wages of the chief workmen, and the rebuilding of S. John's Church, the original situation of which has been already discussed²:

"And I wol that bothe my seid Colleges be edified of the most substantial and best abidyng stuffe of stone ledde glas and yron that may goodly be had and provided therto: And that the chirch of saint John which muste be take into thenlargyng of my same College be wel and sufficientli made agayn in the ground in whiche the Prouost and scolers aboueseid now be logged or nygh by wher hit may be thought most conuenient, to thentent that diuine seruice shal mowe be doon³ therin worshipfully vnto the honour of god oure blessed lady cristis moder saint John Baptist and alle saintis:

And also for the expedicion of the werkes aboueseid I wol that my seid College of Cambrige haue and perceyue yerely of the issues, profits, and reuenues, comyng of the said Castellis, lordsheppis, Manoirs, landes, tenements, rents, seruices, and other possessions aboueseid .C.xvij. li. vjs. x.d. duryng al the tyme of the edificacions of the same College for the yerely wages and rewardes of Officers and Ministres longyng to the werkes there; that is forto wete, for the Maister of the werkes, .l. li. for the Clerk of the werkes, xiiij.li. vj.s. viij.d. for the chief Mason, .xvj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d. for the chief Carpenter .xij.li. viij.s. for the chief Smyth .vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d., and for .ij. purueours either of theym at .vj.d. by day, .xviij.li. v.s. vj.d. And in semblable wyse, I wol that my said College of Eton haue and per-

¹ [Professor Willis notes "the plan as described in the Will was to be asymmetric."]

² [For the further history of this Church see Chapter XI.]

³ [i. e. be capable of being done.]

ceyue yerely during the edificacions there of the same issues, profites, and reuenues, .Cxxiiij. li. for the yerely wages and rewardes of the Officers and Ministres longyng to the werkes there; that is forto wete, for the Maister of the werkes .l.li. for the Clerk of the werkes xiiij.li. vj.s. viij.d. for an other clerk or Controllour of the werkes .xvj.li. vj.s. viij.d. for the chief Mason xiiij.li. vj.s. viij.d. for the chief Carpenter .x.li. for the chief Smyth vj.li. xiijs. iiij.d. and for two purueours either of theym at vj.d. by day, xviiij.li. v.s. vj.d."

Next, after various minute directions and provisions, chiefly legal, which do not concern this present work, the King commits the supreme care of the whole to William Waynflete :

"Furthermore, for the final perfourmyng of my seid wil to be put effectuely in execucion, I, considering the grete discrecion of the seide worshipful fader in god William nowe Bisshop of Wynchestre, his high trought and feruent zeale which at alle tymes he hath hadde and hath vnto my weel, And whiche I haue founde and proued in hym, and for the grete and hool confidence whiche I haue vnto hym for thoo causes wol that he not oonly as Surueour, but also as executor and director of my seid wil, be priuee vnto alle and euery execucion of the perfourmyng of my same wil, and that his consente in any wise be hadde therto."

We shall see presently, in the history of Eton, how nobly this great and good man and most faithful friend justified the trust reposed in him. He alone, of all the persons named by the King, remembered his last and most solemn appeal :

"And that this my seid wil in euery poynt before reherced may the more effectually be executed .I. not oonly pray and desire but also exorte in Crist require and charge alle and euery of my seid feffees myn Executours and Surueour or Surueours in the vertue of the aspercion of Christes blessed blode and of his peyneful passion that they hauyng god and myne entent oonly before their eyen, not lettynge for drede or fauour of any persoune lyuing of what estat degree or condicion that he be truely feithfully and diligently execute my same wil, and euery part therof, as they wol answeere before the blessed and dredeful visage of our lord Jhesu in his most fereful and last dome, when euery man shal most streitly be examined and demed after his demeritees.

And furthermore, for the more sure accomplisshement of this my said wil I in the most entier and most feruent wise pray my said heirs and successours, and euery of theym, that they shewe them self wel-willyng feithful and tender lovers of my desire in this behalf; And in the bowelles of Christ our alder iuste and streit Juge, exorte theym to remember the terrible comminations and full fearfull imprecations of holy scripture agayns the brekers of the lawe of god, and the letters of goode and holy werkes."

This earnest language, however, proved in a few years of as little avail as the seals and the sign-manual with which the King sought to protect his designs, and which he rehearses in the concluding sentence :

"And in witnesse that this is my ful wil and entent .I. haue sette herto my grete seal and the seal of my said Duchie and my seal assigned and appointed by me for the seid Castelx lordsheps Manoirs landes tenementes rentes seruices and other possessions putte in the seid feffement. And also aswel the signet that .I. vse in myne owne gouernaunce for the same Duchie as the signet of myn Armes. And .I. haue signed with myne owne hand thes present lettres ended and tripartited And do theym to be closed vnder my priue seal at my seid College of Eton the xij^{the} day of Marche the yere of oure lord m^ccccc. xlviij. And of my regne the xxvj^{the}."

CHAPTER V.

[GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHAPEL AND COLLEGIATE BUILDINGS OF ETON DERIVED FROM THE BUILDING ACCOUNTS, AUDIT BOOKS, AND OTHER SOURCES, TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF THE FOUNDER.

THE first stone of the Chapel at Eton was undoubtedly laid by the King in person¹, but no record of the date of the ceremony has been preserved. We shall find that June the fifth was observed as "Dedication Day" during the progress of the works. The workmen had a holiday, and received full pay, "by the kinges commandement²." There is, however, no evidence to shew that this day was selected because it represented the actual day of laying the stone; nor is any hint given why it was chosen in preference to any other.

¹ [Bishop Bekyngton's Register (Rolls Series), i. cxix. Capgrave, "De Illustribus Henricis," *ibid.* p. 133: "In positione quoque primorum lapidum ipse [Henricus sextus] præsentialia sua opus decoravit."]

² [Accounts, 11 June, 1442. "The said man [Edmond Dynby] and other iiij men in reward for ye dedication day at ij*d* a pece by the kinges commaund. *xd*."] .

The contemporary building accounts were long mislaid, and believed to have been stolen, until they were discovered by the present Provost in 1866. Not only is the series unusually complete, but the documents themselves have been prepared with great minuteness, entering into full particulars of the cost of each article, the place whence it came, and occasionally the use for which it was intended; although, as is so frequently the case with this class of documents, the point on which we desire the fullest information is that in which they most often fail us. Besides the final account, or *Computus*, handed in by the clerk of the works, there are several books containing the items (*Particule computi*), out of which the totals in the former account are composed; others containing lists of the workmen, and the wages they received, week by week (*Jornale*, or, *Particule Vadiorum et Stipendiorum*). We shall find these latter most useful in indicating the nature of the work, which the former frequently omit¹. These accounts are so interesting that they well deserve to be printed in full. For our present purpose those items only will be selected which appear most likely to throw light upon the nature of the work that was going on.

The staff of workmen by whom the building operations of the two Colleges were to be carried on was arranged on the most extensive and liberal scale, and was the same for both. The chief officers were as follows, with their yearly wages. The English designations are from the Will of King Henry the Sixth², the Latin from the accounts at Eton.

Master of the works (magister seu supervisor operum) ..	£50 . 0 . 0
Clerk of the works (clericus operum)	£13 . 6 . 8
Second clerk or comptroller of the works (alter clericus seu contrarotulator)	£13 . 6 . 8
Chief mason (capitalis cementarius)	13 . 6 . 8
Chief carpenter (capitalis carpentarius)	10 . 0 . 0
Chief smith (capitalis faber)	6 . 13 . 4
Two purveyors (duo provisos operum)	18 . 5 . 6

Besides these there were other officers in each trade, called "wardens" (*gardiani*), whose duty probably was to keep order

¹ [The table printed in the Appendix I. B. shews the dates of these different accounts, with the amount spent upon wages and materials in each year, the name of the clerk of the works, and other particulars.]

² [The passage was quoted in the last chapter, towards the end of the Will.]

among the men. The stone-cutters (*lathamz*), or freemasons, had a sub-warden, as well as a warden; the carpenters and the plumbers a warden only. The warden of the freemasons, when the works were in full operation, received £10 a year; the others apparently were not paid more highly than the rest of the men, but they were provided with livery once a year. In 1448 livery is charged not only for the officers mentioned in the Will, but for the warden of the masons, the warden of the carpenters, the lime-burner, the chief labourer, and a journeyman smith (*serviens faber*)¹. The clerk of the works, and the comptroller, were allowed their food; but the workmen all paid for their own, even the freemasons, who had a cook to themselves, paid for by the King.

The number of men employed varied of course according to the work, and the season of the year. The wage-books shew that the "masons called freemasons," and the "masons called hardhewers," were retained all the year round. They received sixpence a day; and the former were allowed their wages on Saints' days, when no work was done; the latter not, except sometimes by special command of the King. Sixpence a day was the rate of wages for all the men, except the labourers, who received fourpence or fivepence. Discipline was very strict,

¹ [The following entries illustrate this (Accounts, Dec. 24, 1442):

"Thomas Scotte for vij yerdes of Ray cloth bought for the liueres of William Lynde [clerk of the works] and John Smyth, pris the yerde xxjd., xjs. viijd.; and for iiij yerdes playne cloth for the same liuere, pris the yerde ijs. ij., xjs. viijd.; in alxxiijs. iiijd."

The same Thomas for iij yerdes of Ray cloth, pris the yerde xvijjd.; and for ij yerdes of medley pris the yerde ijs. ij., bought for the liuere of William Burne Cook vnto the masons; in alviijs. xd."

Robert Falowefeld for the shering of the seid ix yerdes of Ray taking for the shering of euery yerde jd.; in alixd."

Thomas Pikeman for the cariage of the seid cloth fro London to the College ...ijd."

John Siluester, Th. Milsent, Robert Wheteley [and others], for their liuere agains Cristemesse; that is to wete to euery of theym iij yerd of cloth Ray pris the yerde xvijjd. and to euery of theym ij yerdes of brode cloth of the colour of Russet medley pris the yerde ijs. iiijd.; in alliiijjs."

Thomas Felde for the cariage of the same clothing fro' Winchestre vnto the Collegexijd."

And the following from the *Particule Computi* for 1445—46 (*Empcio liberate*):

"Et in xij virgis di' panni lanei, coloris mustardydbiles, empt' de Thoma Feld pro vestur' et liberat' clerici operum, capitalis lathami, capitalis carpent', et capital' plumar', precium virge apud Wyntoniam iijjs.xxxvijs. vjd."]

and a system of fines was enforced, by which men who misbehaved themselves lost a whole day, or half a day, for each misdemeanour. A few of these may be cited: "for he lost a Showell;" "for late cuming;" "for telling of tales;" "for chiding;" "for freghting" (half-day); "for breaking of Shovoll;" "for playing;" "for letting of his felowes" (whole day); "for keping of the hole owre" (half-day). This was probably the dinner hour, and the strict observance of it by the men seems to have been a grievance with the clerk of the works, for Robert Goodgrome is fined "for he wold kepe his owris and neuer go to werke till the clocke smyte." His example apparently caused something like a mutiny, for twenty-one men are fined a whole day because "they wolde not go to theire werke til ij of clocke, and al makith Goodgrome." Another lost three days "for shending of a lode of Strawe;" and another a whole week "for he wol not do nor labor but as he list himself¹."

For the first year, when William Lynde was clerk of the works, the wage-book only has been preserved. This, marked "Jornale Anno primo," extends over thirty-two weeks, from Monday, 3 July, 1441, to Monday, 5 February, 1441—42. A summary of the wage-book shews that nearly 69 men on an average were employed in each week, the highest number being 99, and the lowest 24. They consisted mainly of labourers (of whom 32 were employed weekly until the middle of November), carpenters, sawyers, and stonemasons (called simply "masons" at first, but afterwards "freemasons"), with a few plasterers. Joiners (*junctores*), and timber-hewers (*prostratores meremii*), were employed occasionally, and rough-masons, called "row-masons," for 13 weeks only. One, two, or three plasterers are employed weekly, and tilers, varying in number from one to five, for nine weeks, but only a single bricklayer for three weeks. These figures shew that some considerable works, both in stone and wood, were in hand, while the number of labourers may perhaps indicate the digging of foundations, which are specially mentioned in the next year.

An account for the purchase of materials may have been written at the commencement of this wage-book, where seven leaves have been torn out, for on the first of the three remaining

¹ [These instances are selected from the accounts of Roger Keys (1448—1449).]

is an account headed "Necessarie empte." This records the purchase of twelve elm trees for "le clocher," no doubt the bell-tower of the old church, which is frequently mentioned afterwards; the carriage of the bells from London, and the provision of wheels and clappers for them at Eton¹. If we may conclude that the belfry was a wooden one, the number of sawyers and carpenters is at once accounted for.

For the next year, extending from Monday, 12 February, 1441—42, to Monday, 4 February, 1442—43, we have both a wage-book and an account-book for materials supplied. The works, whether the erection of new buildings, or the repair of old ones, were evidently being carried on with increased activity from the number of workmen of different trades employed upon them. The weekly average has now risen to 116. To give an idea of what was being done let us take the week beginning with Monday, 23 July, 1442, as a specimen. There were 53 free-masons, 9 "hard-hewers," 15 "rowmasons," 45 carpenters, 4 sawyers, 3 thatchers, 1 tiler, 1 plasterer, 1 smith, 5 bricklayers, and 45 labourers; making a total of 182. These workmen had to be sought out in different parts of England, and some were even pressed into the service, as had been done at King's².

Steps had been taken to procure a regular supply of brick. A piece of ground was hired at Slough, at an annual rent of twenty shillings³, and a brick-kiln built upon it. This was begun in April, 1442, and the final payment for it was made in February, 1443, as the following entries shew. It was however in working

¹ ["Johani Profit de Wyndesore pro xij vlmis ab eo apud le Wyke emptis pro le clocher...xvj s. Johanni Hampton pro cariagio campanarum in london vsque aquam Thames xix d; et pro cariagio earundem xij d:...Et fabro london pro ij^c, j quart' et xij lb ferri operati ad ponderand' dictas campanas precium libre ij d. Et eidem pro C, j quart' et xxj lb operat' in clapers pro eisdem campanis," etc.]

² [23 Apr. 1442. "Robert Westurley xxv day of April in Reward for purweing of Fremasons in diuerse place of Engelond endentid in a bille dilyuered by the handes of William lynde [clerk of the works].....xxs.

16 July 1442. John Lynde William Lynd John Sacrys and Thomas Rigware Row Masons of Norwyche in reward at heir going.....xvj d/ha]"

³ [In the accounts for 1443—4, after the price of bricks, we find xxs "pro firma cuiusdam pecie terre pro luto inde habendo pro factura eorundem." The unwonted traffic along the road rendered repairs necessary, for we find "William Slotte in reward for digging of ye hyewaysyde be twix Slough and Eton for cariage of brike viz. viij d." The brick-kiln became a source of revenue afterwards, and we meet with the sale of bricks frequently among the "Recepta."]

order long before that date, for 66,000 bricks were brought to the College on 28 May, 1442¹.

23 April, 1442. "William Wesey vpon making of a breke kylne be the handes of Will. Lynde in to y^e xxviii day of April xxviij^s. iiij^d."

4 February 1443. William Vesy in ful paiement for making of the brike kilne and c[sic]m^l of brike at x^d the m^l laying, by commaunment of the Erle of Suffolk.....xxv.s."

The name of William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, occurs frequently in connexion with the foundation and buildings of Eton. The general superintendence of the works seems to have been entrusted to him; and he had complete control over the finances, for no payments, except the most ordinary ones, were made without reference to him.

A contract was also made in this year for a supply of stone (Ragg) ready prepared for use, from the quarries of Kent, which shall be quoted at length².

"The quarrey men of kent.

Thes endentures made the iiij day of April the yere of Regne of king Henry the sixte the xx, bytwene William lynde clerke of the werkes of the edificacion of the kinges college of owre lady of Eton by syde Wyndesore on the oon partie. And Thomas Hille Thomas Bridde John Carter John Hook and John Tyllie on the other partie wittenesse :

That the same Thomas John John and John haue made full couenaunts with the said William that they by Witsontide nex comyng shal at their owne costes do be made and browght vn to london iiij^xxvj fote of legement table bering ful joyntes at ye lest iij ynches or more clene apparailled in the forme that ys callid casshepeed according to a molde to theym therof deliuered by the said William. And they shal haue for euery ciiij fote of the same legement whan it is come to Eton aboue said so clene apparailled xxxiij^s. iiij^d."

¹ [The total quantity of bricks brought into College during the years for which we are able to calculate it was 2,469,100, as follows :

1442—3.....	463,600	1447—8	
1443—4.....	1036,500	1448—9	60,000
1444—5.....	174,000	1449—50.....	123,500
1445—6.....	176,000	1450—51.....	135,500
1446—7.....	300,000		

This gives a yearly average of 308,637. On the supposition that the supply remained constant, or nearly so, we might allow 300,000 per annum for the 10 years down to 1460. This would give a total of about five millions and a half supplied during the reign of Henry the Sixth.]

² [The clerk of the works was absent in Kent this year for 10 days "upon purwenyng of Rag and Asshelters," probably to settle the terms of this contract.]

Also the said Tho' Thomas John John and John shal by Mydsomere next comyng do be made and brought at their costes vn to london iij^cxxij fote of tweyne legement tables aftur the forme of certain moldes therof to theym deliuered bering ful joyntes iij ynches or more at the lest. And iij^cxxvj fote of Seuerant table scapled with poynts aftur a molde to theym also therof deliuered, with xij coynes iij skouchons-anglers and viij Square Anglers to the said first legement table and this seuerant table and vn to the said othere tables asmany as shal nede. And they shal haue of ye said William for euery fote of these thre tables oon with an othere iij^d.

Item the same Thomas Thomas John John and John shall do make and be brought vn to london at their costes xxxij Nowels eueryche of them iij fote and ij quarter long and of suche brede as the said William shal appoynte. And they shal do the same Nowels to ben apparilled at Eton abouesaid by Mydsomere next comyng. And they shal haue and take of the said William for euery pece of the same Noweles iij^s.

Also they shal by Mychellesse next comyng at their costes to be made and brought vn to london iij^c fote of Crestes and Corbel table aftur the fourme of ij Moldes to theym therof deliuered. And it do be apparilled clene at Eton abouesaid. And they shal haue and take of the said William for euery fote therof oon with an othere vij^d.

Also whiche couenaunts wel and truly to ben kept on the parte of the said Thomas Thomas John John and John eueryche of theym by thes presentes bindith seuerally hym self vn to the said William in x li. In wittenesse wherof the said parties to thes endentures entrechaungeably haue put their seelx. Yoven the day and the yere abouesaid."

Some of this stone was delivered in the following June; and on the whole 994 tons of Rag were paid for in this year. To this may be added 681 tons of "Mestham stone," a stone now called "firestone," from Merstham, near Reigate, in Surrey; 157 tons of "Ashlar," 40 tons of "legement-table," and 407 tons of Caen stone¹. A stone called "Modrestone" was obtained from Langley, near Slough, and what is termed "Ornell" from London².

Timber, oak, ash, and elm, were obtained in large quantities from Sunninghill, Cranborne, Elthamstead and Langley. That from the first-named place came by water, probably floated

[These totals are arrived at by adding up the items from the weekly accounts.]

¹ [10 Sept. 1442 "Ric" Brymmeley for cariage of xvij lodis of modrestone fro Langleyfeld vn to ye College at iij^d ye lode; in al xvj^s.

30 July 1442 John Kenvington for fraughtage of x tonne of Ornell fro london vn to ye College at xvjd the tonne; in al xvj^s iij^d."

down in rafts¹. The total amounted to 16,468 feet. This does not include 2080 oaks, for which a special agreement was made in June, and the trees were felled in September. The price agreed upon was one penny each for the first thousand, twopence each for the second thousand, and twelvepence each for eighty². Probably most of this timber was not intended for immediate use, but laid up to season. Scaffold timber from Windsor Park is also expressly mentioned; and also "v. dosyn of hyrdelez for skafold at ijd ye pece³."

The following extracts shew that the foundation of some part of the College was being dug this year :

16 April 1442 "John Modding for cariage of xxxj lodes of lome fro the fundacion of the College in to the tembre haw and in to a woyde place for to kepe to dawpe howsing ther w^t iij lodes for jd.; in al ...xd.

18 June Thomas Wigh for xvj Skaynys of grete packethrede for the masons for mesours at ob a pec'; in al.....viijd.

10 Sept. Thomas Jordeley, Hug' Dyer, and John Fremmeley for brede and hale and chese for warkemen and laboras, taking the groundes of the College thorow the pondis in to the Coll.vijs. ix*d*.

1 Oct. 1442 Item for xv labor' waching and kestyng water out of the pondes whyls Masons toke the groundes⁴ by a hole nyght at iiij*d*/y^e pecev*s*."

The security of the College was also considered, and steps were taken to protect it with a fence :

21 May 1442 "Thomas Combe paliser send to make covenant to make the pale of the closure of the college by commandement of my lord⁵ in Reward for his costis in comyng hiderxx*d*."

¹ [27 Aug. 1442 "Amy kyrby wedow of Reding for lxi*lb* and half of Ropys of hir ybough for trussing of tymbre fro Sonnyng by watur vn to hammoden lok a lb. j*d*; in alv*s* j*d* ob."]

² [June 25. "Robert Hynggullfeld for ij M^l and iiij^{xx} of certen okys astur the forme of certen Endentures therof made in party of xxiiij Marc' and x s for the same treeslxiijs. iiij*d*.

9 July 1442 [The same] in ful payment of M^l Okes at j*d* the pec'; M^l at ij*d* the pec'; iiij^{xx} at xij*d* the pec'xiijs. vjs. viij*d*."]

³ [Scaffolds were evidently closed in to protect the workmen against weather, as in France at the present day. In the accounts for 1445—6 we find "In empcione. xij. dd. Cladarum empt' de Thoma Frere pro factura de lez Scafolds...Et Custodi parci de Cippenham pro. x. Carect' arborum vocat' Alders...pro factura dict' Scafolds. Et in xix bundell' virgarum quercinarum empt' de ballivo Collegii de Wyndesore pro factura dict' Scafolds," etc. "Cladæ" are laths. A similar entry occurs in 1446—7.]

⁴ [The term "ground-men" is still used in some parts of England to describe those workmen who are specially employed to dig foundations.]

⁵ ["My lord" is no doubt the Earl of Suffolk. There are also a number of payments "for clensing of dikes about ye college groundis," too long to be quoted here.

Work done to the Parish Church is definitely mentioned. A payment for carrying "erthe out of the Chircheyard" indicates the digging of a foundation; and there are several others for the carriage of stone into it "from the Thamme syde." One of the windows was ornamented with the royal arms, and several others were "emended¹" for the sake of ventilation.

The purchase of iron and lead, and the making of lime and mortar, are worth recording, because they shew that something more than the collection of materials was on hand. The lime-kiln was situated under Windsor Castle. The lime was burnt with a wood fire, the materials for which were cut in Windsor and other adjoining forests².

The accounts for the third year of the work are very meagre, recording only materials bought from 11 February, 1442—43 to 9 June, 1443, with nothing set down for wages. During this period we find the usual purchases of stone from Caen and Merstham, together with "Ragg," "Moldre-stone," this time from Wexham, and "Ornel³." Oaks are purchased from Chobham, with other timber in large quantities, among which scaffold-timber is again specially mentioned. Brickwork was evidently progressing, for eight men are rewarded "for good labouring in brike laying by commandment of John Hampton," the surveyor. A purchase of "coles," i.e. charcoal, to make cement with⁴ shews that stonework was on hand. We find moreover that the ground is being cleared for the erection of new buildings, for a certain barn is pulled down and rebuilt elsewhere⁵;

In the last (on Sept. 3) 164 perches = 2706 feet are paid for. This is nearly equal to the circuit of the College at the present day.]

¹ [14 May 1442 "John Grayland Glasier for ye making of ij Armes of ye kingis to ben sette in the wyndowes of the chirchevjs. viij*d*
13 Aug. Richard Sevy for emending of diuerse wyndouse casid with Iren for the haire for to cum in to the chirchevjs."]

² [Burton's Accounts, 1447—48. "Willm^o Withley...pro prostracione, sicatione, fissura, et factura, xiiij^o Talshides apud Snowdenhill infra parcum de Wyndesore de arboribus domini Regis ibidem crescent^o pro combustione calcis pro operibus predictis ad diuersas vices.....lxxs."]

³ [1 April "for fraught of C j quarter and a-half of Ornel contenyng iij tonne fro London vn to the College at xv*d* the tonne; in al.....iiijs."]

⁴ [11 Feb. "Thomas Clerke for a quarter of Colez for Fremasons for Syment fre stone w^tvi*d*."]

⁵ [18 Feb. "Margret Water for viij Elmes for grounsell of the long barne to be remoud for loging at x*d* the pec^t.....vjs viij*d*."]

and the term "quadrant of the College" occurs for the first time¹.

William Lynde was succeeded in the office of Clerk of the Works by John Vady, by whom the accounts were kept more systematically. The items are entered one after the other in broadly spaced lines, with the cost of each article written over it, and headings denote the nature of the work paid for. Three of his account-books exist, extending together from Michaelmas 1443 to Michaelmas 1446: and for the last year we have the "particule" and wage-book, as well as the "compotus."

In the first year, under the heading "*Custus noue edificacionis Collegii*," stone from Caen and Mestham (Merstham) is recorded. The latter includes 4351 feet of ashler, 211 feet of corbel-table, 415 feet of "crestes and ventes," 248 feet of "smaller crests," and 23 feet of "nowell" from Maidstone. "Ragg from the Savoy" occurs this year for the first time in the accounts². It consisted of the materials of the walls of the Savoy Palace, which the King had granted to the College, and which were pulled down as required.

Timber is brought from Windsor Park, Eygrove and Templewood; planks from Templewood and Wokyngham; lathes from Esthamstede; and "talwode," a kind of firewood for the use of the lime-burners, from Langley.

Lead is also bought, and a beam to weigh it with, together with various articles of ironwork, among which is a payment for eighteen locks, which shews that certain rooms must have been ready for occupation³.

We now meet with a most interesting record. On 30 November, 1443, William Waynflete the Provost, and William Lynde, the Clerk of the Works, contracted with Robert

¹ [4 Mar. "Watryn Wynwick for ij cast of brede, and vij galons Ale at jd ob. q. by hym bough for werkemen and labor' dryving the berne in to the quadrant of the College.....xij*d*."]]

² [Vady's Accounts for 1445—6. "Et Johanni Dawe pro fodicione cclxvij. doliatis di' huius Ragg habit' de dono domini Regis de veteribus muris apud Savoy iuxta london cap' pro huius fodicione cuiuslibet doliat' ac pro cariagio eiusdem vsque Ripam aque ibidem ij*d* ob: lvs. ix*d*."]]

³ [Vady's Roll, 1443—4. "[In] Empcione Dj quart' tabularum voc' Estricheborde et Dcc ped' voc' quarterbord...Empcione liij garb' calabis; xij lb. ferri operati; ij garb' de Osmondes; xvij plattez ferri pro seris. Empcione vnus incudis pro fabris. Empcione vnus beeme pro ponderacione plumbi et al' ferrament'. Empcione lxx. Mⁱ.CC. clau' voc' Spikynges; vj Mⁱ clau' voc' leednaylles; Mⁱ clau' voc' Rofnaylles..."]]

Whetelay, the chief carpenter, for all carpentry work about ten chambers on the east side of the College, a Hall with cloisters adjoining, and seven towers and turrets; exclusive of doors, windows, benches, studies, partitions, and all other necessary furniture for the same, for which a special contract had been made with him. He was to use the materials in store (*de estuffur dictorum operum*); and to be paid £19. 4s. 0d., for the whole work. The important sentences of the contract, which contain many curious words, are given in the note. From one expression used about the towers *pro sublivacione earundem*), we ought perhaps to conclude that Whetelay was to construct them, and therefore that they were to be of wood. This interpretation is however doubtful. The original of this precious document has disappeared, and its existence would have been unknown had it not fortunately been rehearsed in the Accounts for 1445—6, when the final payment to the carpenter was made¹.

Under the heading "*Reparacio veteris ecclesie ibidem*" we find that the old Church was being not only repaired, but enlarged. Nothing definite however is mentioned except the carriage of two Bells from London, and the placing of them in the Belfry. The sum spent on this Church in this year was £45. 2s. 0½d.²

The fence round the College (*palicium circa Collegium*), the extent of which had been measured in a previous year, was now constructed for 1023 yards, of posts and rails brought from the forests of Cranborne and Templewood, at a cost of £9. 12s. 9d.

For this year we get an interesting notice respecting the progress of the buildings from an independent source. On Sunday, 13 October, 1443, Thomas de Bekyngton was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells, "in the old collegiate Church of Blessed Mary of Eton," after which, says his Register :

¹ [Vady's Particula, 1445 -46. "Et in denariis solutis Roberto Whetelay capitali carpentario pro factura hewyng et sframying de estuffur dictorum operum totius sframacionis tam pro x cameris existentibus in parte orientali eiusdem collegii quam pro Aula et claustr' assequent'; necnon pro factura vij tarrum et turrectorum infra idem collegium; ac pro sublivacione earundem et pro scapulacione, squarr' et sarr' et tabularum maerem ad idem; exceptis tamen de istis conuencionibus factura hostiorum fenestrarum scannorum studiorum parclores graduum prassarum sperarum latinarum et aliorum necessariorum mobilium in predictis cameris et Aula faciendis per conuencionem cum ipso factam in grosso "]

² [This included viij. nijd. "pro factura vnius ciste ordinat' pro ornamentis ecclesie ibidem intus ponendis et custodiendis."]

"He proceeded to the new church of S. Mary, in the same place, which was not as yet half finished: and there, under a pavilion at an altar set up exactly at the spot where King Henry the Sixth laid the first stone, he celebrated his first mass in pontificals. Afterwards he gave a banquet on the ground floor of the new buildings of the college, on the north side, where the chambers had not as yet been subdivided by partitions¹."

In the following year (1444—1445), the purchase of worked stone is continued as before. The names, though not always easy of explanation, are worth recording. We meet with 43 feet of "grastables," 53 feet of "leggementable," 9 "endstones," 20 feet of "benchtable," 134 feet of "seuerantable," 31 feet of "scues," 12 feet of "paces." These last are from a quarry at Maidstone. Flints are brought from Marlowe, Medmenham, and a quarry beneath Windsor Castle; sand is dug in Eton itself. Wainscot and "rigalbordes²" are also bought, and 15,000 lathes from Esthamstede. The King gave twenty-eight loads of timber from Odyham, Wexham, and Chobham. Firewood came from Langley³, Chippenham, and Windsor. Plaster of Paris, wax, and rosin, are also mentioned. Subsequent entries shew that the latter articles were used in the making of cement⁴.

Under the heading "*Reparaciones et custus forinseci*," we find the repairs of the old Church continued, and the erection (*nova constructio*) at the end of it of a house and two rooms to teach scholars grammar in. A stable and hayhouse for the College use were removed and rebuilt elsewhere. The fence was also completed this year, by the erection of gates at a cost

¹ ["Quo die idem Thomas post consecrationem suam in nova ecclesia beatæ Mariæ ibidem nondum semiconstructa, sub papilione ad altare erectum directe super locum ubi rex Henricus vi^{us} primum posuit lapidem, primam in pontificalibus celebravit missam. Et in nova fabrica collegii ibidem ex parte boriali, dum adhuc cameræ non erant condistrictæ subtus, tenuit convivium." Correspondence of Bekyngton, i. cxx. See also Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 45, for two royal warrants, respecting the pressing of workmen "to the edifiacion of oure collage of oure lady of Eton." They are undated, but addressed to "the Bisshopp of Bathe oure Chancellor of Englande."]

² ["CC di tabularum voc' waynscottis et vij tabularum voc' Rigall."]

³ ["In prostracione fissura et factura CCC di Talschides apud Langley; xv caret' de lopp et cropp de parco de Wyndesore; ...arbor' vocat' alders de parco de Cippenham."]

⁴ ["j pipp' plastre de paressh; ...xiiij lb cere de poleyn, et xlvij lb. de Rosen. 1445—6. xiii. lib cere polyn pro factura de Cymenti vjs; xxij lib. Rosyn pro factura huius Cyment' xiiij*d.* 1449—50. [Keys' Accounts.] Et solut' vj^{to} die mensis Decembr' Johanni Burrell Ciui London pro xij lb. cere de seipso emptis pro cemento inde fiend' ad officium lathomorum—vjs. viij*d.*"]

of £8. 18s. 6d., a sum which shews that they must have been of considerable size, and that therefore the fence itself must have been substantial. Much of the timber purchased had probably been used in the construction of it¹.

The weekly average of workmen this year is only sixty-three. Several new trades are, however, represented, as stonelayers (*positores petrarum*), plumbers, roofers (*tegulatores*), smiths, woodcutters (*prostratores meremii*), and glaziers (*vitriatores*). Bricklayers were employed during thirty-four weeks of the year, plumbers during fifteen, glaziers during six.

In the following year (1445—6) no Caen stone is bought, but instead we meet with stone from Hudleston in Yorkshire for the first time. It was not, however, brought direct from the quarry, but procured from the clerk of the works at Sion.

The new Church (*nova ecclesia*) is now expressly mentioned, and 5887 feet of stone called "Assheler Rough scapled or Assheler chapmanware," from the quarries of Maidstone, Farleigh, and Boughton, together with 1236 feet of "Seuerant-table," 45½ feet of "Scuez," 27 "large stones called Nowelles and 10 smaller," and 8 "Endstones," from the same quarry, are bought for the construction of the walls. Besides these stones ready for use, "Rag," "hethston," and flints were used "in the said walls, and in their foundations." The walls had risen sufficiently high by winter to require protection, and fourteen loads of straw are bought from the Abbess of Burnham and others for that purpose². It may therefore have been for them that a substantial scaffold was needed; for 100 pieces of scaffold timber are brought from Templewod and Dynesden, and Thomas Frere is paid for the making "de les scaffolds"³. Another proof of the progress of

¹ ["Et in diversis custibus...super...factura et noua constructione cuiusdam domus et duarum camerarum ad finem eiusdem infra procinctum dicti Collegii pro scolariis gramatice intus informandis, necnon remocione emendacione et groundsillynge duarum aliarum domorum pro equis et feno dicti Collegii inibi ponendis et custodiendis, cum viijl. xvijjs. ij^d solut' pro factura portarum palicii circa idem Collegium, et xlvs. j^d pro factura cuiusdam pun sald iuxta predictum Collegium infra dictum tempus...iiij^{xx} ij. li xixs. ix^d. ob."]

² ["Et pro xijj carect' straminis empt' pro coopertura...murorum dicte ecclesie tempore yemali."]

³ [All this timber came down the Thames by water, and thence was carried "vsque logeam [the workmen's yard] et le tembre hawe et vsque muros ecclesie et collegii." Accounts for 1445—46.]

the work is afforded by the purchase of two cables and other cords "to raise timber and stone."

The Hall is likewise mentioned. The Kentish quarries supply 252 feet of "grastable," 164 feet of "seuerant-table," 69½ feet of "paces," and 94 feet of smaller paces called "paces chapman ware" for the walls: and in November the chief stonemason is sent to London to take the directions of the Marquis of Suffolk on the design¹.

Other materials are also paid for, as "hethstone" from Huchenden, 17 bushels of oystershells for the masons (*positores*), and four quarters of broken pottery, called "Tilsherd." Among notices of less importance may be cited the purchase of coals "apud Novum castrum super Tynam."

The completion of some of the chambers is indicated by the purchase of rings for the doors, iron plates for the locks², and "floryshid" glass for the windows of the Library and Vice-Provost's chamber. For the former apartment John Prudde the glazier supplies glass of various colours³.

Extensive alterations and repairs to the old Church were undertaken during this year and the next. It will be convenient to relate these together. Between 1445 and 1447 the Chancel was pulled down and rebuilt on an enlarged scale; a new roof was put on to the rest of the Church; and the interior was provided with new fittings and more splendid decorations. The rood-loft and stalls⁴ were fitted up before the Feast of the Assumption (15 August) 1446; the chancel and nave were paved with tiles; 638 feet of "powdred glass," with twelve figures of prophets, were ordered for thirteen windows in the chancel (evidently six windows on each side and the east window); the west window was enlarged and filled with sixty feet of glass

¹ [Accounts for 1445—6. "Et in expensis capitalis lathami existentis London pro avisiamento Marchionis Suffolk habend' super facturam aule mense Novembr'."]

² [Accounts, *ut supra*. The price is charged "xij annulorum ordinat' pro hostiis camerarum dicti collegii...pro vj. platis' ferri pro factura serarum."]

³ [*Empcio vitri*] "Et in denariis solutis Johanni Prudde vitriatori pro xx pedibus vitri floryshid ab eo emptis pro fenestris librerie et camere vice prepositi precii pedis apud dictum collegium viij*d*. In toto cum iijs. sibi solutis pro iij Rotulis vitri de diuersis coloribus positis in fenestris dicte liberarie xvjs. iiij*d*."

⁴ [*Empcio necessariorum*] (1445—6). "Et Johanni liltilton mercer de london pro C vlnis Canves ab ipso emptis apud london pro factura de le Rodelofte et stallorum erga festum assumpcionis ex assensu Marchionis Suff' liijs. vjd."]

containing diverse pictures; and two windows in the screens (*parcloses*) that separated off a portion of the Church for the use of the King and Queen were also glazed¹. The whole cost £26. 11s. 11d. The same accounts record the placing of figures of S. Hugh and S. Anne, and four shields containing the arms of S. Edward and of the King and Queen, "in sundry windows of the said Church," evidently not part of the former order; together with repairs to the said windows². The sum spent on this was £27. 2s. 7d., or more than the cost of the new glass for the chancel, which shews both the extent of the repairs, and the size of the windows. In the following year (1446—7) we find a nearly equal quantity, 640 feet, "worked with diverse pictures and borders," bought for the chancel by the King's command, at a cost of £32. 0s. 6d., together with thirty-three feet of "floryshid glasse" for a window "in the north part of the old Church." Sundry coats of arms are also renewed³.

These two purchases of glass were probably for the same thirteen windows, of which a portion only was glazed in the first year. By a little ingenuity the size of the windows, and of the chancel, may be calculated approximately from the quantity of glass here ordered. The total quantity was 1278 feet. This, allowing 33 feet for the two openings in the "*parcloses*," leaves 90 feet for each of twelve side windows, and 165 feet for the east window. Each of the former would therefore have been

¹ [1445—6. Vady's Accounts.] "Johanni Prudde capitali vitriatori domini Regis pro vj^o xxxvij pedibus vitri operati vocati powdred glasse cum xij ymaginibus prophetarum ab ipso emptis pro xiiij fenestris dicte cancelle, et ij fenestris de lez parcloses Regis et Regine ibidem precii pedis viij^d. ob: xxijli. xjs. xjd.

Et eidem pro lx pedibus vitri cum diuersis picturis ab ipso emptis pro elargacione fenestre occidentalis dicte cancelle precii pedis xvjd: iiij li."

² [1445—46. Vady's Accounts.] "Et eidem pro j ymagine sancti hugonis, j ymagine vitri sancte Anne, iiij^o scutis de armis sancti Edwardi ac Regis et Regine positus in diuersis fenestris dicte ecclesie, ac pro diversis peciis vitri colorati ab eo emptis pro reparacione diuersarum fenestrarum ibidem xjs. viij^d: xxvij li. ijs. vij^d."

³ [1446—7. Burton's Accounts. *Empcio vitri*.] "Et in denariis solutis Johanni Prudde pro vj^o xl. pedibus di' vitri operati cum diuersis ymaginibus et borduris ab ipso emptis pro fenestris veteris cancelle de Domini Regis mandato infra dictum tempus...xxxij li. vjd. Et eidem...pro xxiiij pedibus vitri operati picti vocati florished glasse cum diuersis ymaginibus ab ipso emptis pro quadam fenestra in parte boriali veteris ecclesie predict' per mandatum dicti domini Regis de nouo vitriat'...Et eidem pro emendacione diuersarum fenestrarum et renouacione diversorum armorum."

about 12 feet high, by $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and the latter about 15 feet high, by 11 feet wide. At this period, the side windows would probably have been of two lights each, and the twelve figures of the prophets were perhaps intended for the six on the south side, two for each window. Again, if we allow 8 feet on each side of the east window, and 4 feet between each two of the side windows, we shall find that the chancel was about 70 feet long by 30 feet broad.

During the same time the Belfry was repaired; a treasury for the Church plate and vestments was built to the east of the chancel; and adjoining the same a building with the obscure name of "le Croceile," by which a Transept is perhaps meant. The "Vestibule" of the chancel is also alluded to¹.

The "Almeshouse" was begun in 1445—6, and completed in the following year. It is described as containing several rooms, for the poor men, and the college servants. Part was to serve as a granary. The position and dimensions of this building are alike unrecorded, but, as it required 16,000 tiles to cover the roof, it must have been of considerable size².

In the year extending from Michaelmas 1446, to Michaelmas 1447, we find that Richard Burton succeeded John Vady as Clerk of the Works. Freestone was bought from Caen, Merstham, and Kent, but none of the purchases call for special remark. The Clerk of the Works was absent for fifteen days on a journey into Derbyshire and Yorkshire to procure lead from the Peak, and stone from the Hudleston quarry. Timber also in large quantities was procured from Enfield Chase, whence it was conveyed to the Tower of London, and so embarked on the Thames; from Langley-Marys, Coneham, Esthamsted, and Kingswood, near Leeds, in Kent.

¹ [The following are the principal notices referring to the repairs and alterations : *Reparaciones et custus forinseci*] 1445—6. "Super factura framacione et ereccione cuiusdam Cancellie ibidem de nouo constructe. Factura de le Croceile eidem annexe. Remocione emendacione et reparacione cuiusdam domus eisdem coniuncte. Remocione veteris Campanilis ibidem. Deposicione maeremii et murorum veteris ecclesie ibidem." 1446—7]. "Pro MMMD Tegul' voc' pauyngtyle...pro emendacione veteris ecclesie et cancellie." Among the *Vadia Carpentariorum* "In factura [etc.] cuiusdam domus erecte in orientali parte Chancel' veteris ecclesie ibidem ordinate pro localibus et ornamentis dicte ecclesie intus ponendis, et pro westibulo eiusdem Cancellie."]

² [The following curious entry occurs in the accounts for 1446—7. *Empcio necessariorum*]... "Et in empcione .x. dd motey pro superornacione caminorum de le Almes-hous iij. s. iiij. d."]

The enlargement of "The Old Hall" is mentioned in this year. It was situated on the west side of the College¹. No further allusion is made to it, and therefore we do not know whether it had been specially built for the use of the College, or whether some room in a house already standing on the site had been found large enough for the purpose.

In this year a temporary Chapel, with a tiled roof, was erected over the High Altar. The Churchyard, moreover, was protected by a wooden paling.

The next account is for half a year only: from Michaelmas 1447, to Lady-Day 1448. Burton is still Clerk of the Works. The usual materials are bought, but no purchase of importance is made. Some new work appears to have been begun, for a purchase of string is recorded for measuring the foundations of the College². The foundations of the new Church are distinctly alluded to. We also find a great image of S. Catherine brought from London for it, round which a framework of wood is constructed, probably to protect it³ during the progress of the building.

We now come to the account of Roger Keys, who was Clerk of the Works for two years and a half, from Lady-Day 1448, to Michaelmas 1450. Burton, however, was still retained, to help with advice. During Keys' tenure of office the greatest activity prevailed; as is shewn by the money spent, which amounted in the above time to a total of £3,336. 1s. 0½d. Of this, £1,525. 13s. 10¾d. was spent in materials, and £1,810. 7s. 1½d. in wages.

¹ [Burton's Accounts. *Vadia Carpentariorum* (1446—47.) "Super factura alterius domus ibidem erecte in occidentali parte...collegii pro elargacione veteris aule ibidem."]

² [Ibid. *Cariagia per diem*] 1447—48....[cariagium] terre de infra nouam ecclesiam ibidem vsque diuersa loca infra procinctum. Et in diuersis cordis et filis voc' paklynes whitelynes provisio pro mensuracione fundamenti dicti Collegii. *Vadia carpentariorum*, 1446—7. pro factura cuiusdam capelle erecte infra nouam ecclesiam supra summum altare...*Vadia tegulatorum*....super coopertura cuiusdam domus erecte infra nouam ecclesiam ibidem supra summum altare...]

³ [Ibid. *Cariagia per diem*] "Et in cariagio cuiusdam grosse imaginis pro noua ecclesia de london vsque ibidem ac pro diuersis framis pro conseruatione eiusdem ordinatis....xxxs." It is presumed to have represented S. Catherine by an entry in the Audit-Roll for 1447—8, "Et in expensis aurige nostri cum biga collegii london pro imagine sancte Katerine ibidem acquirenda iijss."]

The purchase of materials contains items similar to those already quoted¹. We now, however, meet with stone from Taynton, i.e. Teynton, in Oxfordshire, for the first time; and in the spring of 1449 (25 February), the King obtained from Sir John Langton a grant of part of the Hudleston quarry, forty-five ells long, by twenty-one ells broad, lying next to the part belonging to the Dean and Chapter of York². He certainly had had the right of quarrying there before, as not only was stone supplied from that quarry in 1446—47, but the accounts of this year speak of "making afresh the indentures between the King and John Langton." In December 1448, Roger Keys went to London to meet Nicholas Close to look over the accounts of John Welles, who was superintendent of the quarry (*provisor petrarum apud hudlesdon*). One of his accounts has been preserved, extending from Michaelmas 1450, to Michaelmas 1451. From this we learn that eight men were employed in each week, called quarrymen (*cimentarii*), and "scapellers," who rough-dressed the stone. From the quarry it was taken to Cawood on the Ouse, whence it was shipped to London, and so to Eton by the Thames³. Water carriage was thus provided for nearly the whole distance. The cost of a year's quarrying was £34. 15s. 5d.; that of carriage for the same period £38. os. 7d. Half of these expenses was borne by King's College, Cambridge. The supply of these two kinds of stone holds henceforth the chief place in the accounts. That from Teynton was put on board barges at Culham, and so brought to Eton.

As regards the progress of the new Church we find that in the spring of 1448 heavy timber was being got ready. Some of this was for scaffolds, but as some is specially designated "for the choir," we can hardly assign to it any other destination than the

¹ [Let us take the headings of the "Computus" Roll for 1448—49. We there find stone from Caen, Reygate, Hudleston and Stapleton, Ashler of Kent, Rag, Hethstone and flints; timber (wainscot and lath), glass, iron, tiles (housetile, crestes and pavyngetile), lime, land and sea coal, and cordage.]

² [The document is in the Muniment Room at Eton.]

³ ['Imprimis lib' Thome Bolland magistro vnus navis voc' le An de Ebor' xiiij tunn petrarum remanent' super ultimum compotum." Other ships mentioned were called "le Trinite" and "le Cutbard." This was the usual method of transporting stone from Hudleston. See The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, ed. Surtees Society, *passim*.]

roof¹. In January of the following year the Clerk of the Works is sent by the King to Salisbury and Winchester to measure the choirs and naves of those Cathedrals. He took three servants with him, and was absent for nine days². From this entry it is clear that the plan of the church had not yet been definitely settled.

In a few weeks after his return (12 March), he went to London and spent three weeks in making final arrangements for the supply of stone from Hudleston, and in submitting to the King a plan for the completion of the College buildings, which we may presume he had drawn out after his visit to Winchester. The funds seem to have been running short, for part of his business was "with the Council of the Duchy of Lancaster for the obtaining of a better feoffment³."

We will now quote the estimate mentioned in the previous chapter as forming part of the specifications drawn up for the College buildings. It is dated 7 February, 1447—48, and is a most important document for the architectural history of Eton, but one which has not as yet been studied as it deserves to be.

"For the Chauncell of the Newe Cherch⁴.

The ordinaunce for the edificacion of the Quere of the kinges College Roial of oure blessed lady of Eton fro the xij day of Februaire the xxvj yere of the king oure souuerain lordes gracious founder of the seid College vnto the Fest of Saint Michell then next folowing that is to

¹ [Keys' Accounts, 1448—49. *Pro ferro*. "Item solut' xviii die maii Johanni Syluester pro iiij^{xx}.iiij lb. ferri operati pro quadam noua biga facta ad vehendum meremium magnum pro choro precii lb. ijd': xiijs."]

² ["Item solut' xxvj^o die Januarii pro expensis magistri Rogeri Keys magistri operis per dominum Regem destinati ad Sarum et Wynton pro certis ibidem mensurandis videlicet choris et naues ecclesiarum ibidem etc; eundo ibidem morando et redeundo vsque ad Eton per ix dies cum iiij^{or} equis et iij seruientibus...xixs. ijd' ob."]

³ [1448—49. "Item solut' xij^o die Marcii pro expensis magistri operum morantis London cum iiij^{bus} famulis et iiij^{or} equis per iij septimanas pro necessariis operacionibus providendis; viz. in providendo pro lapidibus de Hudlesdon. Et ad ostendendum domino Regi portaturam factam super conclusione edificii Collegii. Necnon ad concludendum cum Johanne Langton pro quadam quarrera sua apud Hudlesdon. Et ad communicandum cum consilio feoffamenti ducatus Lancastrie pro meliore feoffamento habendo etc xxvjs. viijd'."]

⁴ [These words are added in the paler ink, before mentioned. The division into paragraphs is made in the original MS. They have been numbered for facility of reference.]

wite by xxxij wekes which quere shall conteyne in length withynne the wallis Ciiij fete¹ and in wide xxxij fete if hit please the king.

1. First for the wages of xl fremasons werkyng upon the same by the seid tyme yche of theym taking by the weke .iiij.s. Ciiij^{xx}. xij.*li*.

2. Item for the wages of xij hard hewers, xij leyers ij Smythes iiij Carpenters yche of theym taking by the day vjd; xl laborers yche of theym taking by the day iiijd. In al by the seid tyme CCxxvj.*li* xiijs. iiij.*li*.

3. Item for CCC Tonnes of freston of huddewesdon and of Caen to be purved for the seid werkes in the seid tyme price of the tonne with cariage vnto the seid College vis. viijd. C.*li*.

4. Item for viij M^l fete of hewston of kent to be purveid for the seid werkes by the seid tyme price of the .C. with the cariage vnto the seid College xxijs. iiijd. iiij^{xx}. ix.*li*. vjs. viijd.

5. Item for .M^l. Tonnetights of Ragge hethstones and Flints to be purveid for the seid werkes by the seid tyme price of the tonnetight with the cariage vnto the seid College .ijs. iiijd. Cxvj.*li*. xiijs. iiijd.

6. Item for M^lM^l quarters lyme to be purved for the seid werkes by the seid tyme price of the quarter with the Cariage xijd. And in Cariage of M^lM^l Cartlode of Sande euery cartlode at jd. cvij.*li*. vjs. viijd.

7. Item in monee assigned for Iren steel Nailles and iren ware to be purveid for the making of Barowes Carres Gynnes And for making Amending and Repairing of pikees shouelles and othere instrumentes of the seid werkemen by the said tyme of estimacion x. *li*.

8. Item in monee assigned for Coles for the forge Ropes Barowes gynnes herdelles scafoldes tymbre withes And othere diuerse thynges for the seid werkes necessarie with cariage of the seid stufes fro the water seid ther and with othere diuerse expenses necessarie by the seid tyme by estimacion. xxx.*li*.

9. Item for the Wages of the maister of the seid werkes for the halfe yere withinne the seid tyme—xxv*li*.—The clerk of the seid Werkes—vj*li*. xiijs. iiijd.—Richard Burton now clerk of the seid werkes assigned to be attending helping and counselling vnto theym by the seid tyme—vj*li*. xiijs. iiijd.—John Smyth maister mason—vj *li*. xiijs. iiijd.—Robert Wheteley maister carpenter—Cs.—ij Purveoures ether of theym taking for their wages and expenses Cs—in all lx.*li*.

10. Item in monee assigned for diuerse expenses to be don by estimacion upon the making of the housing which shal close ynne the quadrant—xl.*li*. The making of diuerse necessar¹ and paving in the Westiare—x.*li*. Remeving of the kychen and Finisshing of the Oven and y^e bakehous—x.*li*. Finisshing and garnesshing of the Almshouse—xx*li*. And also with iiij^{xx}*li* due vnto diuerse creditours for diuerse

¹ [The "iiij" in this and the "ij" in the next dimension are both additions.]

Stuffes purved for the seid werkes herafore And not payed which stuffes ben remaynyng for the seid werkes *.clx.li.*

The somme of alle the seid expenses by the seid
xxxij Wekes (by estimacion) ouere the stuffes } *m.iiij^{xx}.xiiij.li.*
purveid (of value *D li*) and Remaynyng¹

11. For which expenses to be doo ther remaneth of monee in the hands of y^e Receyuere of the feffement of the duchie of lancastre of the assignement made vnto the vse of the edificacion of the seid college for the termes of thanunciacion of oure lady Anno xxv^o and Saint Michel anno xxvj^o passid *DCCClix.li.*

12. Item paiaible of the seid assignement at the festes of the Anunc' of oure lady Anno xxvj^o and saint michell anno xxvij^o nexst comyng *ml.li.*

And so at the seid fest of saint michell anno
xxvij^o shal reymayne due vnto the seid werkes } *Dcclxvij.li.*
for the yere folowyng ouere the expenses
aboueseid

The ordinaunce for the seid werkes fro the seid Fest of saint michell anno xxvij^o vnto the same fest anno xxvij^o that is to wete by A hoole yere:

13. First for the Wages of .lx. Fremasons by the hole yere yche of theym taking by the weke iijs: xxiiij masons of kent called hard hewers by the hole yere: xij leyers by .xl. wekes: xij carpenters werking one the Rofe of the seid quere by the hole yere: iiij Smythes by the hole yere: xij Plummers by xiiij wekes yche of theym taking by the day vjd: xxiiij carpenters and carueres werking uppon the stalles by the hole yere yche of theym taking by the Weke iijs. iiijd: With the wages of .xl. laborers by the hole yere yche of thym taking by the day iiijd: In alle
[*mciiij^{xx}.xij.li. vjs. viijd.*]

14. Item for the wages of the maister of the said werkes [etc.]²
[*ciiij.li. xvij.s. iiijd.*]

15. Item for m^l Tonnetight of Caneston³ huddellesdon ston and [mestham ston price of tonnetight with the cariage vnto the seid college by estimacion vjs. vjd: xvi m^l Fete of Asshelers of kent price the c with the cariage xxijs. iiijd.] m^d Tonnetight of Ragges of Kent hethston and Flynts price of tonnetight with the cariage ijs iiijd: m^lm^l quarter of lyme price of the quarter with the cariage xijd: Cariage of m^lm^l cartlodes of Sande at jd the lode; cariage of ccc cartlodes of Tymbre at iijs the lode; xl fother of leed price of the fother with the cariage iiijd. xxijs. iiijd. to be bought and purveid for the seid werkes by the

¹ [There is added in brown ink "nil in lapid'." The words in parentheses are also additions.]

² [The passage omitted repeats the sums to be paid to the principal officers.]

³ ["of Caneston" erased. "Teynton" written over. All between square brackets crossed out and "Stapilson stone" written over.]

seid tyme. And with *li*. in mone assigned for Iren Steel ferment neyles and Irenware to be purveied for the seid werkes by estimacion And also with *li*. in mone assigned for coles ropes cables Barowes Gynnes Carres herdelles scafoldes tymbre and othere diuerse thinges necessarie to be purveid for the seid werkes by estimacion. And for cariage of the seid Stuff fro the Water side And othere expenses necessarie to be doon. In alle by the seid hole yere.....M.cxxvj. *li*. xiijs. iiij*d*.

The somme of the seid expenses by }
the whole yere Anno xxvij^o } ...M^l.M^l.ccccxxij *li*. xviijs. iiij*d*.

Recipiend^o Anno xxvij^o.

16. For which expensez to be doon A^o xxvij^o shal remayne of the assignement made of the feoffment of the duchie of lancastre at the fest of seint michel Anno xxvij^o as hit apereth by the ordinaunce made vnto the said festDcclxvj. *li*.

17. Item of the assignement paiaible by the handes of the Receuere of the feoffment of the seid duchie at the festes of the anunciacion of oure lady Anno xxvij^o and seint michell Anno xxvij^o... ..M. *li*.

18. Item of monee to be receyued of the kings cofres¹
[Dxxxiiij *li* vjs. viij*d*¹.

19. Item of monee to be receved of the gift of the marchas of SuffolkDcclxvj. *li*. xiijs. iiij*d*.

20. Item of the busshop of Wynchester for the wages of x fre-masonslxxv. *li*. xvs.

21. Item of the Busshop of Salesbury of gift vnto the use of the seid werkesxxxiii *li*. vj.s. viij*d*.

Summa M^l.M^l.M^l.lxxvj. *li*. xx*d*².

And so at the seid fest of seint michell anno xxvij^o shall remayne due vnto the seid werkes for the yere folowingDclij. *li*. iij.s. iiij*d*³.

It will be seen that this estimate gives the same number of feet for the dimensions of the Chancel as the Will does; and as it is fortunately dated, it not only shews that all the arrangements for carrying out the building on that smaller scale had been made, but that it must have been far advanced when the document was drawn up; for not only were 12 carpenters and as many plumbers to be set to work on the roof during the

¹ [Altered to "ccciiij^{ss}. li", with a note: "quia Cli inde-expen' in eisdem operibus anno preced' et liijli. vjs. viij*d* sol pro ten' Hugonis dier ad usum Collegii perquis'."]

² [Altered to MM. Dccccxxij li. xvs."]

³ [Altered to "ccciiij^{ss}. xvij^l. xvj^s. v^d." The document is signed "R. Henricus," and in faint writing at the bottom of the page the words are added "of the Duk of Somerset v masons ij yere."]

year beginning with Michaelmas, 1448, but 24 carpenters and carvers were to be making the stalls during the same time (§ 13), which shews that it was expected to be ready for use at Michaelmas, 1449, or soon after. These stalls were actually commenced, as we learn from Keys' accounts for 1449—50, where a charge is made for six dozen pounds of candles for the use of the carpenters who were at work upon them (6 December, 1449); and they must have been nearly finished, for a piece of shagreen, called 'hound-fisschskyn,' was wanted to polish them¹.

This document shews also most clearly (§ 10) that the Quadrangle of the College was not only in progress, but so nearly finished that £40 was all that was needed to be assigned "to close it in," i.e. to complete the circuit of it, by the end of 1448; by which date the kitchen was to be removed, and probably placed where it is now, near the new Hall; and the Almshouse, begun in 1445—6, was to be fitted up for use. The materials are of course the same as we have met with before, but it is most interesting to know how much was expected to be used in a given time; and also to see the forethought, as well as liberality, that presided over the undertaking.

Returning to the accounts we find that the old Church is still being decorated. In 1448 (12 July) John Prowte the glazier is paid for 81 feet of "floryshed" glass for three windows in the aisle, or transept; and for a coat of arms in the Royal closet². In September, 1449, an image of the Virgin is brought from London to be placed above the High Altar, and John Massingham is paid £10 for making it, and Robert Hickling £6 for painting it³.

¹ [1449—50. Keys' Accounts. *Empcio necessariorum*.] "Et solut' eodem die [6 Dec 1449] Henrico Turnour pro vjdd. lb. candelarum empt' ad officium et vsum carpentariarum circa stall' Chori operant' precii dd. xij*d*.vjs."

"Et pro j pelle empt' ad officium carpent' ad stall' chori polliciend' vjd." What skin this was we learn from a subsequent entry. "Item solut' xiiij die Februarii Johanni Wight pro j howndfissch skyn per ipsum empt' ad officium carpentariarum vjd."

² [Keys' Accounts, 1448—49. *Pro variis necessariis*. "xij^o die Julii...Johanni Prowte pro iiij^{xx} 'j' ped' de vitro floresshed pro iij fenestris in brachio ecclesie. Et... pro j scochon pro closetto Regis ibidem ijs."]

³ [Keys' Compotus Roll, 1448—49. "Sol' Johanni Massyngham pro factura vnius ymaginis beate marie virginis stant' ad summum altare de Eton cum vj li. xiijs. iiiid. sol' Roberto hyklyng pro pictura eiusdem xiijs. iiijd: pro cariaagio eiusdem de London vsque Eton predict' xvj. li. xiijs. iiijd."]

The progress made in the erection of the College buildings at this time is shewn by the glazing of "certain windows in the chambers of the college" (13 July, 1448); and by the making of flues. These were of brass, or bronze, and a workman came from Wokingham to cast them¹. Rewards are also given "for diligence in working at the building of the college." A new kitchen, as directed in the estimate above quoted, was begun; but apparently not before August, 1449². A more important notice occurs in 1450, when we find the new Hall completed, or at any rate ready for use. On February 27, John Prudde, or Prowte, provides 191 feet 4 inches of "storied glass" (*vitri historialis*) for the windows, together with 288 feet of glass, "flourished with lilies and roses and certain Arms." The price of the former was 1*sd.* per foot, of the latter 10*d.* The whole cost £23. 3*s.* 4½*d.* It is not expressly stated that the new Hall is meant; but there can be little doubt that it is, because in the Audit Roll of the preceding year there is a charge for making the high table in the new Hall, and providing keys for the doors. It was evidently in use by Midsummer 1449, when a charge occurs for the purchase of turpentine and vermilion to decorate it for the festival³.

In 1450 mention is made of a new room about to be erected "over the tenement assigned and appointed for the stone-

¹ [Keys' Accounts, *Wages*. 13 July, 1448. "Johanni Pedder loc' per quatuor dies ad vitriand' certas fenestras infra cameras Collegii..."]

² [Ibid. 1448—49. *Pro variis necessariis*. "Et solut' xxij die marcii [1448] Rogero landen de Wokyngham loc' ad fundendum xvij lb metalli enei pro fumi-vectoriis de metallo regis...et eidem pro metallo et fusione xij lb. metalli enei de metallo suo proprio vijs."]

³ [On 11 August 1449, sand is brought "ad nouam coquinam erigendam."]

⁴ [*Empcio vitri* (1449—50). "Item solut' xxvij die mensis Februarii Johanni Prudde vitriatori pro Ciiij^{xx} xi pedibus et iiij^{oe} pollicibus vitri historialis pro Aula Collegii precii pedis xiiij*d.*; xi li. iijs iiij*d.* ob. Et eidem pro CCiiij^{xx} et viij pedibus vitri florissat' cum liliis et rosis ac certis armis precii pedis x*d.*; xij li. Summa. xxij li. iijs. iiij*d.* ob."]

⁵ [Audit Roll for 1448—49. *Custus Aule*] "Et in vna longa Tabula mensali empt' pro alta Tabula in noua Aula...et pro iij clauibus empt' pro ostiis Aule predictae. ...Et in j lb et di de Turmyntyne et vermelon empt' apud london pro festo natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste x*d.*" It was the custom to have three annual bonfires at that season, on the eves of Midsummer Day, SS. Peter and Paul, and the Translation of S. Thomas of Canterbury, *i.e.* on 23 June, 28 June, 6 July. Ibid. "Et in DC de Talwode empt' pro iij bonefyres in festis vigil' natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste, vigil' Petri et Pauli, et in vigilia Translacionis Sancti Thome martyris."]

masons." It was to be 60 feet long, and 18 feet broad, and of a suitable height. The tenement is merely described as "in Eton," and there is no proof that it was within the College precincts. It is only alluded to here as shewing the care that was taken to provide for the comfort of the masons.

During the last ten years of the reign of King Henry the Sixth John Medehill was clerk of the works. His accounts therefore extend from Michaelmas, 1450, to Michaelmas, 1460; but they are unfortunately fragmentary, as the table shews. For the years 1454—5, 1455—6, they have entirely disappeared, and that for 1456—7 is very imperfect. Those that have been preserved shew that the works were proceeding very slowly, from the small number of workmen employed. This may be roughly estimated from the sum spent in wages annually. If we take the principal trade, that of the masons, we shall find by this method of calculation that in 1451—2 there was a weekly average of only 22; and although this rises in 1452—3 to 40, it falls in 1453—4 to 22 again. In 1457—8 it was 21; in 1458—9 it was 18; and in 1459—60 it was 14. For these last two years a wage-book has been preserved, which shews that the weekly average of all trades was only 33 in the first year, and 28 in the second. It will be seen also that the sum spent on materials has dwindled almost to nothing by comparison with previous years.

A few notices may be gathered respecting the progress of the building. The only stone purchased is that from Hudleston and Teynton. In April, 1451, Medehill is absent for seven days in Kent to select paving-stone for the Kitchen, and to examine and mark oak timber in Kingswood, near Leeds Castle¹. In 1454—5 a repair to the great west window of the Hall² confirms the theory that the stone-work must have been completed some time previously. In 1457 a skin of vellum

¹ [Medehill's Accounts, 1450—51. *Expense forinsecc.* "Et xij die Aprilis (1451) pro expensis eiusdem...cum ij^{bis} equis equitant' per vij dies in partibus Cancie ad providend' ibidem pavyngstone pro coquina Collegii: necnon ad supravidend' et signand' maeremium quercinum apud kyngeswode iuxta Castrum de ledes omnibus computatis vjs. ob."]

² [Audit Roll for 1454—55. *Custus Aule* "Et pro reparacione magne fenestre in parte occidentali aule xxixs. viij^d." This entry is drawn through, as the sum is included in a general entry above: "et vitrario pro reparac' fenestre aule."]

was bought on which a drawing was to be executed representing the site and buildings of the College¹.

There are some extremely important entries in October and December, 1458, in May, 1459, and in February, 1460, which go far to prove that the eastern portion at least of the Chapel was completed by that time. In October and December, 1458, John Sylvester, the smith, is paid for the ironwork of certain windows in the new choir; in May, 1459, for the ironwork of apparently the lower portion of the great east window of the choir; and in February, 1460, for the same "for the upper history" of the same window².

The Audit Roll of 1459—60 mentions the Choristers' School, and the College Cloister, as buildings already in existence. The former is repaired, and the latter cleaned³.

We have now brought the history of the buildings down to the last year of the Founder's reign for which any accounts or other documents have been preserved. Up to this time there had been expended upon the buildings between £15,000 and £16,000⁴, a sum which may be considered to represent at least £150,000 at the present value of money.

In the next chapter we shall narrate the general history of the buildings to the present time; after which we shall be in a position to compare the information derived from the documents with the buildings themselves.]

¹ [Medehill's Accounts, 1456—7. "Et eodem die (24 March) pro j pelle vitulino london empt' de quodam vocato Colchopp pro quadam portatura desuper fiend' de situ et edificacione Collegii ix*d*."]]

² [Medehill's Accounts, 1458—59. *Empcio ferramentorum etc.*: "Item solut' xj^o die Octobris et xj^o die mensis Decembris...Johanni Sylvestr' pro Mⁱ.CCCC di' et iij. lb. ferramentorum operat' pro fenestris noui Chorix" iij*s*. iij*d* ob."]

"Item xxv^o die eiusdem mensis (May 1459) Johanni Sylvestr' pro M.DCCC di'. xxv lb. et di' ferramentorum pro fenestra orientali Chori noui ...xiiij lb. i*s*. i*d*."

Ibid. 1459—60. February, 1460. "Item solut' iiij^o die mensis Febr' Johanni Sylvestre Fabro pro MⁱMⁱ.di'C et xvij lb. de ferramentis operatis pro historia superiori fenestre orientalis Chorixiiij lb. ix*s*. j*d* ob."]

³ [Undated Audit Roll, estimated to be of 1459—60 by an allusion to the parliament at Coventry. "Et pro reparatione schole choristarum xx*d*. Et pro mundatione Claustrum infra collegium et pro escuratione vawte, xx*d*." This quotation I owe to the kindness of Mr Maxwell Lyte.]

⁴ [The different sums out of which this total is composed are given in the Table. Appendix, I. B.]

CHAPTER VI.

[GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHAPEL AND COLLEGIATE BUILDINGS OF ETON CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME.

IN the preceding chapter the history of the buildings of Eton was brought down to the last year of the reign of the Founder. His successor, Edward the Fourth, proposed to annex Eton to S. George's, Windsor; and actually procured a papal Bull (13 November, 1463) sanctioning the union¹. Moreover, he not only took away from Eton the greater part of the estates with which Henry the Sixth had endowed it, but even such valuables as could be easily removed. It was not until the ninth or tenth year of his reign that he abandoned this design, and made restitution of a part at least of the College property. The accounts record that certain tapestries were then taken down from the walls they were decorating at Windsor²; that vestments, altar-furniture, and plate, were restored to the Church³; and that the Bells were hung up again in their ancient belfry, which was repaired to receive them⁴. All building work had been of necessity suspended during this disastrous period; and when resumed, was carried on in a very different way from that which we have followed in the previous reign.

The College was in receipt of not more than one third of its

¹ [For an account of these events see Lyte's Eton, Chap. IV.]

² [Audit Roll, 1468—1469. "Et in Regardo dato Valecto garderober Regis pro deposicione pannorum de Arras in Collegio Sancti Georgii v. s."]

³ [Audit Roll, 1470—1471. "Et in regardo dato Willelmo Blakborne pro capis, vestimentis, et pannis æpuloralibus (?) portatis ad collegium xx s. Et in regardo dato Willelmo Sebyn pro portacione x caparum london ad collegium xx d." The spoliation of the College had extended even to the stable: "Et in regardo dato per Magistrum prepositum vni seruienti domini Regis pro saluacione equorum collegii v. s."]

⁴ [Ibid. *Reparaciones*. "Et in denariis solutis ... pro reparacione campanilis, et cariagio et translacione campanarum a Collegio Sancti Georgii ad nostrum Collegium lxxiij s. iij d. ... Et in denariis solutis per Magistrum Ricardum Hopton Johanni Siluester, diuersis carpentariis et serratoribus ad reparacionem eiusdem campanilis liij s. xj d. ob. Et Johanni Lane, Johanni Whight, et Ricardo Reve per xvj dies circa le dawbyng eiusdem v. s. x d." In this year 5 Bellropes are paid for, whereas in previous years, as in 1468—69, only 3 are mentioned. This proves that not more than 2 Bells were taken away. These extracts shew that the Belfry was of wood, plastered.]

former income¹; and the yearly sum of £1000 from the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster, which the Founder had set apart for the expenses of building, was of course cut off. In this extremity William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, remembering the trust committed to him by Henry the Sixth in his Will, not only took upon himself the direction of the works, but even supplied the necessary funds; an act of singular generosity on his part, as he was at that very time engaged upon his own foundation at Oxford. The series of Audit Rolls is unfortunately incomplete at the beginning of this reign, the first perfect roll being that for the year beginning 1 January, 1468. In that month we find that the Provost goes twice to visit the Bishop; and in the following year he goes again twice; the purpose of his visits being then expressly mentioned: "in order to begin the works at the Church;" and, "to obtain money" for the said work. Similar entries occur in nearly all the subsequent rolls that have been preserved². The amount of money given is not recorded, nor the way in which it was spent. Probably the Provost or Bursar accounted for it directly to the Bishop. No direct information therefore respecting the progress of the work can be obtained; and we are obliged to content ourselves with the fragmentary indications that can be picked out of the Audit Rolls.

From the entries quoted above it appears that work on the Church was resumed, or was about to be resumed, in 1469; but on what part there is no evidence to shew. It probably went on very slowly at first, and three years elapsed before the King

¹ [For six years, ranging between 1466 and 1476, the yearly income did not average more than £384.]

² [The following are a few of the entries:

1 Jan. 1468—1 Jan. 1469, 7—8 Edward IV.] "Et in denariis solut' pro expensis M. prepositi ad dominum Winton mense Januarii" (twice). 1 Jan. 1469—Michs. 1469: 9 Edward IV. "Et in expensis magistri prepositi ad dominum Wynton pro operibus ecclesie inchoandis xvij s. ij d." Michs. 1469—Michs. 1470. "Et in expensis magistri prepositi equitantis per diuersas vices domino Wyntoniensi pro pecuniis adquirendis pro operibus ecclesie xij s. vij d. ob." Michs. 1471—Michs. 1472, 11—12 Edward IV. "Et in expensis M. prepositi equitantis london mense marcii [1472] ad dominum Winton' pro expedicione operum vj s. vj d." ... "Et in expensis M. prepositi equitantis at Farnham ad dominum Winton pro pecuniis pro operibus per iij dies et iij noctes vs. vj d." Michs. 1474—Michs. 1475, 14—15 Edward IV. "Et in expensis magistri prepositi equitantis ad dominum Wynton' apud Waltam existentem pro ipso videndo et pecuniis ab eodem pro operibus querendis xix s. x d. ob."]

took sufficient interest in it to allow chalk and flint to be obtained as heretofore from Windsor. The following order, addressed to the Constable of Windsor Castle and others, is dated 21 March, 1472¹:

"Edward by the grace of god king of England and of Fraunce and lord of Irland To oure Right trusty and welbeloued the lord Barners cunstable of oure Castell of Wyndesore, oure welbeloued John Framton clerk of oure Werkes of and in oure said castell, Nicholas key keeper of oure litil parc there, And to all other oure officers and ministres be longing to the same hering or seing thees oure lettres and to eueri of them greting. We late you wite, that for asmoche as we desire to se the firtherance of the werke begonne vpon the chirche of oure blessed lady of Eton, And vnderstande that the prouost and felaship of oure college there be not purveyd of chalke and flynt for thaccomplisshement of the same, haue therfore geuen and graunted vnto them as moche chalke and flynt to be taken within oure said parc, at alle suche times as shal please them, as shalbe necessary for the ful bylding of the said chirche. Wherefore We wol and charge you alle oure said officers and ministres and eueri of you, that ye suffre the said Provost and felaship to do the said chalke and flynt to be digged within oure said parc at their plesurs, and the same to carye awaye by such places as may be most for their ease. And theese oure lettres shalbe youre warrant and souffisant discharge anempst us in that behalue.

Given under oure signet at oure Paloice of Westminster the xxjth Day of Marche the xijth yere of oure Regne."

Three years later (1475—76), the purchase of stone from Reigate, together with straw and other necessities for the work on the Church, is recorded². Brickmakers are sent for from London to find suitable earth near Eton for brick-making³; an entry which shews that some building other than the Church was being undertaken, and also that the old brick-kiln near Slough was no longer in use. The Church, or at any rate the Chancel, must have been nearly finished, for Thomas, the Bishop of Winchester's glazier, came three times to Eton in the course of the year "to measure the windows of the new church." The east window is especially mentioned⁴. It is probable that this glass was the

¹ [This document is preserved among the Muniments of Eton College.]

² [Audit Roll, 15—16 Edward IV., March 1475—March 1476] "Et in Regardis dat' Johanni Hunt ad prouidend' lapides Regate . vj. s. viij d. ; ... et ... pro provisione straminis et aliorum ad opera ecclesie per . iij. dies xij d."

³ [Ibid. "Et in Regardis datis hominibus le Brekmakerrys venientibus de london ad inueniend' in campis vicinis terram congruam pro le Breke faciend' iij s. iij d."]

⁴ [Ibid. "Et in Regardo dato Thome vitrario domini Wyntoniensis venienti ad capiend' mensuram Fenestrarum noue ecclesie. v. s. Et ... eidem Thome venienti 2s."]

same of which the mending is recorded in 1500—1, from which entry we gather that the Annunciation was depicted in the east window, and on a large scale, for "le lylle potte" alone occupied thirty-two square feet of glass¹. The College authorities visited the Bishop of Winchester four times this year: on the first occasion they were accompanied by the chief mason, the chief carpenter, and Walter "the carver"; and on the second by the said carver only². This was doubtless Walter Nicholl of Southwark, with whom the Bishop had signed a contract in the previous year (15 August 1475) for a Rodeloft and stalls. Nicholl agreed to take down at his own expense the Rodeloft, stalls, and desks in Eton Church, and to erect a new roodloft extending across the whole breadth of the Choir of the new Church, "with the Garnysshyng of all the stallez of the Quere from the cowtre upward." The west side of the Rodeloft was to be made after the pattern of that in Winchester College Chapel; the east side after that in "the Collage of Seint Thomas of Acrez in London." The Bishop is to supply all materials, pay for all masonry work, for all labourers, and to provide a workshop and lodging for "the said Walter and all his servauntis with hym workyng." The whole is to be finished in two years' time, that is to say, before the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin in 1477; and 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.) is to be paid for it in instalments, with the addition of two gowns to the carver. From the provision that Nicholl is to be allowed the use of all such boards "as war late ordeyned for the Selyng of the said newe Chirche redy wrought toward the makyng of the said Rode loft and stallez," we may infer that the roof had been only just completed³.

It is much to be regretted that the Audit Rolls for the next three years should have been lost, for they would probably have told us something about the destruction of the Parish Church of

vice ad capiend' quantitatem fenestrarum. v.s. ... Et ... eidem 3^a. vice venienti ad capiend' quantitatem fenestre orientalis et aliarum Fenestrarum v.s."]

¹ [Audit Roll, 1500—1. "Et Ricardo herryson vitriatori pro reparacione fenestre australis ad finem summi altaris per xxxvij dies pro plumbo et le sowder vt per billam xxvj s. iiij d. Et eidem pro reparacione jmaginis beate marie in fenestra orientali vij s. ... pro reparacione vnus le pane cum le lylle potte in eadem fenestra continent' xxxij pedes precii pedis iiij d."]

² [Audit Roll for 1475—6.]

³ [This interesting document is printed in the Appendix, I. C. The original is in the Muniment Room at Eton.]

Eton, for the removal of the stallwork from the Choir in 1475 or 1476 would most likely be followed by demolition of the walls¹. It is possible that the materials of it, or part of them, were used up again in the erection of the Ante-chapel of the new Church, which was commenced at the beginning of 1479, for in that year (8 January) Bishop Waynflete contracted for a supply of stone from the quarry of Headington near Oxford, to be used in building his own College and Eton College; and this stone is employed in the Ante-chapel only. The contract is as follows²:

"Thys indenture made betwene the reuerent fader in god William Waynflete Byschoppe of Wynchestre uppone the oone part, and William Orcheyerd mayster of the werke of the seyde reuerent fader in his college of Mary Mawdelyne at Oxonford vppone that othere parte, wytnesse the...³.

Item the seyde M. W. Mason, hathe graunted and promysyd vnto the seyde reuerent fader that he or M. Ric. Berne yn hys name shalle sette alls so many quarryours, masones, and laborares yn hys grete quarrey that he fyrmeth of the Kynge yne the parishe of Hedyngdone besyde Oxonford as he setteth yn his owene quarrey yn the same parishe pertenyng vnto his College, and the seide quarrey-men, masons, and laborares, shalle dygge and reyse and scaple the best stone yn the same quarrey als somyche as shalle be necessare vnto his seyde College and also vnto the werke that he hathe at Etone, and that fro the date of thys yndenture vnto the feste of crystemesse nexte commynge * * *

In wittenesse hereof y have sette my sealle the viii day of Janeuer the regne of kynge Edward the iiiiith xviii."

The stone-work of the Ante-chapel must have been completed by 1480, for in that year the south door is mentioned⁴; and the north door two years later, in 1482—83⁵. The roof, however, was not finished, at least the lead was not put on, before the

¹ [The old Church is mentioned only once in the accounts, in 1479—80, but in such a way that it is impossible to decide whether it was still standing or not. "Et mundatori latrine hospicii collegii ex opposito antique ecclesie."]

² [The contract, preserved in the Muniment Room of Magdalen College, Oxford (Miscell. Charters, No. 349 (3)), has been most kindly copied for me by the Rev. W. D. Machray. See also Chandler's *Life of Waynflete*, Chap. viii.]

³ [Here follows the agreement for the part relating to Magdalen College, the foundation of which was laid 5 May, 1474.]

⁴ Will of Thomas Swan (Eton Register, i. fol. 112), who was to be buried "infra nouam fabricam ecclesie collegiate beate Marie de Eton iuxta Wyndesor' coram altari cum imagine sancte Katerine proximiori hostio australi." It is dated 20 August, 1479.

⁵ Audit Roll, 1482—83. "Et pro iij asscribus de wansqwatte pro hostio ecclesie versus partem boreialem."

autumn of 1482, for the contract between the Bishop and John Woodhouse of Wynefeld in Derbyshire to supply six fother of lead is dated 25 July in that year, and it is stipulated that the lead is to be supplied before 25 August next ensuing¹.

In the next roll that has been preserved, that for 1479—1480, journeys to the Bishop of Winchester occur as usual²; but no materials are mentioned except a purchase of timber in September, 1480³. Under the head "*Custus ecclesie*," however, a sum of £19. 14s. 0d. is spent, chiefly in small sums for articles which indicate the fitting-up of a new building; such as seventeen yards of linen for a representation, perhaps on a banner, of the Assumption; a lenten veil, the painting of which is also paid for; a canopy over the high altar; mats to lay under the feet of the clergy in the choir—and the like. A payment under the same head for fuel for the use of glaziers and stonemasons shews conclusively that the new and not the old Church is referred to⁴. For the next two years no Audit Rolls exist. In that for the last year of Edward the Fourth, 1483—1484, we find one of the Fellows, William Wyther, riding to the Bishop of Winchester—"to obtain money," which shews that the Church was not yet finished. As he had executed similar commissions in preceding years, he was perhaps overseer of the building operations.

We now come to the decoration of the space above the stalls in the Choir, or Nave, as the Audit Rolls term it, with paintings in fresco. The execution of these extended over eight years, having been apparently begun in 1479—80, and finished in 1487—88. The first entry is in 1479—80⁵, for "candles for the use of the painters working in the College." Some of the paintings were finished by 15 August 1483, for Louis Palmer, who

¹ [The contract is in the Muniment Room of Magdalen College, Oxford, Miscell. Charters, No. 20.]

² [His services were acknowledged in the spring of 1480 by a present of a pike and a trout: Audit Roll, 1479—80. "Et de ijs. iiij d. di', pro j magno dentrice dat' Episcopo Winton' per magistrum prepositum mense februarii ... Et de ijs. ijd pro j magna truta dat' domino episcopo Winton' ... post festum Pentecost'."]

³ [Various persons are sent "ix^o die septembris ad emend' meræmum de M. Ramesay generoso."]

⁴ ["Et iij s. iiij d' in focalibus et carbonibus expensis per vitratores et latamos hoc anno."]

⁵ [Audit Roll, 1479—80. *Empcio necessariorum pro ecclesia*. "Et iij s. vjd. pro iij duodenis et dimidia in candelis datis pictoribus isto anno operantibus infra Collegium."]

was evidently Sacristan, is paid in 1482—83¹ for sponges “to clean the pictures in the nave of the Church against the festival of the Assumption.” Another charge for four dozen Paris candles for the painters and glaziers working in the church” occurs in 1484—85²; and lastly, in 1487—1488, under the heading “Painting of the Church,” the colours used are separately entered and paid for, together with the labour of ‘sundry painters,’ and at the end of the account, the name of the principal artist is fortunately given: “and for sundry other colours used out of the colours belonging to the painter himself, that is, to William Baker³.” The existence of these paintings was unsuspected until 1847, when they were discovered in the course of the extensive alterations to the Church that were then undertaken. They shall be described in the words of Mr Lyte⁴:

“There was originally a double row of paintings on the north and south walls of the choir, each row being divided longitudinally into seventeen compartments, alternately wide and narrow. The former contained historical compositions; the latter single figures of Saints, represented as standing in canopied niches.... Under each of the large compartments there was a Latin inscription, explaining the subject of the picture, and giving a reference to the book whence its story was derived. The works most frequently quoted were the ‘*Legenda Sanctorum*’ and Vincent of Beauvais’ ‘*Speculum Historiale*’.. The whole series was intended to exemplify the gracious protection afforded by the Blessed Virgin, the Patroness of the College, to her votaries in all ages and countries.”

¹ [Ibid. 1482—83.]

² [Ibid. 1484—5. “Et pro iiij duodenis candelarum parisiensium liberat’ pictoribus et vitratoribus laborantibus in ecclesia hoc anno iiij s.”]

³ [Audit Roll for 1487—88. In the margin, written in the same hand, are the words “*Pictura ecclesie*.” “Et pro expensis factis circa picturam ecclesie. Inprimis pro scansiliis factis et planacione tabularum in inferiori parte ecclesie xij d. Et pro viij lagenis potell et pynt olei pictor’ precii lagene xvjd summa xijs. Et pro j li vernacii viij d. Et pro x li plumbi albi et rubei aptis ad diuersa tempora ijs. iiij d. Et pro xj li de colore viridi, anglice, vertagrece x s. x d. Et pro v li de colore fuluo sc. oker xij d. ob. Et pro v li de colore blodio anglice blew orch et blew yonde viij d. Et pro ij li de colore fuluo anglice generall iij s. Et pro iij quartis de ly vermelen xij d. Et pro iij quartis de auro puro iiij s vj d. Et pro expensis factis circa empcionem predictorum colorum et vecturam iij s. viij d ob. Et pro laboribus diuersorum pictorum in opere predicto viij li vij s. iiij d. Et pro diuersis aliis coloribus occupatis de coloribus propriis ipsius pictoris scilicet Willelmi Baker iij s.”]

⁴ [History of Eton College, p. 89. Compare also the account of Mr G. E. Street, *Ecclesiologist*, viii. 288; and a paper in the “*Builder*” for July 31, 1847, p. 365. A list of them, as complete as possible, will be found in the Appendix, I. D.]

The Vestry at least of the old Church remained in use after the new one was occupied; for its roof was repaired in 1501—2, and it was not pulled down until 1516—17¹. In 1503—4 a new wooden fence, consisting of posts and rails, 800 feet long, is made round the cemetery. It took 32 days to make, and cost £6. 16s. 1d. Wooden stairs to the Ante-chapel² were made at the same time by the same carpenters.

As anything that can throw light upon the dates of the College buildings is valuable, it will be interesting to assemble together the notices referring to them that are scattered through the rolls for the reigns of Edward the Fourth and Henry the Seventh; for as it is nearly certain that work during that period was concentrated upon the Chapel, the buildings referred to must have been erected previously.

Beginning with the cloister we find that it was cleaned in 1469—70, when the "corner next the Hall" was made, or repaired. The "north door at the end of the cloister" which still exists (*n*, fig. 16) is mentioned in 1475—6; "the exterior wall of the cloister," probably the west wall, in 1484—5; "all the chambers of the quadrangle" in 1498—99; and "the small door in the upper cloister leading to the Hall" in 1504—5, when a plumber is also paid for repairs done to the roof³.

A room called "the boys' chamber" or "the scholars' chamber" is mentioned early in the reign of Edward IV., when twelve beds are ordered for it⁴, and again in 1470—71. The identification of it with "Long Chamber" is rendered certain by

¹ [Audit Roll, 1501—2. "Et Willelmo lyne laboranti circa tectum antiqui vestiarii per duos dies iuxta vj d. in die xij d." Ibid. 1516—17. *Reparationes*. "Et Hugoni Lyne laboranti...circa deposicionem plumbi antiqui vestiarii ij s. iij d. Et Emery soluenti machinam eiusdem domus et eam deponenti per viij dies iiij s."]

² [Ibid. 1503—4. There are also a number of entries in the rolls respecting the altars and images in the Church, for which see Lyte's Eton, p. 94.]

³ [Ibid. 1469—70. "Pro mundacione cimeterii et claustrii per j diem iiij d...Et pro factura anguli in claustro iuxta aulam xvjs. xd..." Ibid. 1475—6. "Et pro reparacione clauis hostii borialis in fine claustrii .iiij. d....Et Johanni Davy pro reparacione claustrii per iij dies .xij. d." Ibid. 1484—5. "Et Burgeys pro posicione j postis iuxta murum claustrii exteriorem hoc anno iiij d." Ibid. 1498—99. "Et duobus mundantibus latrinas omnium camerarum quadranguli ex convencionem cum eis facta 1xs." Ibid. 1504—5. "Et pro vna clauis pro paruo hostio in superiori claustro ducent' in Aulam per magistrum prepositum ... Et Willelmo lyne plumbario laborant' circa tectum claustrii et in pandoxatria per quatuor dies ... ij s."]

⁴ [Ibid. "Et pro factura xij lectorum in camera puerorum xs. iij d."]

an entry in the same year, in which it is mentioned in conjunction with the sewer which still passes under the east end of that building, though now no longer used as a drain¹. An allusion to this sewer first occurs in 1468—69; after which the cleansing and flushing of it are frequently mentioned².

In 1485—86 a lock and twelve keys for the Library are paid for, the number being probably that of the officials who were permitted to use it³.

The "Grammar School" is alluded to in 1482—83, when its windows are mended; and again in 1484—85, in conjunction with the Church and Library⁴.

The completion of the Hall was recorded in the last chapter. The accounts for 1484—85 record the repairs of a vaulted passage connecting it with the kitchen, in conjunction with which the Bakehouse and Brewhouse are mentioned. Some "steps leading up to the Hall," probably those of wood, on the south side, between it and the kitchen, were made in 1487—88. The vaulted cellar under the Hall is mentioned in 1470—71⁵. In 1484—85 keys are provided for the doors of the Hall, and in the same year there is a charge for painting flowers round the hangings, and for mending certain hangings, apparently not the same as the former ones, which are again repaired in 1485—86. The Bible for use in Hall had also been mentioned in the previous year⁶.

¹ [Ibid. 1470—71. "Et Johanni Crownale tegulatori et famulis suis per iij septimanas circa reparaciones aule, camere scolarium, et noue domus iuxta pandoxatriam xij s." "Et Johanni lane pro excuracione volte subteranee et purgacione latrine puerorum ij s. viij d." This charge is made again in the following year.]

² [Ibid. 1468—69. "Johanni Lane pro purgacione volte subteranee." Ibid. 1492—93. "Item vni laboranti per duos dies circa ripas reparando et obturando foramina iuxta quoquinam vt purgaretur cloaca per cursum aque vj d."]

³ [Ibid. 1485—86. "Et magistro Johanni de castro pro vna sera et xij clauibus et annulis requisitis pro ostio librarie."]

⁴ [Ibid. 1482—83. "Et Simoni Fort emendant Fenestras in scola gramaticali viij d." Ibid. 1484—85. "pro reparacione ecclesie, librarie, et scole xix s. vj d."]

⁵ [Ibid. 1470—71. "Et cuidam bekyngton emendant' et reparant' muros in pistirino et pandoxatria et in Introitu inter coquinam et aulam ... xij d." Ibid. 1484—85. "Et cuidam tegulatori laboranti circa reparaciones coclee inter aulam et coquinam iij d." Ibid. 1487—88. "Et pro factura graduum ad aulam et le rayle xxij d." Ibid. 1470—71. "Et Ricardo Reve per iij dies in volta inferiori sub aula vj d."]

⁶ [Ibid. 1484—85. "Et pro verdegrece pro floribus circa linaria aule iij d. Et pro iij clauibus pro hostiis aule pertinentibus viij d. Et pro reparacionibus pannorum

The wooden fence round the College is repaired in 1482—83, and again in 1499—1500, when "the wide western gate next the high-way" is specially mentioned¹.

In 1503 Roger Lupton was made Provost, an office which he held for 32 years, and which he signalised by extensive building operations, partly at his own cost, and partly at that of the College. In 1507—8 the kitchen was practically rebuilt. The work occupied 14 men for more than three weeks. The old south wall was pulled down, and set up again by Walter "bryckeman;" and Crownall, whom we have found employed frequently already, made what is called "the upper kitchen," probably the upper story, or lanthorn²: a work which occupied him for 43 days. The grates also were set up. In the first year of the reign of Henry VIII. (1509—10) John Jestelyn a mason—perhaps the clerk of the works—goes to Teynton to get stone for the cloister. Caen stone is also purchased, and a large quantity of timber. In 1510—11 the Hall-steps are made, and Jestelyn is paid for a portion of his contract for the Cloister. In the same year Humphrey Coke makes a design for a building which seems to be the same, and is paid in advance for executing part of it³. In 1511—12 the Reredos at the High Altar in the new Church is commenced, but so little is said about it in the Accounts that it was clearly not paid for by the College. In 1511—12 the hinges for the door of the workshop, where the stone for it was stored, are paid for, and part of it is set up; in the next year it is not mentioned; and in 1513—14 the completion of it can only be inferred from a charge for pulling down

pendencium in aula hoc anno xxx s. Et pro sulphure pro eisdem pannis ix d." Ibid. 1485—86. "Et Reparatori ornamentorum nouorum pendencium in aula ex determinatione sociorum xs." Ibid. 1484—85. "Et pro reparacione communis biblie aularis, scilicet ligacione et coopertura ij s. ij d."]

¹ [Audit Roll, 1482—1483. "Et Burges laboranti ad sustendend' le pales iuxta altam viam .viii. d." Ibid. 1499—1500. "Et Willelmo Pastelar pro reparacionibus factis circa latam portam occidentalem iuxta viam regiam pro .v. diebus et di'. ijs. ix d."]

² [Audit Book, 1507—8. "Et Cronall laboranti circa facturam muri superioris coquine, et growndepynnyng, et circa tegulacionem coquine per xliii dies."]

³ [Ibid. 1510—11. *Custus forinseci*. "Et Jostlen in partem solucionis de conuencione operum circa claustrum xs. ... Et Humfrido Coke pro figuracione edificii le platt vj'. viij^d. Et eidem pro arris pacti ad idem edificium extruendum vj'. viij^d. Et eidem...xij li." Another payment was made to him in 1514—15. "Humfrido Coke in parte pro edificacione claustri xij li. vj'. viij^d."]

a partition in front of the altar which had probably been set up for the convenience of the workmen¹.



Fig. 27 Interior of Provost Lupton's Chapel from Lyte's 'Eton College'

Mention is also made of the Schoolmaster's chamber, of the Almshouse, which was on the west side of the College, near the

¹ [Ibid. 1511 - 12 *Reparaciones*. "Et pro ij paribus le hengis et bokis ponderantibus vijli. precii libre jd. ob. ad noum hostium domus ubi lathomi reposuerunt lapides noui operis ad frontispicium summi altaris xjd.", "Et pro factura et nouis circulis iij vasorum ad asportandum puluerem et rudera circa collocationem frontispicii

gate; of a room or enclosure called the "gymnasium;" and of the Playing-fields, which at this time were enclosed, and could be locked up¹.

It was at about this time that the Provost built, at his own cost, the chantry between two of the buttresses on the north side of the Chapel which has always been called Lupton's Chapel (figs. 16, 17), and which is proved to have been his work by the introduction of his arms on one of the bosses of the groined roof, and of his name in the spandrils of the door in the screen which separates it from the Church. In the left-hand spandril is the initial letter R of his Christian name, and in the right the syllable LUP sculptured on a Tun, in the usual punning style of the period (fig. 18). The exact date of the construction of this chantry is not known, but that it was finished before 1515 may be safely assumed from a charge for a spout on the new Chapel in the Audit Book for that year².



Fig. 18. Rebus of Provost Lupton from Lyte's "Eton College."

The Accounts for 1515—1516 have unfortunately been lost; but in those for 1516—1517 we meet with the heading "*noue edificaciones*" for the first time. Workmen are employed "to take the tiles off an old house where the new building now stands on the west side of the quadrant;" and again "to pull down the old houses where the new building now stands³." By quadrant (*quadra*) there can be no doubt that the Cloister-Court is meant; and "the new building" is therefore the west side of that Court, including the gate called Lupton's Tower.

summi altaris x d." ... Ibid, 1514—1515. *Custus ecclesie*. "Et Ricardo Saunders laboranti circa depositionem partitionis ante summum altare xv d.")

¹ [Ibid. 1510—11. "Pro clauē ad clausuram prati lusorii" Ibid. 1511—1512. "Et pro pari le gemoys ad cubiculum magistri informatoris xij d." Ibid. 1514—1515. "Laboranti circa tectum domus elemosinarie per xv dies, et gymnasio per ij dies." Ibid. 1516—1517. "Pro le gosfote ad magnam portam occidentalem collegii prope domum elemosynariam," etc.]

² [Audit Book, 1514—1515. *Custus ecclesie*. "Et Hugoni lyne.. remouendo vnum le spowte super nouam capellam."]

³ [Audit Book, 1516—1517. "Et Sesy deponenti tegulas veteris domus vbi nunc

From the heading of the first of four wage-books that have been preserved it appears that the new work began 23 February 1516—17¹, and a note in the same book further records:

"M^m. that the second day off march the yere off o^r. lorde a thousand fyve hundred and seventyne the first stone was layd yn the foundacyon off the west parte off the college wheron ys byldyd M^r provest logyn the gate and the lyberary."

The names of those who made the design have in this instance been preserved. They were Humphrey Coke, as before, assisted by Henry Redman and a Mr Vertue, probably the freemason who contracted in 1505 for the roof of S. George's Chapel, Windsor. He is again mentioned in 1520—21, when he receives ten shillings for his supervision of the work².

Unfortunately the Audit Books for 1517—18, 1518—19 are wanting, and the separate accounts contain merely payments for wages. From these we find that the work occupied four years, the last payment being for the fortnight ending 27 December, 1520. The overseer was Nicholas Smale, one of the Fellows. In 1519—20 it was evidently approaching completion, for we find purchases of stone that would be required for the upper portion of a building, such as 58 feet of "ventes," 12 feet of "large crestes," 136 feet of "small crestes;" and ironwork for doors, as 23 pairs of hinges³. In the following year (1520—21) the ironwork for the Great Gate of the new building is minutely described, and final payments are made to the glazier and painter, the latter of whom charges for painting the "jambs (*postes*) of the new building and of the great gate." He had previously been paid for painting figures on the front of the new work³. The Provost's Lodge however does not appear to have

est noua edificatio in occidentali quadrae (*sic*) per iiij dies, ijs" ... "laborantibus circa depositionem antiquarum domorum ubi nunc est nouum edificium."]

¹ ["Prima quindena incipient' die lune 23 die mens' Februarii A^o. dni M.CCCCC^{mo}. xvj^o et A^o. Regni Regis henrici Octauⁱ Octauo."]

² [Tighe and Davis, *Annals of Windsor*, i. 422. Audit Book, 1516—17. *Custus Forinseci*. "Et in Regardo dato Humfrido Coke vjs viij d. Et in Regardo dato M. Vertue ad duo tempora xiijs. iiij d. Et in Regardo dato Henrico Redman ad duo tempora xiijs iiij d. Et in libro papyrico continente formam noui edificii ad quadrum Collegii per predictos excogitatum le platte xv d." Ibid. 1520—21. "Et sol' vertu pro superusione noui operis x^s."]

³ [Ibid. 1519—20. *Custus forinseci*. "Et pictori Imaginum in Frontispicio noui edificii."]



Fig. 19. General view of Eton College, reduced from Loggan's print, taken about 1688. A, G, Kitchen, H, Bakehouse, I, Brewery, K, Slaughtehouse, L, M.

To face pp. 418, 419.



Chapel, B. Upper School C. Library; D. Hall; E. Provost's Lodge, F. Long-Chamber,
 Innhouse; M. Provost's Garden, N. Fellows' Garden, O. Stable

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been occupied for some years. The hangings and carpets for his bedroom are not provided until 1535—36¹, and a similar charge for his hall occurs in 1537—38².

A Tennis Court is alluded to as existing in 1600—1, but there is no evidence to shew when it was first built³, or where it was situated.

The completion of the west side of the Cloister Court was the last work undertaken during the sixteenth century⁴. In the next chapter we will attempt to compare the existing buildings with the historical information that has been collected, and narrate the further changes that they have separately undergone. Before doing so, however, it will be well to notice the completion of the buildings that surround the outer court or School-Yard, and the space to the north of it called Weston's Yard.

The range of buildings forming part of the west side of the latter (figs. 1, 19), now appropriated to the use of the Head Master, was begun in 1603—4, at the instigation of Sir Henry Savile, then Provost. The yard was then called "the Stable-yard." The accounts contain very little information about it. One of the first entries is a payment "to Humfrey Randall for a plott of grounde in Slowe thereof to make the Bricke," and 80,500 bricks were supplied in the first year. The windows were glazed in 1605—6, in which year it was probably completed, for the separate heading in the accounts, "New Building," then ceases. It had therefore taken three years to build, and had cost £598. 18s. 4½d. It contained the printing-press set up by Savile for his own use, together with apartments for the Clerks and Commensals, granaries, and other offices⁵.

¹ [Audit Book, 1535—36. "Et pro xiiij virgatis ly dornar iuxta xj d. virga ad faciendum carpetts pro fenestris in cubiculo m. prepositi xj s. xj d."]

² [Ibid. 1537—38. Under the heading "Custus novi hospitii Domini Prepositi," which occurs this year in the accounts, we find a charge "Pro tribus peciis de ly green et redd seey pro ly hangyngs in aula dict' noui hospitii iuxta xv s. pro pecia iiij li. iiij s.;" and also for "tentare hookes" to hang them on.]

³ [Ibid. 1600—1. "Item to Giles mending the ... Tennys court walls." Ibid. 1602—3. "iiij daies tiling the Tennis courte."]

⁴ [One entry deserves quotation, as shewing the exact size of the bricks then in use. It occurs in the Bursar's Day-book for 1543—44. William Martyn of Stoke contracts for 100,000 bricks "of a lawfull scantlyng that ys to say ix ynches and di (9½) in length, iiij ynches and dj (4½) in bredth, ij ynches and qu (2¼) yn thynesse."]

⁵ [The following entries refer to this building :

Audit Book, 1608—9. "ij newe lockes for the dores in the newe buildinge where

The School Quadrangle was not completed until the Provostship of Dr Richard Allestree (1665—81). During the seventeenth century a wall of red brick, about 10 feet high, with an opening in the centre, which was probably closed by a gate, extended from the corner of Long Chamber to the Chapel¹. This was then replaced by a building in one story, the west front of which is shewn by Loggan (fig. 19), and the east front by Hollar, in a print dated 1672². It was erected at the sole expense of the Provost³, as recorded upon his Monument in the Chapel:

NOBILE SIBI MONUMENTUM
AREÆ ADJACENTIS LATUS OCCIDENTALE
QUOD A FUNDAMENTIS PROPRIIS IMPENSIS STRUXIT
VIVUS SIBI STATUIT.

This act of generosity no doubt explains the absence of any allusion to the work in the Audit Books. We are therefore unable to fix the date of the commencement or completion of it with absolute exactness. It appears to have been badly constructed, and notwithstanding some ineffectual attempts to repair it, was pulled down in 1689⁴, and replaced by the present "Upper School," a building which occupies exactly the same site, and in size and style closely resembles it⁵. This was finished

the printers worke." In this year certain rooms formerly paved with tile are floored. Ibid. 1609—10, "for glasse in a chamber in the newe buildinge where the baker doth lay his wheate." In the Audit Book for 1628—29 the chambers in the new building "where the corne lyes" are mentioned.]

¹ [This is shewn in the small view of Eton on the titlepage of Sir Henry Savile's edition of Chrysostom, published at Eton in 1613; and in the curious coloured representation of the same on the monument erected to his memory in Merton College Chapel, Oxford, after his death in 1621.]

² [This will be found in Dugdale, Mon. Ang. ed. 1673, p. 195.]

³ [His biographer, Bishop Fell, speaking of the use he made of the money he received from his preferments, says "The revenue of Eton had a suitable disposal, the west side of the outward court of the College being built from the ground and finish'd at his single expence." Life, prefixed to "Forty Sermons" etc., by Richard Allestree, D.D. fol. Oxford, 1684. See also Lyte's Eton College, p. 263 sq.]

⁴ [Audit Book, 1688—9. "Imprimis payd Mr Butcher for 92 foot of Deale Timber to tye the Rooofe of the New Schoole in the year 1686, but not accounted for till now 02. 08. 00."]

⁵ [A separate Account-book exists, entitled "An account of the Workmanship in pulling downe and rebuilding the New Schoole at Eton College, and of Matterrialls for the same, begun Anno Domini 1689," from which the dates and particulars here

in January 1691, up to which time it had cost £2286. 9s. 1½*d.* The greater part of this sum was defrayed by subscriptions. The material was brick, with dressings of Burford stone; Portland stone being used for the columns, bases, and capitals. The architect's name, as usual, is not mentioned, but a M^r Matthew Banckes is employed "for Surveying, and Adviseing, and examining and correcting the workemens accounts¹." He may, therefore, have either given a new design, or pointed out the way in which the defects of Allestree's construction might be avoided. The building which intervened between it and the Chapel was not sufficiently high to interfere with its architectural features. At the opposite end, however, it abutted against the old work of the north side of the School-Yard; part of which had to be cut away in order to display the cornice, as the accounts shew:

"Item to a Bricklayer 3 dayes in cutting a hole in the wall of the old Schoole to show the returne of the Cornish and turning an Arch there.....00 . 06 . 00"

A comparison of the existing structure with Hollar's print shews that on the side next the School-Yard, instead of the arches separated by massive piers, with half columns supporting the stone cornice, there were originally only slender columns. These would have to bear the weight of the east wall, and of nearly half the floor, for, as the plan (fig. 16) shews, the width of the cloister is equal to that of half the building. It is therefore no wonder that the construction was found to be defective. As far as we can judge, the present building closely resembles that which it replaced. It was probably built on the old foundations, and the window-frames and other materials were used over again. It is a few feet higher, the walls of the old one having been level with the top of the parapet of the Chapel-staircase adjoining it, as Loggan shews (fig. 19); whereas those of the present one rise to a higher level, and are surmounted by an elaborate stone balustrade.

A separate Library was erected in 1729; but as this work belongs rather to the history of particular structures than to the

given have been derived. An entry for carpenters' work "in the Writing Schoole and the Fire-Room for the Scholars" is interesting.]

¹ [He was paid £86 for his work.]

general architectural history of Eton College, it will be related in the next chapter. With this exception no further addition was made to the College until 1844. A committee had been formed in 1842, for the purpose of collecting subscriptions to carry out certain objects, which are thus stated in their circular, dated 19 May, 1842 :

"It is well known to all Etonians, that the manner in which the boys on the foundation of Eton College are at present lodged is capable of great improvement.

This state of things can only be remedied by extensive additions to the buildings, and alterations in the arrangements connected with the College..."

They then proceed to solicit subscriptions :

"to execute the work in a satisfactory manner according to the plan proposed by the College, and seen and approved by the Committee. One principal feature of that plan is a separate apartment for each boy on the foundation."

The amount collected was upwards of £16,000¹, and in June, 1844, the Prince Consort laid the first stone of the building situated on the west side of Weston's Yard. It is in three floors (fig. 34), and includes rooms for the use of the Collegers, with a School Library at the north end. It was completed in about two years.]

CHAPTER VII.

[COMPARISON OF THE EXISTING BUILDINGS OF ETON COLLEGE WITH THE WILL OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH, AND WITH THE INFORMATION DERIVED FROM THE ACCOUNTS.

THE Building Accounts of Eton have shewn us that two kinds of works were carried on there simultaneously, namely, the alteration of existing structures in order to adapt them for temporary occupation, and the erection of others intended to be permanent. These latter were commenced 3 July, 1441, in which year the first stone of the Chapel was laid ; but it is

¹ [For the principal subscribers and other particulars see Lyte's Eton College, p. 420.]

extremely difficult to draw up an exact chronology of their progress, or to fix the dates of the several portions.

Progress must have been made with the Church by October, 1443, when the consecration of Bishop Bekynton took place within its walls; and the large purchases of stone, the number of workmen employed, and the various notices quoted in the previous chapter indicating the progress made from year to year, shew that it proceeded without interruption from that time forward. The estimate drawn up in 1447—48 proves that it was then near completion—as indeed it well might be after the labour of seven years continuously expended upon it—; and as the Will was signed in March of the same year, we may presume that the Church then in building was in accordance with its provisions. A few months afterwards, however, Roger Keys is sent to Salisbury and Winchester to measure the choirs and naves of their Cathedrals, after which he delivers to the King “a plan for the completion of the College.” This journey, taken in connection with the third design (B), which not only gives an enlarged set of dimensions for the Church—dimensions which correspond in a very remarkable way with the existing building—but also distinctly implies a pulling down of walls already erected in order to erect others outside them, leads us to the conclusion that the King caused the nearly complete building to be pulled down, and commenced the erection of a new one on an enlarged scale, of which, however, he did not live long enough to complete more than the choir. Further reasons, justifying this conclusion, will appear as we examine the existing Church. This we will now proceed to do.

It consists of a choir 150 feet long, by 40 feet broad (fig. 16), within the walls. On each side there are 8 buttresses, exclusive of the westernmost, which would have formed a portion of the eastern wall of the nave, had that portion of the Church been completed. The east window is of 9 lights, and each of the 8 side-windows of 5 lights. These dimensions and arrangements correspond exactly with those of the choir of the Church described in the enlarged design (B), and the floor is raised about 13 feet above the level of the school-yard and street, as directed in the Will (fig. 14). It is approached by staircases at the north and south ends of the Ante-chapel, the general

appearance of which will be understood from Loggan (fig. 19). It forms no part of the original design, but is quite independent of the Church, the west window of which rises above its roof.

Important evidence respecting the date of the different portions of the Church may be derived from an examination of the nature of the stone of which it is built¹. Along the north, south, and east sides of the choir, the three lowest visible courses of the plinth are of a coarse dark-coloured shelly oolite, which may be identified with the Teynton stone of the accounts². The main walls, up to the sills of the windows, and the buttresses as far as the top of the first stage, are of magnesian limestone from Hudleston, the "Yorkshire stone" of the accounts. This stone, mixed to a greater or less extent with Teynton oolite, easily distinguishable by its brown colour, is further used for the second stages of the buttresses, and of the towers at the east end, and for the whole extent of the four westernmost buttresses on the north side (E, F, G, H, fig. 16). Generally it is used, throughout the Church, for the bases of the pinnacles (*a*, fig. 20), for the upper and lower stages of the set-off immediately below them (*ibid.* *b*, *c*), and sometimes for the crockets, or a portion of them. As the supply of it ran short, pieces seem to have been kept for those situations where a more than usually durable stone was required. In most places it has stood extremely well, but occasionally, especially on the south side, has weathered nearly as badly as the Kentish rag above it. Kentish rag was used for the second and third stages of the five easternmost buttresses on the north side; for the same stages of all the buttresses on the south side; and for the spandrils above the windows. On the south side it has been used for the inner half of the arch-mold, where it has always failed; and at the east

¹ [For the following determination of the stone I have to thank my friend G. S. Drew, Esq., one of the Assistant Masters at Eton College.]

² [Professor Phillips, *Geology of Oxford and the Valley of the Thames*, 8vo. London, 1871, p. 150, refers this stone to the "middle division of the great oolite," and says of it, "The composition and structure of the rock are inconstant; when purely oolitic, with few or no shells, it is usually massive and good freestone. When shells become plentiful and range themselves in layers (sometimes oblique) [as is the case at Eton], the stone becomes more fit for rough walling and strong foundations than house-building. This kind of 'rag-stone' is like forest marble, and often is not easily distinguished from that rock."]

end for the same parts of the buttresses and towers, and of the

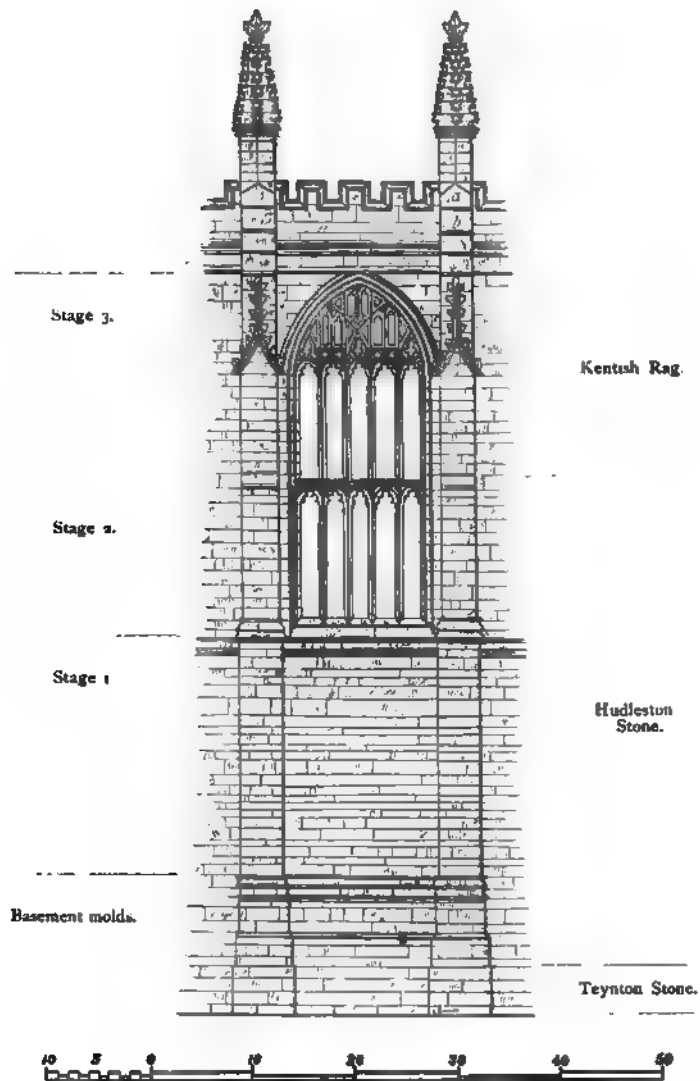


Fig. 20. Elevation of one bay of Eton College Chapel.

great east window. Teynton stone is generally used for the crockets, for the drip-mold extending from them round the

buttresses, and for the outer members of the arch-mold of the windows¹.

This arrangement of stones is in the main that directed in the third design (B). The first courses "vpon the groundes," that is, above the foundations, are to be of Teynton stone, which in the upper courses is to be mixed with Yorkshire stone, and no "Mestham stone" is to be employed. Again, we have seen that no Teynton stone was brought into College before 1448; and that arrangements for a regular supply of Hudleston stone were not made until February, 1448—49. This latter statement must not be pressed too far, for a certain quantity of it had been obtained in 1445—46 from the clerk of the works at Sion, and in 1446—47 direct from Yorkshire. The date of the first acquisition of Teynton stone, however, proves that the existing walls of the Church could not have been begun before 1448 or 1449, that is to say, after the visit of Roger Keys to Winchester and Salisbury; while the payments for the iron-work of the east window prove that at the east end at least the stone-work must have been completed by 1458—1459.

The accounts have further shewn that during the last ten years of the reign of King Henry the Sixth the works were carried on with difficulty. Under these circumstances it is probable that the stones that had been got ready for the Church erected between 1441 and 1448 would be used over again. This supposition will explain the irregularities in the curve of the arch-mold over the great east window (fig. 21), which have hitherto been so puzzling, it being clear that they are not due to a settlement. If however that wide arch was constructed out of the blocks prepared for, and perhaps once actually laid in, one of a smaller span, the difficulty vanishes.

It has been frequently stated that evidence of the haste with which the walls were completed is afforded by a comparison of a bay of Eton (fig. 20) with a bay of King's (fig. 43). It is true that the wall at Eton terminates above the window, without the space that at King's intervenes between the string-course over the window and the battlement. It is, however, just eighty feet high from the ground to the crest of the battle-

¹ [It must be remembered that modern repairs have concealed much of the original materials, especially in the Ante-chapel.]

ments, as directed in the Will and in the third design (B); and the buttresses fail to reach the height of 100 feet "fro the clere grownde vnto the heyest part of the pynnacles" there prescribed, by 3 feet only. The present pinnacles however have no authority, being quite modern; and there is no evidence to shew what the original design was. It is usually assumed that the buttresses were intended to support a roof of stone; and King's is again referred to to prove this. The buttresses at Eton, however, project 10 feet only from the wall at the base, while those at King's project 17 feet. They are therefore of no greater strength than would be required for the support of the

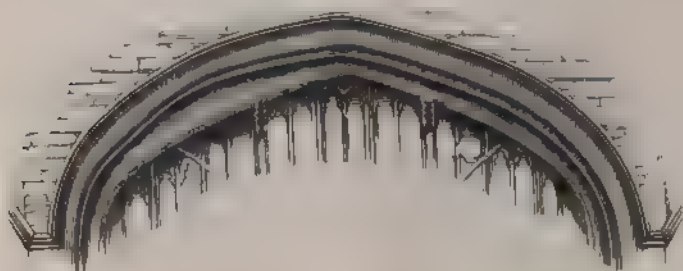


Fig. 21. External arch-mould of the east window of Eton College Chapel.

walls, which at Eton rise without a break for nearly 40 feet, with a mass of solid earth behind them. A roof of stone is nowhere alluded to, nor is any roof mentioned in the Will; but in the estimate of 1447—48, § 13, a roof of wood is distinctly mentioned, upon which 12 carpenters are to be employed for a whole year; nor is there any evidence that the change of plan described in the enlarged design (B) involved any change in this portion of the building; and the timber selected by the clerk of the works in Kent in 1451 may have been intended for it¹.

It is extremely difficult, as explained in the last chapter, to

¹ [In the corresponding directions for King's we shall find that the walls are directed to be "embatelled, vaulted, and chare roofed sufficiently boteraced," and probably the Founder's intention was to keep the two buildings distinct in plan and arrangement.]

discover what Waynflete undertook when work upon the Church (*opera ecclesie*) was resumed in 1468. The contract with Walter Nichol for the rood-loft in 1475, and the journey of the Provost to Winchester, accompanied by him, the chief carpenter, and the chief mason, in that year, indicate that at that time they were engaged upon the fittings. What, however, had been done previously? Possibly Waynflete found the western end of the choir unfinished; and the large quantity of Hudleston stone which appears in the upper stages of the four westernmost buttresses on the north side may perhaps indicate that they were finished under his direction, for he would naturally use up the materials at his disposal before providing a fresh supply, which was not done, so far as we know, until 1479, the date of the contract for the stone from Headington. None of this stone has been discovered in the walls of the choir. The Church seems to have been ready for service by 1480, from the quantity of furniture ordered in that year.

An examination of the north and south walls of the Ante-chapel, between the last buttress of the choir and the west wall of the staircase, shews that in that part they are built generally of the same materials as the buttresses and walls of the choir, and that the moldings of the plinth of the choir have been returned along their face. This is best seen on the north side (fig. 22), where the space is widest. It may perhaps indicate that Waynflete's first intention was to construct a nave, but on a reduced scale, for the aisles would have been only ten feet wide, instead of twenty feet, and that he afterwards abandoned the idea for an Ante-chapel on the plan of that at New College, Oxford. In the course of the alterations in 1847-8 a large arch was discovered in the wall between the Choir and Ante-chapel, the crown of which rose nearly to the sill of the west window. This arch was no doubt abandoned when it was decided to build the present Ante-chapel; and the buttresses (B, C) were possibly constructed at the same time.

The walls of the Ante-chapel are of Headington stone¹, with a block from Hudleston or Teynton inserted here and there. This shews that the supply of those materials was nearly

¹ (On this stone, used to build certain Oxford Colleges, see Professor Phillips, p. 299.)

exhausted at the time that it was being built; and that the few remaining blocks were used to supplement the stone which had been specially provided for the work. This—an oolite—is far from durable; and in this particular instance decayed so completely that a few years ago the Ante-chapel had such a venerable appearance that it was thought to be the oldest part of the building. The very existence of the Headington stone would now be hardly suspected, for it was concealed by a facing of Bath stone imposed in 1876—77.



Fig. 22. Hottess H, fig 16 and north wall of the Ante-chapel, Eton College.

The result of this investigation is that the existing Church was begun about 1448 as the choir of a larger building; that the walls, at any rate at the east end, were raised to their present height before the death of King Henry the Sixth, the east window being ready for the iron-work in 1458—59; and that the Ante-chapel alone is entirely the work of Bishop Waynflete between 1479 and 1482.

The quadrangle which lies to the north of the Chapel, called the "School-Yard," measures 138 feet from north to south, by 215 feet from east to west. It is bounded on the west by the building called "Upper School," which, as we have seen, was con-

verted into its present appearance between 1689 and 1691; on the east by part of the College buildings shortly to be described; and on the north by an ancient range of red brick containing a school-room called "Lower School" and other school-rooms on the ground-floor, with the dormitory called "Long Chamber" above. This range stood originally clear of other structures, for the rooms at its east end, with the walls connecting it with the range in the centre of which is the Clock-Tower, are modern. As it is not distinctly referred to in the earlier accounts, it is impossible to assign to it a precise date, but we have found it referred to as a completed building in 1468; and in style it closely resembles the north and west sides of the Cloister Court, which will be shewn to be among the earliest buildings erected at Eton. It is possible that by the phrase the "new buildings of the College on the north," on the ground-floor of which Bishop Bekynton held his banquet in 1443, this range may be meant, for the writer of that description is clearly describing them as they stood with reference to the Chapel. It should however be mentioned that a "new chamber for the College boys" is mentioned in 1506—7, and that a "new school" is referred to in 1514—15 as having been built some time previous. These entries may imply either a rebuilding on the old foundations, or only an extensive repair¹.

The ground-floor is now divided into two portions by a through passage (at *wx*, fig. 16). The arch leading into this from the staircase (*ibid.* *y*) is modern, and the wooden partitions on each side, though ancient, were erected long after the walls. Access to the first floor is obtained, as formerly, by an external staircase (*ibid.* *w*). The square tower eastward of the staircase (*ibid.* *A*) formerly contained studies on the ground-floor and first floor, and was perhaps intended for that purpose from the first. A circular stone stair or "vice," at the east end, leads to a chamber on the first floor, formerly occupied by the Usher (*ostiarius*) as will be shewn below. At the opposite end there is a square room entered through a door (*ibid.* *aa*) which seems to be original; and above it there is a room of the same

¹ [Audit Book, 1506—7. *Custus forinseci*. "Et pro vno lampade pro noua camera puerorum collegii." *Ibid.* 1514—15. "Et Henrico...pro antiq' aris tempore edificationis noue scole xx".]

size, entered from Long Chamber by a similar door. These were probably the Head Master's chambers¹. The windows are of two kinds. Those towards the quadrangle are of two lights, pointed, under a square head, exactly like those in Lupton's work (fig. 23). On the opposite side these windows are found on the first floor only, and in the square turret eastward of the staircase. The lower room is lighted by windows like those in the Fellows' Buildings, which will shortly be described. The doors have simpler and shallower moldings than those in the Fellows' Buildings (fig. 25); and their label closely resembles that of the pair of doors on the west side of the cloister (fig. 30). The difference between the two forms of window, and the general appearance of this range, will be understood from the view of part of the north side (fig. 34). On the south side there is a set-off at the same height as on the north, but of modern brick, instead of stone as elsewhere. Above this, a few inches below the windows, there is a line of lead about half-an-inch thick, extending the whole length of the building; and at a distance of 10 feet from the foot of the wall, a line of foundation was discovered in 1876 (fig. 16). This looks as though an

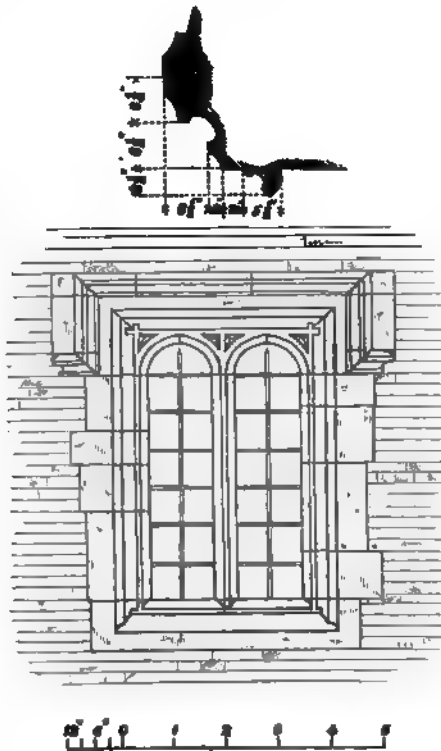


Fig. 23. Window in Lupton's Building.

¹ [Ibid. 1552—53. Reparationes. "Item to John Kendall for workinge abowte comynge owt of the Scolle M^r. Chambre in to the childers chamber .i.j.s. jd."]]

attempt had been made, when the building was erected, to construct a portion of the cloister directed in the Will. It should be further noticed that the labels over the doors are more delicate on this side than on the opposite one, as though not originally intended to withstand weather.

The inner, or cloister, quadrangle, the central area of which is 90 feet square, is arranged upon a plan unusual in Colleges. It has ranges of chambers on the east, north, and west sides, and the Hall on the south side, behind which are the kitchen, brew-house, and other offices. The rooms on the ground-floor are entered from the cloister; those on the first floor from a gallery, to which access was originally obtained by means of a square turret at each internal angle of the quadrangle, containing a spiral stone stair, with a door below and above. This gallery extends at present along the north and east sides only, but previous to the erection of the Library in 1726, was continued along the south side, as Loggan shews (fig. 19), and would doubtless have been continued along the west side also, had that been completed according to the original design. Externally, there are large square towers at the angles, between which, on the west and north sides, are two smaller towers, spaced at regular intervals. The arrangement and general appearance of these buildings will be understood by comparing Loggan's view, taken before the present Library was built, or an upper story added to the east and north sides, with the external view of those sides taken in 1875 (fig. 24).

The west range, in the centre of which is the gateway called "Lupton's Tower," through which the Cloisters are entered, is now wholly devoted to the use of the Provost. Over the gate, extending the full width of the building, is "Election Chamber," originally intended for a library; between it and the College Hall is the apartment reserved for the Provost of King's; and on the other side is "Election Hall" (fig. 38). We have seen that the latter, with the gate and part at least of the remaining portion of the range, were built between 1517 and 1520. The determination of the dates of the remaining portions is a task of considerable difficulty.

These two quadrangles take the place of the Cloister and "Quadrant" described in the Will. They are, however



Fig. 24 East front of the Cloister-Court, Eton College, commonly called "The Fellows' Buildings", from Lyte's "Eton College"
To face p. 432.



smaller¹, and are arranged in a wholly different manner, as a reference to the Founder's design (fig. 1) will shew at once. The only portion of the buildings carried out according to the directions of the Will is the Hall. There can, however, be little doubt that the Cloister, with the buildings along the east and north sides, were undertaken at the very commencement of the works. The term "quadrant of the College," which implies chambers arranged in a quadrangular form around a central area, is met with in 1442—43; and in the latter year ten chambers on the east side with a Hall and Cloisters and seven Towers are contracted for. These towers may be identified with the seven that are still standing on the east and north sides of the College (K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, fig. 16). The Vice-Provost's chamber was glazed in 1445—46, and the two ranges were so nearly completed by February, 1447—48, that it was computed (according to the estimate quoted in the preceding chapter, § 10) that £40 was all that would be required for "the making of the housing which shal close ynnne the quadrant;" and in the following July the windows were glazed, and the chimneys constructed. Ten years later (1459—60) the Cloister is alluded to as a completed building.

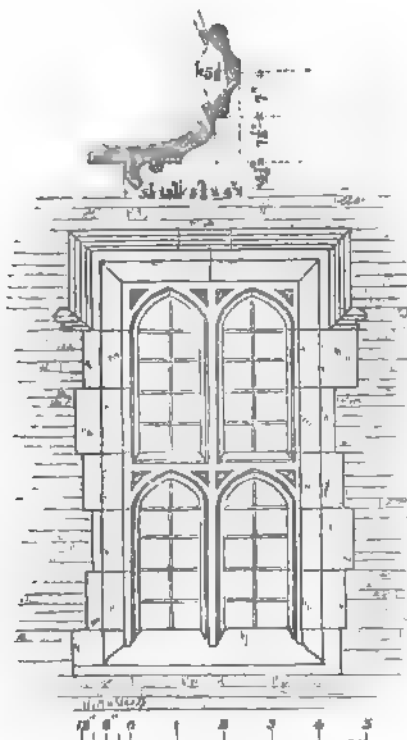


Fig. 25. Window in the Fellows' Buildings.

¹ [The area of the Cloister would have contained 32,000 square feet, and the "Quadrant" 35,650. The School-Yard contains 29,670, and the Cloisters 8,100.]

Besides these pieces of direct evidence the following considerations are in favour of concluding that these buildings, together with that which forms the north side of the school-yard, were erected during the reign of the Founder. First, for what other purpose could the enormous quantities of bricks brought into the College from the second year of the works have been intended? Secondly, when Dr Roger Lupton became Provost in 1503—4, the west side of the quadrangle was the only part unfinished. The other sides therefore must have been built either by Bishop Waynflete, or by the Founder; for the College was too poor to have undertaken so important a work out of its own resources in the interval between the death of Henry the Sixth and the accession of Henry the Eighth. There can, however, be little doubt that Waynflete's work was confined to the Church, from the numerous entries in the accounts definitely connecting his name with the resumption of work there; and from the obvious consideration that so important an enterprise would preclude the possibility of his undertaking any other¹.

A general resemblance between the buildings of Eton and those of Queens' College, Cambridge (which is known to have been built between 1448 and 1449), offers additional evidence of an early date. Red brick with stone dressings, and square flanking towers, are employed in both². The plan of Queens', however, is different, as it was necessary to conform to the usual plan of Cambridge Colleges. At Eton, moreover, the windows were treated in a peculiar fashion that was never employed at Cambridge. They have been much altered at different times, but their original position and treatment may be easily discovered. The space between each pair of towers, on the exterior face of the building, had four windows on each of the two floors; that nearest the tower on each side being a half-window. These windows were each divided by a central mullion into four or two lights, and finished off above by a hood-mold (figs. 25, 26). The

¹ [Leland (*Itinerarium*, ix. 33) says, "At bona ædificiorum pars accrevit, ut ego aliquando a fide dignis didici, et opera et impensis Gulielmi Venflucti episcopi... Favebat is impensius operi ab Henrico incepto." These "ædificia" however need not be understood to refer to any others than the Church and Ante-chapel.]

² [Square towers were also begun on the outside of the building on the east side of the Great Court at King's, as has been already shewn.]

upper part of one of them in its original state (at R, fig. 16) is shewn on the next page (fig. 26) with the door from the Cloister into the Playing-fields, which is also original. All traces of cusps have now disappeared. The wall between each pair of windows was originally ornamented with a device or pattern in brick of a different colour.

Careful examination shews further that both in the angle-towers, and in those on the face of the building, the vertical height between the floor and ceiling of the adjoining chamber was divided into two by an intermediate floor as at present, for on the face of one of the angle-towers there are remains of two windows, apparently original, one above the other, on the first floor. They occupy a space between the strings equal to that of the great window at the side. There is a similar arrangement in the half-towers, but in them the windows are modern and their evidence cannot therefore be relied upon, although it is probable that they occupy the place of original ones. Moreover, at the sides, both of the angle-towers and of the half-towers, there are remains of small original windows of a single light only. The examination of these is very difficult, on account of the ivy and other creeping plants with which the walls are now covered. It may be concluded, however, from finding some of these small windows in the lower part of the double story, and some in the upper part, that each story was supplied with one of them on either side¹.

The Cloister is composed of six four-centered arches on each of three sides, those of the south side having been removed to make room for the Library. One of these arches, with its moldings, is here shewn (fig. 27). The material is Kentish rag, standing upon plinths of a different stone, more grey in colour. Between each pair of arches is a shallow buttress, closely resembling those of the oriel of the Hall at Queens' College. These buttresses rose originally to the top of the parapet, as Loggan's view (fig. 19) shews; but at present they have been cut off at the level of the string-course just above the

¹ [I have to thank my friend William Burges, Esq., architect, for these details. The course of the sewer shewn on the plan (fig. 16), coupled with the charge quoted at p. 411 for cleansing "*omnes latrinas quadranguli*," indicates that the use of these towers was the same in ancient as in modern times.]

arches, except on the west side, where they rise to the original level. It should be remarked that the buttress under the east window of "Election Chamber" has been cut off just under the sill (fig. 28), thereby proving that it had previously been intended to carry up the wall of which it formed part to the same height as the adjoining portion. The angle-turret also at this corner is similar to the others and was not altered when Lupton's work was built up against it at the beginning of the 16th century. It



Fig. 26. Door leading from the Cloister into the Playing fields, from Iyde's "Eton College"

is therefore tolerably certain that the cloister and the wall above it are of one time, and that it was left unfinished on the west side from lack of funds.

The chambers on the ground-floor are entered from the cloister through doorways of peculiar construction. They are in pairs, close together. At the intersection of the hood-molds there is a piece of foliage, and at their termination the molding is returned so as to form a square boss. The doors that are



Fig 28. Interior of the Cloister-Court, Eton College, looking south west, shewing part of Election Hall, Lopton's Tower, and part of the Library

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ornamented in this style, whether double or single, will be found of great use in determining the age of the walls in which they occur. There are four double doorways like the one first figured (fig. 29), marked *cd*, *ef*, *gh*, *ik*, on the plan (fig. 16), and three single ones; one on the outside at the entrance to the playing-fields (ibid. *n*), and two on the inside (ibid. *o*, *p*). In the west wall there is one double doorway (ibid. *lm*, fig. 30), and one single doorway (ibid. *m'*). These bear a close general resem-

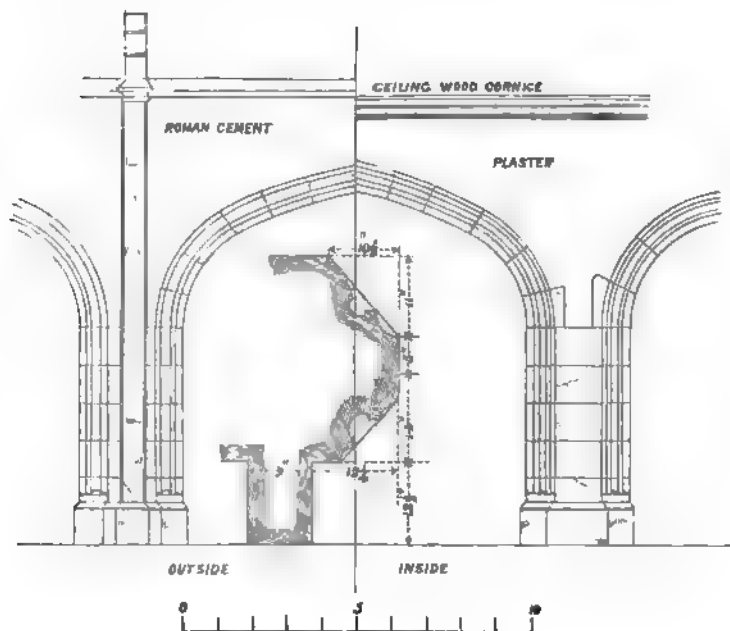


Fig. 27. Elevation of the exterior and interior of one of the Arches in the Cloister.

blance to the others in their main features; but the pier between the two at *lm* is wider, the moldings are less elaborate, and the label terminates without the picturesque return so characteristic of the others. These differences may be taken to indicate a somewhat later date; while the general similarity of arrangement shews a desire on the part of those who finished this range to accommodate their work to the portions already constructed. We have seen that Provost Lupton began work on the cloister

in 1509—10, and that Humphrey Coke was paid for a design in 1510—11, and for executing it in 1514—15. These doors should perhaps be assigned to this time, as also the arch leading from the clock-tower into the cloister (fig. 39). It is of a different style from the rest of the tower, and is also built of a different stone, which may possibly be that from Teynton which was got for the cloister in 1509—10.

On ascending to the gallery, which is now approached by a modern staircase at the north-west angle, we find that the rooms were entered through doorways arranged like those below. The details of the stone-work have unfortunately been all destroyed or hidden behind modern panelling. Both sets retain their original doors of oak, studded with iron nails, and some have their ancient iron handles as well¹.

We will now examine the Hall. It is 82 feet long by 32 feet broad, and raised upon a vaulted cellar, as directed in the Will, so that the floor is 8 feet 6 inches above that of the cloister. It is built of Kentish rag on the south side, next the brewhouse yard, and is faced with Caen stone on the north side. There are an oriel and five buttresses on the former side, but there is neither the one nor the other, nor any trace of them, on the latter, where the wall is plain, subdivided by shallow pilasters, and pierced by four narrow oblong windows close to the ground. These admit light to the cellar, which is approached through a lofty pointed doorway (S, fig. 16). Close to this a steep flight of steps rises to the level of the Hall floor through a wide pointed arch. The steps are later than the arch, which has been cut away to receive them. An examination of the south side shews that the original stone-work terminates at exactly the same level along the entire wall (fig. 32), the buttresses being all abruptly truncated, and the windows cut off at half their intended height. An examination of these—one of which is here drawn (fig. 31)—shews that the remaining portion exactly resembles the lower half of the windows in the adjoining buildings which have been described above, with the addition of cusps, which may once have existed in the others also. The arches over them have been finished in plaster-work, and the

¹ [One of the doors on the first floor has the College swan-mark engraved upon it, as though the apartment had been assigned to the swan-herd.]

wall above the level of the stone-work is of brick. Evidence of further alterations, equally unaccountable, is supplied by the fire-places in the north, south, and east walls, discovered in 1858. They were without chimneys, and had never been used. There was also a small door (*g*, fig. 16), communicating with a staircase leading to the gallery, the door into which is probably that mentioned in 1504—5. It is extremely difficult to assign any reason for this sudden abandonment of the original design, for the accounts have shewn that the Hall was contracted for in 1443; that stone was bought for it in 1445—6; and that it was completed in 1450. The view of the south side in its present condition (fig. 32) shews how the wall which would have formed part of the Provost's chamber as directed in the Will was left unfinished. The building that now completes the south-west angle of the College is probably part of Provost Lupton's work. The unfinished state in which the Hall was left is further shewn by an examination of the east end (fig. 33). The wall in the immediate foreground is that of the pantry (*ab*, fig. 16), and parallel to it, at a distance of eighteen feet, is the easternmost buttress of the Hall, truncated as above described. The toothings in the wall which projects forwards—part of the south wall of the Hall—shew that it was once intended to continue it further towards the east, and so to form a room above the pantry. At the opposite, or west end, a staircase in the thickness of the wall leads to the rooms on the first floor. The Provost's Lodge was directed in the Will to occupy this position, and the existence of the staircase, which would furnish a convenient means of access from the Hall as was usual in Lodges, shews that this part of the College, of whatever date it may be, was intended from the first for the use of the Provost.

The conclusion to which the analysis of the accounts attempted in the previous chapter and the examination of the existing buildings lead us is, that the north and east sides of the quadrangle were built between 1443 and 1448, and the Hall between 1443 and 1450; in other words, that the quadrangle was set out of its present size and arrangement during the lifetime of the Founder, and, in fact, was approaching completion at the very time he signed the Will which prescribed a totally different arrangement for it. A further difficulty is afforded by

the Hall, which, as it is of the exact size directed in the Will, proves that the arrangements therein contained must have been in contemplation for some years. It may be suggested in explanation that when the quadrangle was begun in 1443 the King had not matured his plan for the whole College, and that the Hall, if commenced, would have been in accordance with an earlier scheme of which the present cloister is a portion. The



Fig. 25. Double Doorway on the north side of the Cloister from Lyte's "Eton College"

present design for the Hall was probably settled in November, 1446, when the clerk of the works went to London to consult the Marquis of Suffolk about it (*super facturam Aule*), and it was subsequently carried on in accordance with that design, which was inserted in the Will together with a new scheme for the whole College. This, we may conjecture, it was then intended to carry out, the buildings which now exist being pulled down to make way for it, just as the walls of the Church were pulled down when the larger plan was decided upon. It will be observed from the plan that the east side of the quadrangle is

quite distinct from the Hall, so that the chambers might easily have been inhabited while it was being built. The deposition of Henry the Sixth prevented any further attempt to realize the larger conception, and the quadrangle, long left incomplete, was finished by Provost Lupton in 1520.]



Fig. 30. Double Doorway on the west side of the Cloister

CHAPTER VIII.

[HISTORY OF THE SEPARATE BUILDINGS OF ETON COLLEGE.

Chapel. Hall. Library. Provost's Lodge, etc.

WE will now investigate the history of the separate structures, beginning with the Chapel, as it will be more convenient to call it for the future.

CHAPEL. The reredos erected during the Provostship of Dr Lupton was soon removed. The accounts for the first year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth record its destruction, 25 January, 1547—48¹. From this brief notice, and from an examination of some fragments that seem to have formed part of it, discovered in 1876 built into the external pinnacles, it appears to have consisted of a series of niches of Caen stone, containing figures. These objectionable images having been got rid of, the walls were adorned with texts, which in their turn were obliterated at the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary. The same workmen were employed to paint—probably in colours—the walls of Lupton's Chapel. The high altar was set up again in 1557, and a canopy erected over it. Two other altars, probably those designated "the two Lowe Aulters" in the accounts for 1553—54, were then replaced, and a rood erected².

As soon as Elizabeth came to the throne the high altar was again destroyed, 9 November, 1559³; and in the beginning of 1560 the frescoes, which had been spared under Edward the Sixth, were concealed under a coating of whitewash :

"Item to the Barber for wpyng owte the Imagery worke vpon the walles in the churchevj^s. viij^d4."

In the following year a mason was employed to destroy a stone tabernacle, which had probably been used for the reserva-

¹ [Bursar's Account Book, 1547—48 : "Sol' laborantibus circa summum altare in subvertendo et exportando sculptilia vj^s. viij^d4." The change in the services is further illustrated by the sale of the altar-cloths and vestments, some of which were purchased by the Provost and Fellows, and their value entered among the "Recepta." Lyte's Eton College, p. 130.]

² [Ibid. 1553—54, 24 March. "Paid to John Barbour for blotting out the Scripture on the churche walles as aperith by Mr Dobson's bill, x^s. viij^d4." Ibid. 1554. "To John Barboure for peyntinge Docto' Lupton's Chappell and y^e Clocke diall iij^s." "To Thomson the brecke layere for trymminge the ij Lowe Aulters places xvij^d4." Ibid. 1556—57. "Item to the Turner of Windesor for making of twoo Altares [etc.] iij^s. Item for a Roode and payntinge therof xlvij^s. viii^d4. Item to Grace for Iron and Iron worke abowte the Roode xiiij^s. Item for iiij ells of Lockeram to hange before the Roode and the payntinge iij^s. Item to Grace for 7^e. di'. and xij^{ll}. of Iron bestowed in makinge faste the seelinge at the hye altare iuxta ij^d. the li. xxxj^s. ij^d4. Item to Blunte Tyler makinge the hye altare and mendinge other altares iiij^s. vj^d4." For the restoration of some of the vestments that had been sold, and the purchase of new ones, see Lyte's Eton College, p. 139.]

³ [Ibid. 1559—60. "In primis to a mayson pullynge downe the High aluter .9^e. Novembris xij^d4."]

⁴ [Ibid. 1560—61.]

tion of the Sacrament, in the body, that is, in the nave, of the Church; and also to obliterate the colours on Dr Lupton's Chapel¹. The rood-loft however was allowed to remain for ten years longer, when it shared the same fate. The following extracts describe the destruction of it, and of the other images that had survived the zeal of previous iconoclasts²:

"It^m to Feild y^e Carpenter for iij Dayes and to his man for vj dayes takinge Downe y^e Roode loft iuxta vij^d. and viij^d.vij^s."

"It^m to Richard Harbarde Carpenter for iij dayes iuxta xij^d. and to his two servants y^e same tyme iuxta xvj^d. y^e daye abowt y^e sayde workeix^s. iiij^d."

"It^m to Mustian for iij Dayes and a halfe w^t his ij Prentizes Joyn-inge y^e Weinscott in the Churche at xij^d. and xx^d. the daye ...ix^s. iiij^d."

"It^m to Glover and his Laborer for ij dayes repairing and wasshinge y^e walles where y^e rood loft stooode and pavinge y^e same place wth gret stone and brickeiiij^s. iiij^d."

"To Glover and his Laborer for two daies brekinge downe Images, and fillinge there places wth stone and plaister iuxta xx^d.iiij^s. iiij^d."

The altered condition of the Church after this may be gathered from the mention of "pues" in 1571—72, and of a sounding-board to the pulpit in 1578—79³.

For the next few years we find notices for repairs only. In 1605—6 some larger work was contemplated, as the following entry shews⁴:

"Item given to William Gaston and Thomas Collens the kinges Carpenters comyng from London to viewe the chauncell ij daies by consent.....xl^s."

They were probably asked to advise respecting the condition of the windows, for in the following spring the fitting of them with wooden bars was commenced⁵, and continued yearly for several years. The glass was new leaded, and a new lead roof was put on. It may be conjectured that the last fragments of the stained glass, if any still existed, were removed at this time. The east window was not repaired until 1625—26, when it was

¹ [Bursar's Account Book, 1561—62. "In primis to filde the Mason for pullynge downe a Tabernacle of stone in y^e bodie of the Churche v^e. Item for whitinge Doctor Lupton's chapell, vj^d."]

² [Ibid. 1569—70.]

³ [Ibid. 1571—72. "Item to Harrye Woodell for...worke in the churche abowt the pues." Ibid. 1578—79. "Item to Robert Cotton for makinge the hed over the pulpet in the churche xj dayes, vjs."]

⁴ [Ibid. 1605—6. *Templum*.]

⁵ [Ibid. 1606—7.]

filled with "paynted glass;" but as the whole repair cost only £4. 2s. 0d., the glass could not have been very elaborate¹.

An Organ, with what is called a "penthouse" over it, was set up in 1613—14. It was necessary to hew the wall away to let it in, and it was under a window, which was mended at the same time; but nothing is said to tell us where it was placed. A more important alteration is recorded in the following note, written in a contemporary hand at the beginning of a Hebrew Bible in the Fellows' Library²:

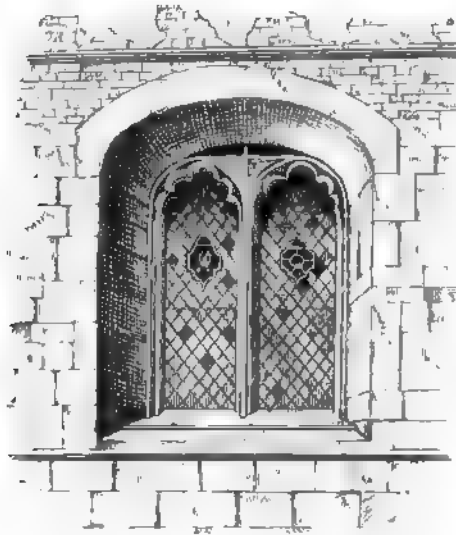


Fig. 31. Window in the south side of the Hall.

"Anno Domini 1625.

Thomas Wever, Fellow of Eton, erected and built in the Collegiate Church ther, One great frame of Tymber under y^e great Arch in the west end of the s^d Church, carved wth the armes of King Henerie the Sixt of Famous memorie, Fownder of the two Colledges y^e one in Eton and the other in Cambridg; wth y^e armes of Queene Elizabeth (a second Fownder and preserver of Colledges by enacting y^e Statute of Provision) The Armes of y^e two Universities, and y^e armes of y^e Coll:

¹ [Bursar's Account Book, 1625—26. *Templum*. "To the Glasier repayreinge the east wyndowe in the Churche beinge much in decay and for y^e supplyeinge of paynted glasse there ut per billam iij li. ijs."]

² Bomberg's Pentateuch, Shelf D. c. 9.



Fig. 32 South side of the Hall and adjoining buildings, Eton College, taken after the restoration began in 1858 from Lyte's "Eton College."

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of Eton, and y^e Kings Coll: in Cambridge, and diverse other Armes. He gave a Communion Cupp gilded, worth xx markes, and sett up a Communion Table: He sett up Seates for y^e Oppidalls, and the great Pew under ye Pulpitt for the use of y^e Fellowes, Scholm^r and their Families; He gave fowre strong Formes to stand in v^e Lies of y^e Church for the Townemen to sitt on: He gave two deskes graven wth y^e Coll: armes for y^e Fellowes to read Prayers: He adorned the deskes for y^e Clerks: He translated y^e Vestrie, built y^e Portall: He repayred y^e seat in D^r Lupton's Chappell and sett up a presse ther to laye up y^e Songe



Fig. 33. Exterior of the east end of the Had

books: He repared ye Seates and pews on y^e North and South sides of y^e Church: besides diverse other things: The Colledg alowed him towards y^e work six Loads of rough Tymber. Anno domini 1625.

Laus Deo."

As this work was put up at the sole expense of Mr Weaver, there are but few entries respecting it in the accounts. It had been completed apparently before Michaelmas, 1623, for in the

accounts for 1623—24 we find a charge of £4 "for paynteing and guilding the new worke and the pullpitt in the Church." A portion of it, probably the screen under the chancel arch, was surmounted by a gilt cross; and the seats for the Provost and Vice-Provost were sufficiently massive to have windows in them¹. The rails round the communion-table, which are mentioned in 1631—32, were probably part of Weaver's work².

The flight of stone stairs which now leads up to the south door of the Ante-chapel was built in 1624—25, to replace one of wood; those leading out of the school-yard to the north door were rebuilt in 1694—95³. In Hollar's print (1672) they are shewn with a lean-to roof over them.

The exterior of the Church must have become much decayed by 1630, from a charge for "cuttinge out the trees and shrubbs which grew uppon the pinnikles and walls, and surveyinge the windowes to see what decays were about the stoneworke⁴." The defects were remedied by ordinary repairs, until the end of the century, when a thorough restoration of the outside and a rearrangement of the inside was undertaken. The former work was paid for in 1698—99. It included a new roof, and a complete repair of the pinnacles, the cost of which was defrayed by the College. The Provost and Fellows next turned their attention to the interior, and drew up the following statement:

¹ [Bursar's Account Book, 1623—24. "To the paynter of Windesor for giultinge the Cross vpon the new worke in the Church vjd."

Ibid. 1624—25. *Templum*. "To the Joyner for a new deske in M^r Vicepro's seate and for alteringe the waynescott wyndowes in the Provosts and viceprovosts seates and for two foote stooles there vjs. viij d." "To the paynter for payntinge the wyndowes in the Provosts and vice provosts seates and the desk before the viceprovost vjs." See also Lyte's Eton, p. 225. It was objected to Weaver at Laud's Visitation in 1634 that he had made a sawpit in the Churchyard; and had shortened morning prayer "one holy day to pull doune a tree." Fourth Report of Hist. MSS. Commiss. pp. 147, 8. For Weaver's work at King's College see p. 519.]

² [Ibid. 1631—32. "New paintynge the pale about the Communion table." Mr Lyte records that these rails were removed to Burnham Church in 1700.]

³ [Ibid. 1624—25. After the charges for Purbeck stone, probably for the steps, and "Oxford stone to make the crest for the wall," we find: "To two laborers one day takeinge downe the wooden stayers to the church, and providinge the place for the newe Staires there, xxj d." Ibid. 1694—95. "Item payd M^r Clarke the Mason for y^e Staires on y^e North side of y^e Chappell [etc.] £90. 12. 09." The iron rail was put up in 1743—44. Audit Book.]

⁴ [Ibid. 1630—31.]

"Eton College Novemb^r 20th 1699.

The Provost and Fellowes of Eton College having this year expended £1800 in repairing the Top and outside of their College Chapell, and covering it with a new, Strong, and very handsome roof; And considering further that it conduceth highly to the Honour of God and the benefit of Religion, that the Publick worship of God should be performed, with as much decency as possible, where so great a number of Children, both of the Nobility and Gentry, have their Education; do intend, God willing, to proceed the next year, to the Beautyfying and Enlarging the Choir of it, that so all the Children of the Schole may appear under one View; and likewise that they, and all the people of the Parish, may be so conveniently seated, as to hear with ease all the publick Offices of the Church, which at present by reason of their number, and the ill disposition of the place, they cannot possibly do.

The Charge of this (as it is computed by the College Surveyor) being like to amount to £3000 at least, is much greater than the College is able to bear: And therefore 'tis humbly hoped and desired, that such of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, who either have formerly had their Education in this Schole, or do at present belong to it, and other pious and well disposed persons, whom God hath blessed with plentifull Estates, will contribute their charitable Assistance towards the carrying on of this good work; which, as we conceive, tends to the honour of Almighty God, the Advantage of his true Religion, and the publick benefit both of Church and State.

It was then agreed by the Provost and Fellowes of Eton College to proceed forthwith to the Enlarging and Beautyfying, the Choir of their College Chapell, according to the Modell designed by Mr Banks their Surveyor; and for the more Effectuall Encouragement of this good work, they, together with the Masters of the Schole, did promise to pay the severall Summs Subscribed with their Names¹."

The work of "wainscoting the Chapell" was proceeded with in the following year. The design of this part was apparently left in a great measure to "M^r Hopson the Joyner," but "M^r Banks the Surveyor" gave advice throughout. Timber for the Organ-loft was bought during the same year, but the Organ was not set up until 1701². The work occupied three years, and cost £5418. 2s. 1d. The style of the internal decorations of the Church will be understood from the accom-

¹ [The whole amount subscribed was £3232. 3s. 6d., of which the Provost, Henry Godolphin, gave £1000, the rest being made up by the subscriptions of the Fellowes, the Masters, and old Etonians.]

² [Audit Book, 1699—1700. "Payd M^r Hopson the Joyner this year an Acc^t. or Wainscoting the Chappell...£810. 0. 0. It^m. more to him for y^e Modele of y^e Chappell £24. 0. 0." Ibid. 1700—1. "Item for a Buck to treat y^e Choire upon y^e first Tryall of the Organ £3. 10. 0."]

panying woodcut (fig. 35). The organ-screen was not placed directly under the Chancel-arch, but crossed the Church opposite to the second window. A flight of five steps led up to it. It was a handsome classical composition about 25 feet in depth. On the west side lofty fluted columns supported an entablature, which was carried round the bay westward of the screen, and also round the Chancel-arch. A classical character was further given to the latter, by the addition of some heavy moldings, and of two columns applied to the piers. The extent of this screen



Fig 34 North side of the range containing "Long Chamber," from Weston's Yard
from Lyte's "Eton College"

is shewn, by shading, on the plan (fig. 16). In the choir, the pulpit occupied a prominent position in the centre of the south side. The north and south walls were panelled right up to the east end, so that the stone-work and even the entrance to Lupton's Chapel was concealed. At the east end the altar was placed under a lofty classical baldacchino, adorned with urns, the pediment of which obstructed a considerable portion of the

east window'. The roof was plastered on the inside, probably to give the appearance of stone-work, and painted white.

The Ante chapel was decorated in 1769, in consequence of the following College Order (18 March):

"Agreed to repair and beautify the Ante-chappel with Stucco-Work agreeably to a Plan and Estimate delivered in by Edw^d Bowers."

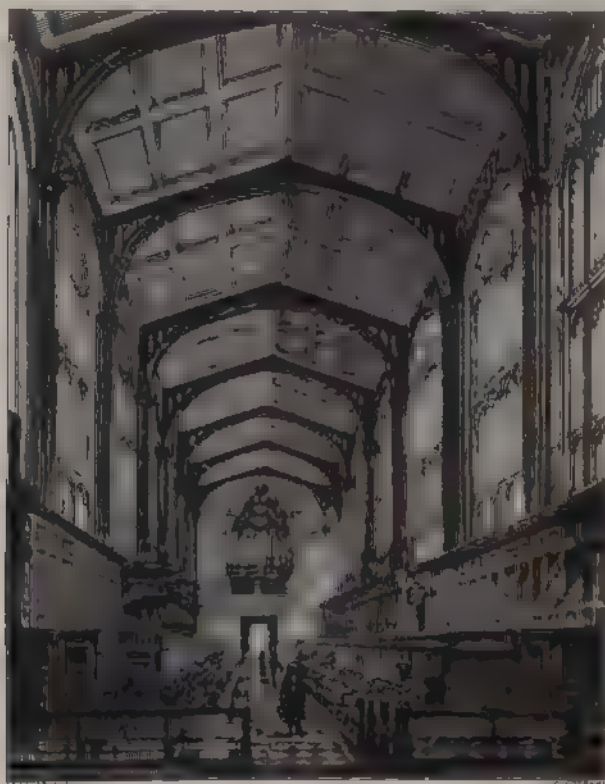


Fig. 35. Interior of the Chapel, looking west, as it appeared in 1816 reduced from a drawing by Mackenzie in Ackermann's *Eton*, from Lyte's "*Eton College*."

¹ [These details are derived from a study of a plate by Pugin, in Ackermann's *Eton*, p. 33. It represents the west side of the Organ-screen, through the door of which the altar-piece is seen. See also Lyte, p. 429. There is a tradition that Sir C. Wren was employed upon these works, but his name does not occur in any of the accounts; and a similar tradition, ascribing to him the Library, built in 1726, is clearly erroneous, as he retired from public life in 1717.]

These arrangements remained unaltered until 1842, when the reredos was removed and the original stone panelling at the east end discovered. A new altar, altar-rails, and pulpit, all of stone, and Gothic in design, were provided from the designs of Mr Shaw¹. In 1844 a subscription was set on foot among the boys to fill the east window with stained glass. The work was entrusted to Mr Thomas Willement, then a leading man in his profession. As money came in, portions were executed and put up, but the whole was not completed until 1849. The easternmost windows on the north and south sides were filled with similar glass in 1846, that on the north side being given by the Assistant Masters, and that on the south side by the Rev. W. A. Carter². While this work was proceeding, it was resolved to undertake more extensive changes. It was proposed, to quote a circular issued at the time to solicit subscriptions,

“to enlarge the Choir to its original size, to make suitable provision for the increased number of the Scholars, as well as to obtain better accommodation for the resident families and strangers. It is intended to erect Gothic stalls and a new Screen; and, if possible, to amend or remove the present Roof.”

A competition of architects was invited, at the beginning of 1845, and Mr Deeson was selected. It was at first intended to roof the building in stone³; but this scheme was given up as dangerous, and the work on the roof was limited to a removal of the paint and plaster, and the addition of some very ugly and obtrusive cusping to the principals (fig. 36). The contract was signed 3 April, 1847, and the work commenced at once. The old panelling and seats having been cleared away and the walls cleaned, the frescoes were discovered under the whitewash applied in 1560, in a tolerable state of preservation. The upper portion of them was unfortunately almost entirely destroyed by the workmen, but the lower range was preserved, and still exists, behind the modern wood-

¹ [Minute Book, 14 March, 1842. A view of the east end of the Church in this state is given in “Memorials of Eton College” by C. W. Radcliffe, fol. Eton, 1844.]

² [Thanks to the Boys for the window were read by the Provost before Speeches in Upper School on Election Saturday, 1849. It cost more than £1000. Each of the side-windows cost £800. The donors were thanked for them 18 December, 1846. College Minute Book.]

³ [See “The Builder,” 4 October, 1845.]



Fig. 36. Interior of the Chapel, Eton College, looking east, shewing the changes begun in 1647: from Lyte's "Eton College."

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work, of which the style and arrangement will be sufficiently understood from the wood-cut (fig. 36). The canopies were the gifts of various donors, and were put up in 1849—50, after the necessary works had been completed¹. The pavement of black and white marble was taken up, and replaced by stone flags, an attempt being made to reproduce the ancient levels. The cost was £20,000, most of which was defrayed by subscription. The Organ was placed at first on the floor at the west end, in the Ante-chapel; but this position having been found unsuitable, it was removed to the south side of the choir, opposite to the north door. Lastly, in 1869, it was determined to place it under the chancel arch, which in consequence has been blocked by the heavy framework required to support it. The Ante-chapel was restored in 1852².

The exterior of the Church was not taken in hand until 1876, when the pinnacles were taken down and rebuilt under the direction of Mr Woodyer, Architect. The parapet and battlements were thoroughly repaired at the same time; and the Ante-chapel was faced with Bath stone.

HALL. It has been already mentioned that the history of the Hall is extremely obscure. The north and south sides were panelled in 1547³, by which time the idea of using the original fireplaces must have been definitely abandoned. The style of the older portions of the existing woodwork shews that it has not been materially altered since it was first put up. The screen, the erection of which is not recorded, was painted in 1532—33; and in 1601—2 an ornamental composition in wainscot, surmounted by a pediment, was erected over the Fellows' table, but the dimensions shew that it did not extend across the entire width of the Hall⁴. Soon afterwards, in 1613—14,

¹ [College Minute Book, 31 Oct. 1848. "Agreed that M^r Luxmoore be authorized to contract with M^r Rattee for the erection of three Canopies in the College Chapel at a cost of £42 for each Canopy."] ² [Ibid. 14 April, 1852.]

³ [Bursar's Account Book, called *Visus Computi*, 1547—48. 10 Oct. "Solut' pro celatura aulæ dominico Richardson et Matheo hormans pro .80. virgis ly meter Joynte iuxta xxd. vjli xiijs. iiijd. Solut' eisdem pro 100 virgis ly square Joynte ex vtroque latere aulæ iuxta xiiij^d. vli. xvjs. vjd."] ⁴ [Audit Book, 1532—33. *Custus aule*. "Et Joanni Cruse pictori pro coloracione ly skrene, iij^o. iiijd." Ibid. 1601—2. "Item to John Hill Joyner for xiiij yeardes of wainscott over the high table in the Colledge hall at ij^o. vj^d. the yeard

the west wall was adorned with two pieces of tapestry, placed side by side, representing the Flight into Egypt, and Christ among the Doctors. These were partly bought out of a legacy of Adam Robyns, Fellow, partly paid for by the College¹. They were destroyed by an accidental fire in 1875.

The east window of the Hall is alluded to in 1542—43, when some coats of arms were put up in it, and the west window in 1544—45, when the stained glass was repaired. In 1606—7 a "newe windowe" is mentioned. The dimensions, and the number of lights, which are minutely stated, with the fact that it required a scaffold, shew that it was probably in the east or west gable². The west window is shewn by Loggan as of four lights; but in later views both it and the east window appear of three only, the central one being higher and wider than the lateral ones, with a semicircular head³. No special record has been preserved of the alteration; but as the style is of the 18th century we shall probably not be wrong in referring it to 1719—20, when we find a College Order for "y^e Repairing of y^e Hall according to M^r. Rowland's model⁴." The red brick parapets, with stone dressings, are part of the same work.

The Hall was paved, and a flight of stairs leading up to it was made, in 1690. These are probably those now in use.

35^s.; and for a border aboute the same wanscott being vij yeardes at iij^s. the yearde xxj^s.; and for a periment in the middest of the same wanscott xx^s. iijli xvij^s."']

¹ [Ibid. 1613—14. "It^m. paide to M^r Edmund Travers of London marchaunt vltra xxx^{li} paide to him the last yeare for ij peeces of flyne tapestrie of silke Imagrie geven by M^r Robyns will, the one peece conteyning viij flemish els in length, and iij and a halfe in depth, the other peece vij els in length, and the same in depth with the other, vt per billam, xliij^{li}. in full payments of the same tapestrie; towards which charges receaved xij^{li}. more then Mr Robyns legacie being only iij^{xxli} and so paide clere in full payment xxxj li."']

² [Audit Book, 1606—7. "Item to Freland for vj daies breaking the wall for the newe Windowe in the hall and caryng oute of Rubbishe at x^d. a daie, v^s. Item to Thomas Jordaine free mason for making the newe Windowe in the hall of Berestone with haunce heads and a Table over it conteyning iij lightes the vnder lightes conteyning iij foote and a halfe in height and xvij ynches wide, The upper lightes ij foote and a halfe in height and xvij ynches wide at xxx^s. the light and v daies worke in setting vpp the same vt per billam, vj^{li}. To Freland laborer ij daies and a halfe taking downe the scaffold...."]

³ [Ackermann's Eton; Radcliffe's Memorials of Eton College.]

⁴ [College Minute Book, 31 December, 1719. The Audit Book for 1719—20 shews that more than £1300 was spent in Repairs that year.]



Fig. 37. Interior of the Hall, Eton College, looking west, showing the changes begun in 1858, from Lyte & "Eton College."

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They project five feet into the cloister, and the mutilation of the moldings of the arch above them was perhaps perpetrated at the same time, in order to obtain the height considered necessary for their accommodation. A new vault was made to the cellar in the same year¹.

In 1858 a thorough repair and decoration of the Hall was commenced. A new roof was constructed, but on the main lines of the original design, as a comparison of the Hall in its present state (fig. 37) with any of the older views of the interior will shew. A louvre, ornamented with a profusion of weather-cocks (fig. 32), replaced the older one, of Renaissance character (fig. 2), probably part of Rowland's work in 1720. A large perpendicular window was inserted in the west wall, and fitted with glass by Hardman. The three fire-places, the discovery of which was mentioned in the last chapter, were brought into use. The old panelling was cleaned and repaired, a new screen was placed at the east end, and some elaborate panelwork, surmounted by a richly-carved cornice, and bearing the arms of the successive Provosts, at the opposite end, under the new window. The cost was in the main defrayed by the Rev. John Wilder, Fellow.

KITCHEN. The exterior of this will be understood from the view of its east side (fig. 2) taken in the last century, before the stream that then flowed under it had been diverted. The accounts for 1507—8 recount an extensive repair, amounting almost to a reconstruction; but since that time it has probably been but little altered; and the communication between it and the Hall remains in its old state. Westward of it are the Brew-house and Bakehouse, which were built, as shewn in the wood-cut, in 1714. Their present appearance is slightly different, as they were gutted by an accidental fire, 2 December, 1875, and rebuilt at the beginning of the following year².

LIBRARY. The books belonging to the College were at first placed in the vestry on the north side of the Church, and the charges for them are entered among the other Church accounts³,

¹ [Audit Book, 1690—91. "Payd Mr Clarke the Mason for making the staires into the Hall, for paving the Hall, and for other Worke.. £132. 9. 0."]

² [Reparation Book, 1713—14. College Minute-Book, 15 December, 1875.]

³ [The Audit Book for 1520—21 contains a long and interesting account of the

until the erection of Lupton's Tower, where, as we have seen, the room on the first floor over the Gate, now called Election Chamber, was built for a Library, and the books were moved into it as soon as it was completed. In 1596—7, the year of the election of Sir Henry Savile to the Provostship, the library was moved to a room on the ground floor under the east end of Long Chamber¹. The position of it is exactly described in the following extracts from the accounts :

1611—12. "Item paide to John Freland laborer working ij daies and a halfe in June taking vpp the olde bordes and ioysts in the Chamber betwene the Schole and the librarie and laying the same in the Store howsexxd."

1634—35. "To the plumer mending and takeing downe the long spoute betwene the librarie and M^r. Provost's kitchin and making and placing a new one there 4^{or} daiesiiij^s."

1678—79. "Allowed to M^r. Roderick for the finishing of his Chamber in the Old Library under y^e Long Chamber20. o. o."

It was again moved in 1675—76², when a charge occurs "for makeing y^e Roome in y^e Gallery fitt to receive y^e College Librery and for removeinge and placeinge y^e Bookes there." The "roome" was the southern division of the Gallery over the Cloisters, as we learn from Loggan (fig. 19).

In 1720 it was "Resolved to build a new Library at y^e East end of y^e Chappel, and to solicit Benefactions for y^e same."³ The proposed structure, of which the plans and specifications have been preserved, was octagonal, surmounted by a dome. A cloister, with masonry of the Doric order, out of which the Library would have been entered, was to have extended from the S.W. corner of the Fellows' Buildings to the Chapel.

This design having been abandoned, the Provost and Fellows

binding and chaining of the books, which were at that time still in the Church. This will be quoted in the chapter on "Libraries."

¹ [Audit Book, 1596—97. "To Plumer, ridding the haye out of the liberarie ii dayes.....Item to John Joyner going to Oxford to view the library there, iij^s. vjd. Ibid. 1598—99. Item to Frances Skydmore for working iiij daies aboute the pales by Mr Provost lodging in the Churchyard and v daies to sett vpp newe pales by the librarie in the Stableyerde...xs. viijd. [To the Plumber] for altering vi spowtes and ther currants on the north side of the Colledge and the spoutes and currant over the librarie dore xvij daies xvii s."]

² [It had probably outgrown the space available for books, the purchases being numerous in each year, as the Audit Books shew.]

³ [College Minute-Book, 20 Dec. 1720.]

agreed, 20 December, 1725, "to proceed to y^e building of a new Library According to Mr. Rowland's Plan¹." He was therefore the Architect, and as such received £50 in 1726 for "surveying." A room was hired in Eton to put the books in while the work was proceeding, which was not finished until 1729, as is proved by a charge in the accounts for that year for "washing, dusting and cleaning y^e Library and carrying in y^e Books." "Mr Moore the Joiner" was paid £455 for the woodwork in 1728, and in 1729 Mr Rowland received £50 "for surveying y^e Inside Works of y^e Library." No attempt was made to accommodate the style to that of the surrounding buildings, as the view of the south-west corner of the court (fig. 28) shews.

PROVOST'S LODGE. The founder assigned to the Provost, by the 36th Statute, "the chambers to the west of the Hall, together with the Parlour in the same part of the College." This accommodation, however, was not provided until 1517. Before this time, there is a tradition that the Provosts had occupied the rooms at the west end of the north side of the Cloister-court; and from the terms of the contemporaneous record of Provost Lupton's work, quoted in the last chapter, it is possible that some portion of the west side may have been erected before his time. The large Hall, built by him, now called "Election Hall," was intended for the use of the Provost, and is always spoken of as "Mr Provost's Hall." In the reign of Edward VI., during the Provostship of Sir Thomas Smith, the Lodge was increased by "our master's new seller," "new kitchen," and "a chamber over our master's new seller²." These rooms may very possibly be represented by those between the Lodge and Long Chamber. The small enclosure shewn by Loggan (fig. 19) to the north of that range is "Mr. Provost kytchen yearde," mentioned in 1597—98. "Our Master's gallery" is first alluded to in 1548—49, and afterwards frequently occurs in the accounts, with his "lower gallery next his garden." These occupied the building extending northward from the Lodge, as shewn by Loggan, on the site of which there now stands a more modern building, erected in 1765—66, containing

¹ [Ibid. 1725. The cost was in part defrayed by subscription, Provost Godolphin giving £200.]

² [Audit Book, 1550—51.]

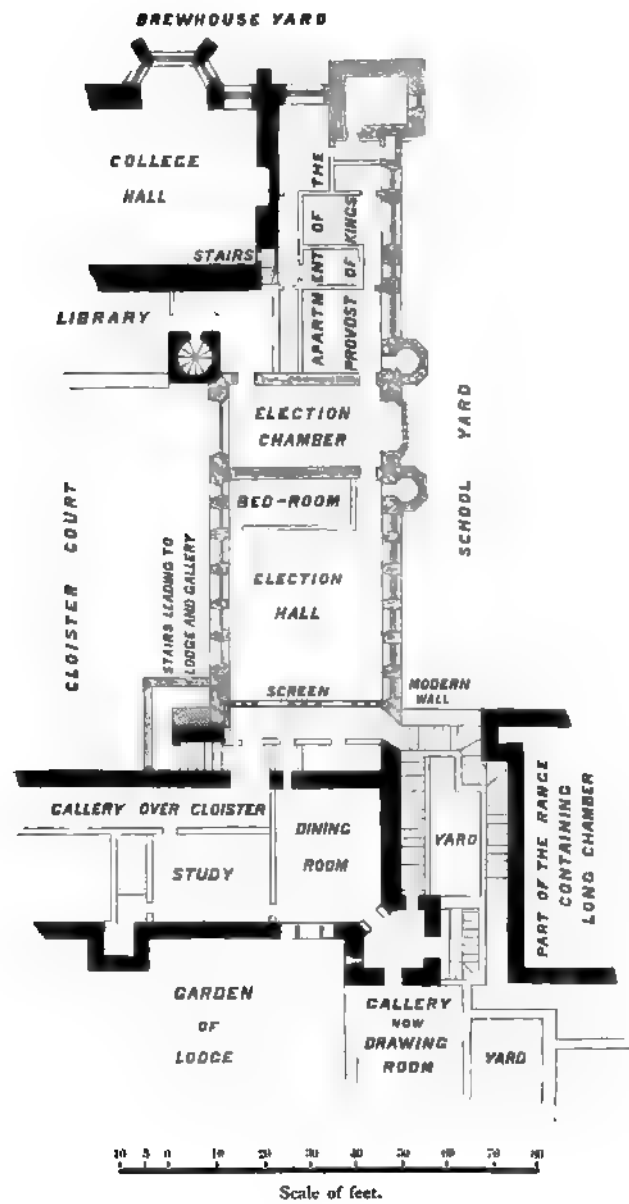


Fig. 38. Plan of the first floor of the Provost's Lodge, Eton College

two drawing-rooms on the first floor, and below, two sitting-rooms, formerly called "the garden-parlours." The staircase, by which the Lodge is now approached from the north-west corner

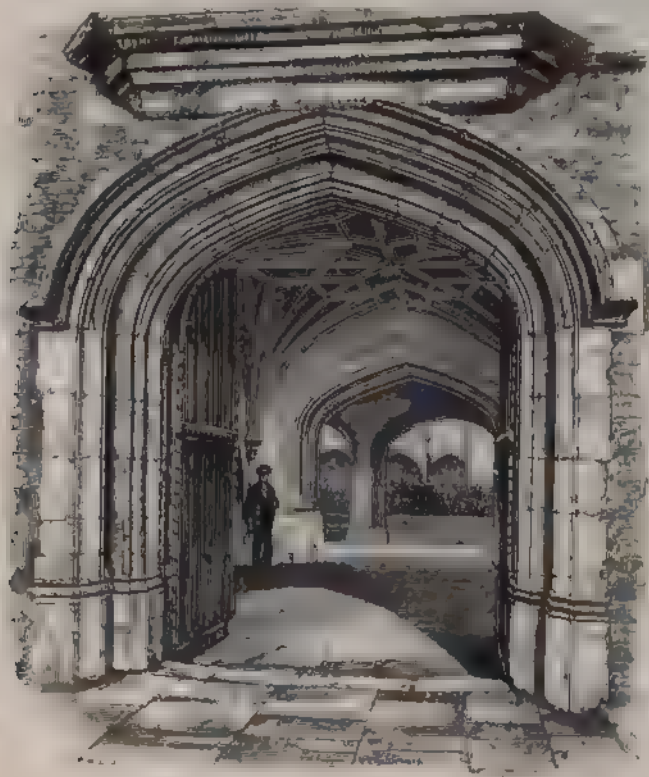


Fig. 39. Archway of Entrance to Lupton's Tower, with the Cloister beyond, from Lyte's "Eton College."

of the Cloister, was made, or extensively repaired, in 1618¹. The present entrance from Weston's Yard was made in 1844.

The Provost's Hall was provided with a new roof in 1691.

¹ [Audit Book, 1617-18. Payments are made "for 1000 of bricke to mend the staircase from the cloyster to M^r Provost's lodging," for "xix foote of tymber" and "xxxix foot of oken bordes" for the same use; and lastly to a mason "for cutting the wall for entering the water-tables over M^r Provost's staircase." The mention of "new-casting the old lead" shews that some staircase existed there previously.]

when it is expressly stated that the walls were raised. A comparison, however, of Loggan's print with the existing structure shews that the increase in height could not have been great¹. The room has not since been altered, except that it has been diminished in length by the erection of a stud partition, so as to cut off a room, 10 feet wide, from the south end. The original screen still remains at the opposite end. The present dining-room, which occupies the space between this Hall and the garden, is probably the Great Parlour (*magna parlura*) of the Lodge, mentioned in early deeds; and is certainly the "dyning Roome next the gallerie" which was floored in 1608—9. It was wainscoted in 1624—25, if it may be identified with the "sommer dyneinge roome in M^r. Provost's lodginge," and the style of the panelling suits that period. Sash-windows were introduced in 1689—90². The rooms beyond Election Chamber, from which, as before stated, a staircase leads down to the Hall, are now part of the Lodge. The partitions are modern, and it is impossible to recover the original arrangement. On the plan of the first floor (fig. 38) the older walls have been coloured black; Lupton's work of a lighter shade; modern walls and partitions are shewn by double lines. The extent of the ground floor is shewn by shading on the general plan (fig. 16).

CLOISTER-COURT.—No change worthy of record took place in this part of the College for more than two centuries after the death of the Founder. The rooms indeed are rarely mentioned, probably because the necessary repairs were executed by the occupants. The Gallery, on the other hand, belonged to the College, and is frequently mentioned in the accounts. We meet with a charge for "makeinge dores for the gallerie stayers," apparently for the first time, in 1571—72; "three greate lanthornes" are bought for the galleries in 1576—77; in 1678—79 they were boarded, and their windows were glazed. The present panelling dates from 1747³.

¹ [Ibid. 1690—91. "Payd M^r Griffin for Carpenters worke about the making a new Roofe for the Provost's Hall;" "for Bricklayers' worke in raising the walls of the Provost's Hall;" "to Cooper the Joyner for worke done in the Provost's hall, and in the passage to the Great Dining Roome, and for Doores," etc.]

² [Ibid. 1689—90. "Payd a bill for Shashes for M^r. Provost's Dining-Roome."]

³ [Audit Book, 1678—79. "Paid Dr Cradock for boarding and glaseing the Galleries, £80." Minute Book, 3 April, 1747. "Agreed to Wainscot y^e Stair-Case

The dwarf walls, surmounted by an iron railing (figs. 28, 39), which now extend from pier to pier in the Cloister, and prevent access to the central space, called in the last century "The Green Yard¹," were erected in 1724—25.

It was decided to add a second or upper story to the north and east sides in 1758, as explained in the following minute:

19 December, 1758. "Whereas it appears, from a Survey of the Roof of Eton College made by Stiff Leadbetter dated in Aug^t 1758, and a Report made by him to the Rev^d. the Provost and Fellows on the said Survey, That the Lead-Work to the said Roof is much decay'd in several Places so as to render it necessary that a part of it should be taken up, new-cast, and relaid; And upon examining the state of the Timbers of the said roof One main Beam was found to be so decay'd that there was great Danger of it's falling, and as the Timbers are Chesnutt there is great Reason to Believe after so many years wear that most or all of them may be in the same ruinous Condition; the Expence of which including Coping and other necessary Repairs to the Battlements &c. will at the lowest Calculation excede the Sum of One Thousand Pounds; And whereas the Chambers which are at present allotted for the Reception of the Members of the Society have been found by Experience to be very inconvenient for the Accommodation of their respective Families;

"The Provost and Fellows have upon mature Deliberation thought proper to order an Attic Story to be erected over two sides of the College the better to accommodate the Members, and for that Purpose have enter'd into Contract with M^r Leadbetter as follows viz.:

"That the Expence of Materials and Labor of all kinds to Complete the said Attic Story as describ'd and drawn in a Plan and Proposal giv'n in the 9th of Dec^r. 1758 shall not exceed the sum of One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty Pounds.

"That the works shall be begun in the Beginning of Feb: next 1759. The whole to be cover'd in before the 10th of Nov^r in the said Year.

"That the Inside Work and Painting shall be finish'd on or before the 31st Day of Oct^r. which shall be in the Year 1760, the year following²."

The work began in March, 1759, and the last payment was made in 1762. On the exterior the material is red brick, which, notwithstanding the windows are modern sashes, has been

leading up to y^e Gallery by ye Provost's Lodge, and down to y^e Hall, by y^e Library, and likewise to paint y^e Gallery."]

¹ [Audit Book, 1729—30.]

² [Ibid. 1759—60. The contractor was allowed, says Mr Hugget (MSS. Sloane, 4839), "all y^e Lead wth w^{ch} y^e College was then cover'd (a vast weight) and all y^e other materials."]

skilfully arranged, by the help of stone dressings and other devices, so as to harmonize with the older work below it. On the inside, however, the treatment has not been so fortunate. The original buttresses were cut off at the level of the set-off



Fig. 40. Lower School, looking east, from Lyte's "Eton College."

above the arches, and the old walls of the first story were cased with Portland cement in order to bring them into harmony with the stone-work¹ of the new story above; while the modern sash-windows contrast badly with the older ones of four lights belonging to the gallery. The angle towers were raised at the same time, but the original proportions were observed, and both brick-work and windows correspond well with the older work.

The façade of the western range has been carefully preserved in its original condition, as may be seen by comparing Loggan

¹ [This was an afterthought. The contractor received "for casing the Attick story of the inner court with stone, not included in his Estimate," £100. Audit Book, 1762.]

(fig. 19) with the building as it is at present. In 1765 the clock was placed in its present position over the great window, a small window of three lights being removed for its accommodation¹. The original clock-house was between the two easternmost buttresses on the north side of the chapel². When the



Fig. 41 Upper School, looking north, from Lyte's "Eton College."

clock was removed to Lupton's Tower the wooden pinnacles were added to the turrets, and the clock-bells were suspended in them. The chimneys were of molded brick and afforded excellent specimens of the treatment of that material. Unfortunately most of them have now suffered from restoration³.

LONG CHAMBER AND SCHOOL BUILDINGS. The range which bounds the School Yard on the north is called Long Chamber, from the principal room in it, which formerly extended along the first floor for the whole distance between the Head

¹ [Minute Book, 26 April, 1765.]

² [See Hollar's print, 1672.]

³ [Some of the best have been figured by Britton, *Architectural Antiquities*, ii. 88.]

Master's chamber at the west end, and the Lower Master's at the east end¹—a length of about 166 feet. The present subdivisions were made for the most part in 1845, when the "usher's chamber" was restored to its original destination by the appointment of a master to reside in College. The oriel window, looking into the School Yard, was then made.

The room under Long Chamber, at the west end, is called Lower School, and until Upper School was built, as related in the last chapter, was the only School-room. The double row of massive pillars that extends down the middle (fig. 40) was put up by Sir Henry Wotton (Provost 1624—39), whose biographer records:

"He was a constant cherisher of those youths in that school, in whom he found either diligence, or a genius for learning. For their encouragement, he was (beside many other things) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators; persuading them not to neglect rhetoric, because Almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought upon²."

It is probable, however, that a desire to support the floor of Long Chamber had something to do with this alteration. The room has been hardly, if at all, changed in appearance since Wotton's time; but a portion of the west end has been partitioned off, so as to form a separate school-room. This range was once ornamented with a sun-dial³.

Upper School (fig. 41) has probably been but little altered

¹ [In the Audit Book for 1608—9 mention is made of "M^r Scholemaster's chamber," "M^r Scholemaster's lower chamber," and "M^r Ussher's chamber." The position of the rooms is proved by the following extract from the Minute Book, 18 March, 1661: "that...all the King's schollers and choristers shall ly in the Long Chamber and that the Scholemaster and Usher shall lodge in their Chambers at the ends of the Long Chamber to preuent disorders which may otherwise happen in the said Chamber." Again, in the complaint made by the Provost in 1563 respecting the conduct of the French Ambassador's servants, we find the words, "wheras their kichen ys under the usshers chambre," etc., which shews that the said chamber was not on the ground floor. See Lyte's *Eton College*, pp. 178, 258. Compare also the Audit Book for 1680—81, "for new leading the whole Roofe of the Long Chamber and y^e Usher's Chamber."]

² [Lyte's *Eton College*, p. 224. *Life of Sir H. Wotton*, by Isaak Walton.]

³ [Audit Book, 1679—80. "For painting the dyall vpon the Long Chamber Wall." Ibid. 1683—84. "For painting the dyall over the Old School."]

since 1694¹. The series of marble busts of eminent Etonians which are now placed between the windows was begun through the influence of Provost Hodgson (Provost 1840—1853).

Between this building and the road, occupying part of what is now called "Long Walk," the Stable stood (fig. 19). This was removed in 1722² to a more suitable position at the corner between Weston's Yard and the Playing Fields (fig. 1); and the space between the tower at the N.W. angle of the Master's chamber and the road is now occupied by a Lodge for the use of the Head Master's servant, erected in 1844 from the design of John Shaw, architect. The arch through which Weston's Yard is now entered from the Slough Road then replaced that shewn by Loggan (fig. 19). The wall bounding the "Long Walk" in front of Upper School was coped with stone in 1753, and the lime trees were planted in the following year³.

The School Yard, frequently called the Church-Yard in the earlier accounts⁴, was brought into its present appearance early in the last century. In Loggan's time it appears to have been laid out in grass-plots crossed by gravel-walks. In 1706 it was paved, and the spouts were "brought down into the drains," at an outlay of more than £600⁵. The bronze statue of King Henry the Sixth was erected in 1719, at the expense of Provost Godolphin (Provost 1695—1732).

PLAYING FIELDS. The "Wharf in Playengeleys," which was situated just beyond Sheeps-bridge, was made⁶ in 1557. It occupied a considerable space along the river side, and had a house and meadow attached to it. It existed until 1840, when it was demolished, and the ground added to the Lower Shooting Fields. The Bridge called "Sheeps-Bridge" between the two divisions of the Playing Fields was made in 1563—64⁷, probably to replace an older one of wood.

¹ [The view in Ackermann's Eton, taken about 1816, does not differ materially from that here given.] ² [Audit Book, 1722—23.]

³ [College Minute Book, 20 December, 1753.]

⁴ [Audit Book, 1583—4: "Item to Holdernes and other laborers digginge and caryng of the earthe and levelling of the groundes in the churchyarde betweene the churche and the schoole ut per billam xj^s. viij^d."]

⁵ [Audit Book, 1706—7.]

⁶ [Ibid. 1557—68.]

⁷ [Ibid. 1563—64. "To Thomas Frankleyn and his pryncipe for .v. dayes workinge on the newe bridge into the shotinge fildes vj^s. vj^d." The other Bridge,

The Playing Fields were first laid out and planted, so far as we can ascertain, in 1583—84, when the following entries occur :

“Item paid for dyvers younge Elmes, Asshes, and other Trees and to dyvers workmen for plantinge and settinge of them aboute the playinge fildes and other places of the College groundes ut per billamxxxiij^s. x^d.”

“... ij dayes and a halfe makinge the benches in the playinge fildes.”

The work was continued in 1588—89 :

“It^m paide for lx yonge elmes and setting of them in the Church yearde¹, the playing leaze and shooting fildesx^s.”

The present trees are probably those of which the planting began in 1685—86²:

“To John Godfrey and other Labourers for grubbing up of old Elme and Ash Trees in the playing Feilds, and for planting young Elmes in the roome of them, and other worke about the same; and for ditching and making good the Fences in the Tymber hall where the Trees were felled to make Tables in the hall...11. 05. 11.”

“It payd John Hill for 70 young Elmes planted in the Playing Feilds at 12^d. a peece 3^l. 10^s; and for work about the same...06. 16. 06.”

The garden attached to the Provost's Lodge is still of the extent shewn in Loggan, and is bounded by the walls of red brick shewn by him. The Fellows' Garden, on the opposite side of the pathway leading from the Cloisters to the Playing Fields, is also bounded by old walls on the north and west sides; but the Dove-house, at the eastern end, was pulled down in 1751, and in the two following years the improvement of the garden was under consideration³. Loggan shews a large building on the south side, with a smaller garden behind it. This is probably the “woodhouse between the gardens” mentioned in the Audit Book for 1616—17. The smaller garden has since been increased to a width equal to that of the east front of the Fellows' building]

now called Fifteen Arch Bridge, had originally 14 narrow arches of brick, and 1 of stone, over the stream. The 6 centre arches were destroyed by the flood of 1809, and were replaced by 3 only. The present Bridge dates from 1833. See Radcliffe's Eton.]

¹ [Before Upper School was built, Long Walk was probably regarded as part of the Church-Yard.]

² [Audit Book, 1685—86. The work was continued in 1689—90.]

³ [College Minute Book, 20 December, 1751. Ibid. 20 Dec. 1752. 20 Dec. 1753.]

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL.

THE Chapel is the only portion of the design for King's College that was carried out; and this, so far from having been completed during the reign of King Henry the Sixth, was not ready for use for at least half a century after his death. The contemporary building-accounts having been destroyed, with the exception of one volume extending over a little less than a year (28 May, 1508—18 March, 1509) at the end of the reign of King Henry the Seventh, the task of ascertaining the progress of the work is very difficult.

The first stone is said to have been laid at the Altar by the King in person, on S. James' Day (25 July), 1446. A record of the event has been preserved in the following verses. They closely resemble those relating to the Old Court quoted in Chapter II., and were possibly written by the same person¹:

"Altaris petram quam Rex superedificauit
Henricus .vj.^{tus} hic sacrificando dicauit
Annis .m. cccc. sexto quater .x. d.
Regis et .h. regni quarto iungendo viceno

In festo sancti Jacobi sanctam stabiliuit
Hic vnctam petram Regia sacra manus
Ex orientali medio si bis septem peditimtim
Mensurare velis inuenies lapidem.
Astiterant Regi tunc pontifices in honorem
Actus solennis Regis et ecclesie."

¹ [They are on the same page of the Register of Papal Bulls as the former, written in a contemporary, but different, hand. A marginal note adds "Fundacio novæ Ecclesiæ R. H. VI. xxiiii, festo Sancti Jacobi, Aº. Dni 1446." The foundation or "groundes" of the Chapel at Eton were in like manner directed to "be so taken that the first stone lye in the middle of the high altare." Cole describes an unsuccessful search for the foundation-stone (MSS. Cole, xiii. 5): "About 1770, when they dug the Foundations of the new Altar, they searched very minutely for this Stone, according to this Direction: but to no Purpose. I was there with the Vice Provost and Mr Essex the Architect more than once."]

In the same year, on All Souls' Day (2 November), the Cemetery was consecrated by the Bishop of Winchester¹.

A few months previously (4 March, 1446), the King had granted to the College a quarry in Thefdale, or Thevesdale, in the lordship of Heselwode near Tadcaster in Yorkshire. This he had obtained from Henry Vavasour, together with the right of carriage over his estate to the River Wharfe, so that the stone could be conveyed by water to Cambridge. The supply from Thefdale continued for about three years, when arrangements were made (25 February, 1449) for using the neighbouring quarry of Hudleston, as related in Chapter V.² If these dates are correct it is curious that Henry VI. should have directed that the payment of £1000 from the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster should not begin before Michaelmas, 1447³.

The first overseer of the works (*magister operum*) was John Langton, whose name has already been met with so frequently in connection with the foundation of the College. This is known

¹ ["Anno eodem videlicet millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo sexto Et regni Regis Henrici sexti Collegii sui Regalis vicesimo quinto Fundatoris eiusdem gratiosissimi in Festo et die Animarum sanctificatum erat Cimitorium per dominum Willelmum Wyntoniensem Episcopum." Register of Bulls, ut supra. Baker has preserved a letter (MSS. xxxvi. 9) "Ex Cartulario Abb. S. Edmundi," addressed by Hen. VI. to the Abbot of Bury S. Edmund's, in which he states that he had intended to have laid the stone himself, but being prevented by the prevalence of contagious disease in Cambridge, proposed to send the Marquis of Suffolk as his proxy, to perform the ceremony on Michaelmas Day. The letter is dated only 17 Sept., but by internal evidence has been referred to 1447. Cooper's Annals, i. 198. On the other hand the Will is explicit: "primevum lapidem Ecclesie ejusdem Collegii... propriis manibus nuper posuerimus." Mr Betham thinks that the letter refers to the Chapel of the first foundation, which stood, as he says, west of Cow-lane.]

² [The grant is among the muniments of King's College. Henry Vavasour came to Cambridge on Feb. 10, 1451, and was regaled with wine and fish. Mundum-Book, 1450—51, *Soluciones forinsece*. "Item in vno denticulo et stinco dat' H. Vavasour in die sancte scolastice virginis [Feb. 10] ad mandatum viceprepositi ijs. Item in le potell de rubio vino et alio dulcis vini dat' Henrico Vavasour xxiiij die mensis marcii xiiij d." Thefdale Quarry, called also "Jackdaw Crag," or "Petres Post," is about 1½ miles S.W. of Tadcaster. Hudleston Quarry is about a mile W. of Sherburn. They are both in the Lower Magnesian Limestone. Thefdale supplied the stone for part of York Minster. (History of the Metropolitan Church of S. Peter, York, by John Browne, 2 vols. 4°. London, 1847, pp. 13, 47, 48. Fabric Rolls of York Minster, ed. Surtees Society, passim.) From the vicinity of Tadcaster the Roman masons took stone for the walls of Eburacum. Phillips, Yorkshire, p. 83.]

³ See Chapter IV. p. 353.

from a short list of benefactors contained in the earliest College Register¹; from a passage in the "Memoriale" of Dr Robert Wodelarke (Provost, 1452—79)²; and from an affidavit made 2 May, 1465, a question having arisen respecting Langton's debts, by William Millington, who had been Provost from the foundation to 1447, to the effect that Langton was in no way connected with the College, but that he "purveied Bookes, Vestimentes, Belles, and other ornamentes to the Kinges College aforesaide...of the pure almous of King Henry first Founder vnto the same College." A memorandum, undated, but apparently drawn up at the same time, and possibly by the same person, describes his functions in detail :

"Be it in mynde that Maister John Langton late the Bysshop of Seint Davis occupied fowre thynges perteynyng to y^e Kynges College Roial of our Lady and Seint Nicholas of Cambrige by the Kyngs especial commandment.

Firste y^e oversight of y^e werkes of the said College fro y^e begynnyng to y^e xiith day of March the yere of his reigne xxv. [1447]

Secunde he paid and ouersawe all y^e expenses and receyved all y^e Lyvelode of ye seide College vnto ye Feste of Candlemess ye yere of his reigne xxiiiij. [1446]

Therde he occupied ye ouersight of all ye stuffe which longed vnto y^e Chirch of ye seide College as Bokes vestimints and such others.

Fourth he occupied all y^e ground y^t longeth to ye procinct of ye College purchased for the enlargyng of ye same³."

¹ [The passage, apparently copied by a careless scribe, is as follows: "Magister Johannes Langton quondam Cancellarius Vniuersitatis Canteb' Capellanus Regius Et postea dei gracia Meneuensis Episcopus qui per instancias suas et labores speciales Collegii Regalis supradicti in Vniuersitate predicta per gratiam graciocissimi Fundatoris predicti fundari procurauit et possessionibus spiritualibus et temporalibus quam plurimis celsitudini Regie [congruis?] dotari laborauit. Magisterque operum ibidem existentium [fuit?]. Ecclesiam inibi collegiatam tam libris quam iocalibus et vestimentis pretiosis [ornari?] procurauit." He was Master of Pembroke, 1428—1447, and Chancellor of the University, 1436—1443.]

² [The author is speaking of the Building Accounts of King's, which, he says, were always kept separate from the College Accounts; and enumerates the overseers and clerks of the works in the following order: "tempore magistri Johannis Langton, tempore magistri Willelmi Myllyngton ad tunc prepositi, ac etiam tempore magistri Nicholai Cloos, ac tempore magistri Roberti Wodelarke; et per clericos operum viz: Willelmum Roskyn Thomam Dekyn defunctos, et Johannem Caunterbury adhuc superstitem; et pro temporibus predictorum magistrorum et clericorum operum et compotos annorum omnium separales."]

³ [Muniments of King's College. The account goes on to set forth Langton's debts to the College, and ends by shewing that he owed £244. 17s. 2d. besides £71. 18s.

The statement here made that Langton resigned his office in the spring of 1447 is confirmed by the fact that he was consecrated Bishop of S. David's 7 May following, "in the chapel," by which the Old Chapel belonging to the first foundation is usually understood¹. We have seen, however, that Bekyngton was consecrated in Eton College Chapel under a temporary pavilion, when the works could not have progressed far; and Langton stood in such a position towards King's that he might well have been treated with equal distinction.

The next overseer, according to Wodelarke, was William Millington, who was then Provost. About his tenure of office we know nothing except the bare fact that he held it, which is here stated on Wodelarke's sole authority.

He was succeeded by Nicholas Close, one of the six original Fellows. Tradition has assigned to him the honour of having been the architect of the building, probably because he received a grant of arms from Henry the Sixth "for the laudable services rendered by him in many diverse ways both in the works of the building of our College Royal, and in other matters." There is, however, no evidence that he had more to do with the building than Langton, to whom the honour of having been the architect might with equal justice be assigned; or than Roger Keys, with whom we have found him associated (p. 397), and who received a similar grant of arms, had had with that of Eton. Close was made Bishop of Carlisle in 1449—50 (14 March), and in 1452 (31 August) was translated to Lichfield, where he died before the end of October in the same year. He must therefore have ceased to be connected with the works at the beginning of 1450².

due to the draper for livery. The account is neither dated nor signed; but indorsed,

"Clarus pes debit' }
M. J. Langton } Colleg, Regali."]

¹ [Godwin, *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, quotes "*Registrum Alnwick Ep. Linc. Provisus ab Eugenio Papa 10 Kal. Feb. 1446. Consecratus in Capella novi Collegii Regalis Cantabrigiæ 7 Maii, 1447.*" He died on the fifteenth day after his consecration.]

² [The grants of arms to Keys and Close are printed by Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*. Nicholas Close was a native of Westmoreland ("*de Com Westm' et de villa de Drybek,*" to quote the contemporary list of Fellows). He was perhaps Bursar in 1448—49, for in the "*Mundum-Book*" for that year he accompanied the Provost on journeys of business: "*In expensis prepositi, Magistri Nicholai Cloos, et seruiencium suorum, et equorum, per xj dies london de mense Julii iiii^o ij^o ix^o.*" Item

His successor Robert Wodelarke, also one of the six original Fellows, was appointed by Royal Letters Patent, 12 December, 1452¹. The document styles him "overseer of the works of the royal college," and gives him the right of nominating the clerk of the said works. He retained the office, as he says, "until the works were completed," by which he probably means, until they were stopped by the deposition of Henry the Sixth. It appears that he was afterwards accused of having embezzled a portion of the funds entrusted to him. We do not know that these calumnies took the form of a definite charge, or what steps he took to refute them during his life. In order, however, to set himself right with posterity, he privately drew up a short defence of his conduct, which he left in the possession of S. Catharine's College. It is not only a curious piece of biography, but a graphic picture of the confusion of the time. The following passages are the most important for our purpose²:

"Furthermore, when Henry the Sixth, Founder of the College, was taken prisoner by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick³, they pledged their word to him, in order to gain his good-will, that they would hasten the completion of his Church and other building operations in Cambridge; and they ordered me to use all possible despatch in getting together, by the help of royal letters patent, as many stonemasons and workmen of other trades as I could, with the view of carrying on his buildings at Cambridge, and especially his Collegiate Church, so that all the workmen might reach Cambridge at the same time.

in expensis prepositi, Magistri Nicholai Cloos, seruiencium, et equorum, equitand' et expectand' london pro adquisicione possessionum de Wawens Wotton et excambiis cum aula trinitatis iiij^{li} x^s xj^d ob" and in the fragment of a still earlier account, which probably belongs to 1443, we find him similarly engaged: "Item allocat' Magistro Nicolao Closse et aliis pro equis conductis ad quenden etc, diuersis vicibus ij." He was Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Colchester, and in 1450 Chancellor of the University. It is interesting to find that his affection for his College did not terminate with his residence in it, but that he sent a present of plate from Carlisle, and subsequently either gave or bequeathed his Library: Mundum-Book, 1449—50. *Soluciones forinsece*. "Item vni vectori pro Cariagio Jocalium ex dono Episcopi Carliolensis erga festum Natiuitatis domini anno predicto ij^s. ij^d." Ibid. 1453—54. *Expense necessarie*. "Item Johanni Parkar de Shelford pro cariagio librorum et aliarum rerum que quondam fuerant Episcopi Couentrensis et lychfyldtensis pro collegio ix^s. viij^d."]

¹ [Patent, 31 Hen. VI., p. 1, m. 15.]

² [The words used are "usque ad consummationem eorundem operum."]

³ ["Memorialc," fol. 50. 6. The Latin of the original is so crabbed, that it has been found impossible in many places to attempt more than to give a general idea of the meaning intended to be conveyed.]

⁴ [At the battle of S. Albans, fought 23 May, 1455.]

They engaged that one thousand pounds should be paid over to me in each year, without delay or hindrance ; that provided the works went on, money should not fail ; a compact to which the King had much pleasure in assenting. At first these honourable gentlemen fulfilled their promises with much friendship, and with a due regard to their honour and their plighted word, aided therein by the Receiver General of the Duchy of Lancaster, who had received the King's command to make payments out of the issues and revenues collected by him in virtue of his office, without deception or delay, setting aside all other claims upon him, and to draw up agreements between himself and the overseer of the works, so as to carry them forward with the utmost expedition.

By this means money came in occasionally, but to no great amount. Before long, however, fresh disturbances broke out in the kingdom, to put down which, after funds had been collected, royal letters were sent to all the subordinate receivers of the duchy, charging them most strictly, under pain of losing their places, to forward all the money they had collected to the King and his Council at London. The Receiver General was therefore unable to pay the sum stipulated for by his formal agreement. In consequence the charge for all payments for wages to stonemasons and other workmen, and even to every single carpenter, was thrown upon me, Robert Wodelarke. When it became evident that I should be unable to satisfy their claims, I undertook to pay them out of my private means, and other funds borrowed for the purpose. I succeeded in defraying a considerable portion of their claims out of my own funds, as my actions will shew when investigated one by one, respecting which I shall be ready at all times and on all occasions to answer any questions that may be put to me. When I found that I was never likely to obtain redress (repayment), I sent for Thomas Betts, who was auditor both of the College accounts and also of the Building accounts, which had always been kept separate from the others ; and when the items of expenses and receipts were cast up it was discovered—and so adjudicated by the auditor—that the payments exceeded the receipts by £228. 10. 4."

This is all the information that can be collected respecting the works during the reign of the Founder, with the exception of the names of three clerks of the works, given by Wodelarke in the following order : William Roskyn, Thomas Dekyn, John Canterbury. The latter was still in office in 1460, for a draft account for that year has been preserved, containing a number of payments made to or through him¹. None of them, however, enable us to determine what particular part of the work was being carried on, or how far it had advanced. Moreover, it is probable that it was often interrupted through want of funds, for the yearly pension of £1000 from the Duchy of

¹ [College Accounts, Vol. ii.]

Lancaster was never paid regularly, even at the beginning. The Mundum-Books for 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451 shew that in four years only £1077. 3s. 5d. was received¹.

It has usually been assumed that after the death of Henry the Sixth the works stopped entirely for about twenty years. A few notices may, however, be selected from the accounts, shewing that the College not only did its best to preserve the portion already built from damage, but even attempted to carry on the works. In 1467 the "towers of the new Church" were covered in (23 October), probably to protect them from frost during winter; in the following February a quantity of "large stones" was brought into College²; in 1469 a payment for a lock, key, and two bolts for a door to "a new Chapel in the Church" indicates that one chapel at least was complete³; in 1470 "the Provost's Chapel in the new Church" appears to be actually in use, from a charge for repairing the hangings⁴; in 1472 "le Masons logge" was built, or rebuilt, for it had been mentioned five years before, and this entry may indicate a resumption of work, especially when taken in connection with payments to a plumber for "sawderyng over the Choir and Chapels in the new building." In this year the towers and buttresses were again covered in⁵.

¹ [The details of this sum are as follows: Pension for 1447—48, the first year for which it was due (p. 466) (£400 paid in that year, and £299. 19s. 8d. in 1448—49 as arrears of the preceding year), £699. 19s. 8d.: Pension for 1448—49 (£185 paid in that year: £116. 13s. 4d. in 1449—50, as arrears of the preceding year; and £75. 10s. 5d. in 1450—51 on the same account), £377. 3s. 9d.]

² [Mundum-Book, 1466—67. *Custus noui edificii*. "Item sol' Johanni Shorter xxiiij die Oct. laborant' circa cooperturam turrium in noua ecclesia vt patet per quaternum M. Clerke ij d." Ibid. *Expense necessarie*. "Item sol' vj operariis laborant' per x dies circa cariagium magnorum lapidum a ripa aque vsque in collegium, cuilibet per diem jd. Item sol' Johanni Higney pro cariagio lapidum magnorum a le grene in Collegium per xvi dies mense Februario xixs. iiij d. Item sol' George pauperi scolari pro cariagio lapidum a le grene iiij d."]

³ [Ibid. 1468—69. *Custus noui edificii*. "Item sol' Thome lokyer'. xv. die marcij pro vna sera et clauē xij^d. Et pro ij. boltez ferrijs pro noua Capella Ecclesie iiij^d...."]

⁴ [Ibid. 1469—70. *Custus ecclesie*. "Item sol' viij^o die maii pro Steyned Clothis Renouatis pro Capella magistri Prepositi in noua ecclesia vj^d."]

⁵ [Ibid. 1472—73. *Custus noui edificii*. "Item sol' Willo Plummer pro labore suo in Sowderyng supra Chorum et supra Capellas in nouo edificio per vj dies; et pro iiij lb. soudre de eodem empt' ijs. Item sol' Johanni Clerk de Coton et seruenti suo in copieriendo Turres et Butteras in noua Ecclesia per ij dies xvij^d. Item sol' Watkyn Carpentario pro labore suo per .ij. dies in erigendo le masons logge cum dauid Carpentario per .x. dies et di' v^o. iiij^d."]

In 1477 (16—17 Edward IV.) an attempt was made to continue the work on a larger scale, and various small subscriptions, amounting in all to £10. 19s. 4d., were collected from the Fellows. The College must, however, have had other resources, for the sums expended amounted in all to £77. 1s. 7d. Stone was bought from Peterborough, and from Clipsham in Rutlandshire; and John Bell, stonemason, was sent to Huntingdon to make further purchases. The most important entry, however, is for the iron work "for the first window on the north side of the new church¹." The quantity purchased shews that a window in the Choir is meant; and implies that the stonework was completed. A window in one of the chapels was glazed at the same time. Scaffold timber also was purchased. A payment to the head stonemason "by way of reward" seems to indicate that a staff of masons was now at work. It is most unfortunate that the accounts for the years immediately preceding and succeeding this should not have been preserved.

Three years afterwards the works were proceeding with greater activity. The King had appointed Walter Field, who succeeded Wodelarke as Provost, 15 October, 1479, overseer, and had promised 1000 marks (£666. 13s. 4d.) to be paid in 3 years². The clerk of the works was Thomas Clyff. From a draft of Field's accounts, which extend from 10 January, 1480, to 14 June, 1483, or over 3 years and 155 days, we find that the receipts were £1240. This sum includes £1113. 6s. 8d. from

¹ [Ibid. 1476—77. *Expense facte circa fabricam noue Ecclesie* (a heading which occurs for the first time in this year). "Item sol' Margarete hyll xvj^o die Junii in partem solucionis bille sue pro ferro pro prima fenestra ex boriali parte noue Ecclesie xx^s." The full price was £12. 10s. 2½d.]

² [Field was Warden of S. Elizabeth's College, Winchester, and Chaplain to Edward IV. The College spent £66. 13s. 4d. (100 marks) in bribes to get this sum paid earlier than had been arranged. At the end of Field's Account (in the Muniment Room of King's College) is the following entry: "Regardo dato Egidio Dawbeney armigero pro Corpore Regis predicti, et Johanni Bignell Armigero, pro acceleracione M. marcarum de dono Regis Edwardi quarti in tribus Annis habend' lxvjⁱⁱ xiiij^s. iiij^d." We find also that £50, not brought to account by Field, was sent in December, 1482, Mundum-Book, 1482—3; *Feoda et Regarda*. "Item in Regardis quibusdam pro salua caracione Recept' de domino Rege ab Eltham london mense decembris viij^d. Item in Regardis datis in solucione, .l.li. receptis de Domino Camerario pro operibus vj^s. viij^d." Edward IV. visited Cambridge at Whitsuntide (26 May—2 June) 1481. He dined in College and attended service in Chapel. College Accounts. Vol. 6.]

the King ; £100 from Thomas Rotherham, then Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor of England, one of the six original Fellows ; and £26. 13s. 4d. for iron (*pro ferro empto*), the value of which was apparently realized. The expenditure was £1296. 1s. 8d., but it is not stated how the deficit was met. Besides Field's accounts a book has been preserved headed "*Anno xx^{mo} pro operibus Regiis,*" and another for the timber cut at Asshdon Halys. We have therefore materials for forming some estimate of the progress made during two years and a half. We find that a great scaffold was set up ; that stone in large quantities, costing £362. 3s. 10d., was brought from Weldon, Hasilborough, and other places, and timber from Asshdon, Thaksted, Weybridge, and Canfyld Park¹; and that on the 10th July, 1480, the first of the two years above-mentioned, letters patent were issued to John Sturgeon and Martin Prentice², directing them to provide for the conveyance by land and water to the College of the timber lately bought by the King from the Abbot of Walden. It is expressly stated that part of this timber was intended for a scaffold "in the new Church³." In the same year, Simon Kendal and Andrew Hacon, smiths, were employed to make the iron-work for the second window on the north side ; and for the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth on the south side. The purchase of a key for the door of the third chapel on the south side implies that it was roofed in⁴.

King Richard the Third evidently intended to carry on the works with greater energy than his predecessor. On 28 August, 1484, he renewed the letters patent to John Sturgeon⁵, desiring that "the building should go on with all possible despatch ;" and directing him to press workmen of all trades, provide all manner of materials, and commit to prison all who should oppose or delay him. He was perhaps dissatisfied with the progress of the works, which had been resumed in May previous, as we learn from an account drawn up by Thomas Cliff, who was still clerk of the works, extending over

¹ [Weldon is in Northamptonshire; Ashdon, Thaksted, and Canefield in Essex.]

² [Patent, 20 Edward IV. p. 1, m. 22.]

³ [In a timber account dated 7 October, 1480, we find "*Ad Scaffold in nova Ecclesia, xxviiij pecie.*" "*Ad domum lathamorum, xiiij pecie*" etc.]

⁴ ["*pro clave pro ostio capelle iij^{de} ex parte australi.*"]

⁵ [Patent, 2 Richard III. p. 1, m. 145.]

about seven months (22 May to 24 December, 1484). During this time £746. 10s. 9½*d.* had been spent, of which £700 seems to have been provided by the King. The money was spent chiefly on wages, with some purchases, as before, of stone, timber, and other materials. The most interesting item is the purchase of glass for the great east window, the window next to it on the north, and the half window next to it on the south¹. The King sent down his own glazier and plumber to execute the work, and the College provided fish, capons, pigeons, rabbits, and veal for their entertainment².

The following curious letter, of which a draft has been preserved on the back of an account, shews that these royal efforts were seconded by private generosity. The writer is the Provost, Walter Field, who had been overseer of the works in the previous reign, an office he was perhaps still holding, and his correspondent is the father of one of the scholars :

"Right worshipfull Sir, aftir due recomendacion and speciall thanks bothe for my selfe and myne; and wher it hathe plesed you of your specialle deuocion to make a wyndow within the quere of the kynges Colledge to the worship of god oure Lady and saynt Nicholas into your perpetuall memoriall for the whiche ye shall haue your rewarde of god and oure specialle prayers perpetually for the same. I certifie you that the x marc' the which ye sent me for your masons for the saide wyndow is spent desiryng you hertly that at your plesour ye wille sende at this tyme suche siluer by my trusty servant Thomas Clyff brynger of this for the perfection of the same as shalle now plese you beseching you that I may be recommended to my maistres your wife. And Jamys your son farith wele blessed be god and beseceth you of your blessing. And our lorde god haue you both in his blessed keping. Writyn at Cambrige the [xv corrected to] xix. day of June

Your verrey bedeman the
provost of the kynges Colledge³."

Part of the Church, probably one or more of the side chapels, had certainly been roofed in by this time, from the mention of them in a plumber's account; and a charge for putting up

¹ [Cliff's Accounts. [In empcione] "vitri pro magna fenestra orientali noue ecclesie, vna fenestra ex parte boriali, et dimidia fenestra ex parte australi xxxiiij li."]

² [Mundum-Book, 1483—84. "Item sol' Johanni Penne iiiij^{to} die Oct' pro iiiij^{or} Caponibus et vi columbellis dentrice et aliis piscibus. Et pro Cuniculis et carne vitulino pro plumbario et vitriario domini Regis ad diuersas vices emptis iiiij^s. xj^d."]

³ [College Accounts, Vol. v. The only scholar named James from the foundation to this time is James Denton. He was elected from Eton in 1486. The letter must therefore have been written after that date. He became Canon of Windsor in 1509, where, among other benefactions, he built the hundred steps. Cooper's *Athenæ*, i. 45.]

the arms of King Henry the Sixth, with his supporters, the Antelopes¹, implies the completion of one of their windows.

The death of Richard the Third stopped the work for twenty-four years; and it was not resumed by Henry the Seventh until the year before his death, when (28 May) the first of a series of account-books that once existed begins. It is the only one that has been preserved, and unfortunately is somewhat imperfect. Our knowledge of these books is derived from a list drawn up in 1529 (20 February) by Edward Fox (Provost 1528—1538) of all the account-books delivered to him by Thomas Larke², the surveyor. According to this list, the first extended originally from 28 May, 1508 to 15 April, 1509, that is, over forty-six weeks or twenty-three fortnights, by which periods of time the wages are reckoned. On the last date the account was audited, and it was computed that the Provost had still in his hands £227. 9s. 6d. The last fortnight for which the accounts are complete is that ending 18 March, 1509, up to which date £1357. 5s. 3½d. had been spent. If we calculate the expenditure for the two fortnights that have been lost on the average of the last five that have been preserved, we shall find that the sum given must have amounted to nearly £1700. A study of the accounts shews that a staff of about 140 workmen was employed, varying of course slightly in number in each fortnight. Let us take, as an example, the fortnight from 23 July to 16 August, 1508. The expenses were paid by the Provost, Richard Hatton, and as no separate overseer of the works is mentioned, he probably held the office at that time. The master mason was John Wastell, the "comptroller," William Swayne. These were paid quarterly at the rate of £13. 6s. 8d. yearly. There were 3 "warders," 8 "setters," 4 "intaylers," 89 masons, 1 "rough layer," 2 carpenters, 2 sawyers, 41 labourers, making a total of 150. The warders and "setters" received 3s. 8d. each per week; the "intaylers" and masons, 3s. 4d.; the "rough layers," carpenters, and sawyers, 6d. per day; and the labourers, 4d.

¹ [1485. 28 Decr. "Item sol' Wynter Glasier...pro vno le pane cum le Anteloppes in noua Ecclesia xx^d." 1485-86. 24 Jan. "Item sol' vni plummer...laboranti per iij^{or} dies circa reparacionem Ecclesie et librerie et circa Capellas noue Ecclesie vij^s. vj^d."]

² [Archdeacon successively of Sudbury and Norwich and Master of Trinity Hall (1520—25).]

The purchases of materials consisted of large quantities of stone from Weldon, Clipsham, and Yorkshire; and of timber from the localities recorded above. From the fact that only 2 carpenters were employed as against 89 masons, we may conclude that this timber was laid up to season, and that the stone-work was being carried on as fast as possible.

On 24 March 1509 the King conveyed a further sum of £5000 to the College, on the conditions set forth in the following deed. From the terms in which the work then proceeding is mentioned, it is clear that the sum previously spent was independent of that now given.

"This Indenture made the last day of March the xxiiij¹ yere of the Reigne of the most cristan Prince oure soueraigne naturall liege lorde Henry the viijth king of England and of Fraunce and lorde of Ireland, betwene the same our soueraigne lorde on thone partye, And Richard Hatton Clerke, Provost of the College of our blissed lady and seint Nicholas called the kinges College otherwise the new College in Cambridge in the countie of Cambrige and the scolers of the same College on thodre partye, witnessith

That where our said soueraigne lorde is noble Progenitours is and vncle of blissed memorye king Henry the sext founded and endowed the said College and in the same beganne a greate Churche and a large for diuine seruice to be said and doone therin by the Provost and scolers of the same which Churche as yet restith vnperfited and not finisshed litle or no thinge wrought or done therupon sens the decesse of his saide Vncle, but that now of late our saide soueraigne lorde of vertuous disposicion for the wealle of his soule and the singuler truste he hath to the Prayers of his said blissed Vncle for the greate holynes and vertue that he was of in his life, Oure saide soueraigne lorde at his awne propre costes and charges hath fremasons and other werkemen in greate noumbre dayly werkinge and laboring of and vpon the bilding and making of the saide Churche and so intendith by the grace of Almighty godd incessauntly to perseuer and conteneue till it be fully fynisshed and accomplished after like fourme and entent as it was ordered and devised by his saide vncle, And because the same shuld be surely doon and executed in maner and fourme aforeseid, And that his highnes calleth to his gracious remembrance that therby shuld not be onely a notable Acte and a meritorious werke perfited, whiche els were like to grow to desolacion and never to haue ben done and accomplished, but also diuine seruice there hereafter mayntened and supported to thonour and laude of almighty god thencrese of Cunnyng and doctrine of his lawes in Edifyng and encrease of our faithe; And for that that deed of

¹ [In the copy of this deed in the Register of King's College, i. fol. 217 b, April is written by mistake for March. In the Will of King Henry VII., where part of it is quoted, it is stated to have been drawn up "at Richemount the last daye of Marche the xxiiii yere of our Reigne." The King died 21 April, 1509.]

charite done in life of man and wilfull departure and refusall from the possession and propretie of goodes to suche and other gode uses and intentes be moche more meritorious and availeable for the wealle of mannys soule then to be done after deth, And for the sure perfourmance and finisshing of the premisses and the more redy payment of the money necessarie in that behalve, his said highnes hath deliuered and by thies presentes indentures deliuereth the day of the making herof vnto the saide Provost and scolers the somme of fyve thousand poundes of good and lawfull money of England whiche fyve thousand poundes they knowlege theymyselfe to haue receyued the day of the date of thies Indentures the propretie wherof his highnes clerely vtterly and absolutely forsaketh refuseth and renounceth for euermore. And the said somme of v. M^l. li Oure saide soueraigne lorde geveth and graunteth to the saide Provost and scolers to the oonly uses and intentes herattre ensuyng that is to saye that the same v. M^l. li and euery parcell therof shalbe truly spent ordered and employed by the saide Provost and other Provostes of the said College for the tyme being to and for the bilding and finisshing of the saide Church.

And the saide Provost and Scolers covenanteth and graunteth and bindeth theym and their successours by thies presentes to our saide soueraigne lorde And his Executours that the said v. M^l. li and euery parcell therof with all diligence and spede shalbe truly employed and spent for and aboute the costes charges and expenses of the making and finisshinge of the saide Church as far as the somme shall extend vnto, by and afre the ouersight, aduise, and comptrollement of suche persones as therunto shalbe assigned and appoynted by our saide soueraigne lorde in his life, And afre his deceasse by his Executours.

And for the sauegarde and sure keping of the same somme of v. M^l. li in the mean season, and to the tyme it shalbe so expended, a stronge Chest bounden with Iron having iij lockes and iij keyes to shete and open the same, shalbe prouided by the saide Provost and scolers and sett in the Tresoure house of the saide College wherin shalbe put and remayne the saide somme of .v. M^l. li. And of the same iij keyes oon of theym to be in thandes and keping of the saide Provost of the same College. A nother key in the keping of the Vicechaunceler of the saide Vniuersite for the tyme being. The thirde key in the keping of theldest Burser of the saide College for the tyme being. And the fourth key in thandes and keping of the Master and ouerseer of the werkes of the saide Church for the tyme being. Thies foure persones their deputies or assignes in that behalve with the saide keyes to be to giddre at euery openyng and shitting of the saide Chest and at suche tyme as often and when ony parte of the saide somme of .v. M^l. li. shalbe taken out of the same for the vse and intente aforeseide.

And ouerthat the saide Provost and scolers covenanteth and bindeth theym and their successours by thies presentes that the same somme of .v. M^l. li and euery parcell therof shalbe truly and with diligence employed spent and bestowed for, aboute, and vpon, the werkes and charges of the bilding of the saide Church from tyme to tyme by thaduise comptrollement and ouersight of the persones aforesaide with out discontentuynge or cesing of the saide werkes or ony parte of theym

till they be fully perfourmed finisshed and accomplisshed as fer as the saide somme of money of v. m^l. li woll extend vnto.

And that the saide Provost and his successours for the tyme being shalbe accomptable and yeve a true accompte and rekenyng with out concelement of themploying, expensis, and bestowing, of the saide somme of v. m^l li vpon the werkes of the saide Churche and other the premisses to oure saide soueraigne lorde in his life and of suche parcelles therof to his Executours as after his deceasse shall rest vnbestowed and employed and before that not accompted, As often and whensoever he or they shall call him or his successours therunto.

And in case the saide v. m^l li shalnot suffice for thole performance and accomplisshement of the saide building and werkes and every parcell of theym, and that they be not perfitey Finisshed by oure saide soueraigne lorde in his life, That than his Executours after his deceasse ffrom tyme to tyme as necessite requireth shall deliuer to the saide Provost for the tyme being asmuche money ouer and aboue the saide v. m^l li as shall suffice for the perfite finisshing and perfourmyng of the same werkes and every parte of them in maner and fourme abouesaide. And the saide Provost and scolers covenanteth and graunteth and bindeth theym and their successours by thies presentes to oure saide soueraigne lorde and his Executours that the saide money and every parcell therof so to them deliuered by his saide Executours as aforesaide shalbe truly with all diligence employed and bestowed for, aboute, and vpon, the werkes and bildinge of the saide Churche from tyme to tyme by thaduise comptrollement and ouersight of his saide Executours or suche other as they or the more part of them shall depute and assigne to the same without desisting or discontentuynge the bilding of the saide werkes in any wise till they and every parcell of theym be fully and perfitey accomplisshed and perfourmed in maner and fourme aforesaide. And that the saide Provost and his successours for the tyme being shalbe accomptable and yeve a true accompte and rekenyng without concelement vnto the saide Executours or the more parte of them how and in what maner the same money and every parcell therof is spent employed and bestowed vpon the same werkes and bildinge when and as often the saide Executours or the moste parte of them shall call the saide Provost or any his successours therunto.

In witnesse wherof to the one part of thies Indentures with the saide Provost and scolers remaynyng the king oure saide soueraigne lorde hathe caused his priuate seale to be putt. And to the other parte of the same Indentures, remaynyng with oure saide soueraigne lorde, the foresaide Provost and scolers haue putt their Comon Seale the day and yere abouesaide."

This money was probably all spent by the beginning of 1512, when the King's executors made over to the Provost and scholars (8 February 1511-12) a second sum of £5000, on condition that they

"shal as hastily as they can or may resonabyll without delaye vawte the chirch of the said college after the fourme of a platte therfor devised and subscribed with the handes of the said executours; Ande cause

dowble deskes to be made in the qwere of the said chirch; glase al the windowes in the same chirch with such Images, storis, armys, bagis, and other devises as it shalbe devised by the said executours: And also clerly and holy fynyshe perfourme and end al the warkes that is not yet doon in the said chirche in al thinges aswel within as without.

These additional funds enabled the College to draw up contracts for the completion of the building¹. They provide for the erection of the great stone vault; the vaults of the porches and sixteen of the chapels; the finials of the buttresses; and the four corner towers. The first in order of time is that for the stone vault (A). The parties to it are Robert Hacumblen, Provost, and Thomas Larke "surveyour of the kynges workes" on the one side, and John Wastell, master mason, and Harry Semerk, one of the wardens of the masons, on the other. It is not dated, being a draft only, but it was certainly drawn up between 22 April and 7 June, 1512, when a deed (B) was executed between Wastell and Semerk, by which it was agreed that Wastell should have the sole profit, and bear the whole charge. The material was to be stone from Weldon, and it is stipulated that this, together with all other things required for the work, and the wages of the workmen, are to be provided by Wastell and Semerk. They are to be paid at the rate of £100 for each "severy," which would make a total of £1200; and they undertake to complete the whole in three years "after the tyme of their begynnyng vppon the same." Further, they are to be allowed the use of certain ropes and saws belonging to the College, and of a scaffold that was apparently standing in the Church; for although they agree to provide scaffolding, it is expressly stipulated that at the end of the work they are to be allowed the timber of "two seuerys of the said grete scaffold to their own vse and profight"—a condition that would have been meaningless had it been their own already.

The second contract (C), with Wastell alone, is dated 4 January 1512—13. By this Wastell agrees to make the "fynyalls," that is, the pinnacles, of all the buttresses, 21 in number, "acordyng to the plattes conceyved and made for the same, and acordyng to the fynyall of oon buttrasse which is wrought and sett vpp: except that all thies new fynyalles shalbe made

¹ They are printed in the Appendix, No. II., from originals in the Muniment Room of King's College. They are marked A, B, C, etc. for facility of reference.

sumwhat larger in certayn places acordyng to the mooldes for the same conceyvid and made." He further undertakes to build one tower at the north-west corner of the Church, as a pattern. He is to use Weldon stone for the finials and tower; to employ sixty freemasons, as soon as he can obtain so many, and to complete the work by Lady Day next ensuing; for which he is to receive £100 for the tower, and at the rate of £6. 13s. 4d. for each pinnacle. The tower was rapidly completed, and gave satisfaction, for a third contract (E) was drawn up with Wastell, 4 March 1512—13, for the remaining three towers, which were to be "wele and workmanly wrought, made, and set vp after the best handelyng and fourme of good workmanship acordyng to oon towre at the iiijth corner, that is to say at the North West ende of the seid Church which is now redy wrought."

A fourth contract (F) was drawn up with the same mason, 4 August, 1513, by which he agreed to vault two porches, seven chapels in the body of the Church, that is, in the nave; nine chapels "behynd the quere" which are to be "of a more course worke;" and to set up all the battlements of the said porches and chapels. It is expressly mentioned that the designs for all the vaults had been previously submitted to the executors of Henry the Seventh, signed by them, and deposited with the surveyor. The stone used for the vaults of the porches was to be from Hampole¹ in Yorkshire, for those of the chapels from Weldon. The work was to be completed by the following Midsummer (24 June, 1514): and Wastell was to receive £25. 0s. 0d. for the vault of each porch, £20 for each of the seven chapels, and £12 for each of the nine.

A further deed (D) between Larke and Wastell, dated 24 January 1512—13, provided that a record should be kept of all moneys paid, and of the value of all materials delivered to the latter. During the fifteen months over which the document extends (28 January 1513—12 May 1514) Wastell received £1172. 8s. 3d.; and as the finials of the buttresses and the corbel-tables of the chapels are definitely mentioned, we may be certain that they were in progress; but there is no evidence to shew what other work had been undertaken.

¹ [Hampole is a small village about four miles N.W. of Doncaster, standing on Lower Magnesian Limestone. There are numerous old quarries in the neighbourhood.]

The cost of the several portions contracted for with Wastell is as follows :

The great vault	£1200.	0.	0
Four turrets	400.	0.	0
Twenty-one pinnacles	140.	0.	0
The vaults of two porches	50.	0.	0
————— seven chapels	140.	0.	0
————— nine chapels	108.	0.	0
The battlements of all the chapels	100.	0.	0
	2138.	0.	0

This sum, however, fell far short of that actually spent. The account-books before mentioned, which extend from 28 May, 1508, to 29 July, 1515, when we may conclude that the Chapel was finished exclusive of fittings, though imperfectly summed, shew an expenditure of more than £8000; and a separate paper (G), in a contemporary hand, on which the expenditure of each year is set down, makes the total amount to £10,326. 3s. 9d. The cost of the Chapel up to this time cannot therefore be accurately determined, but we have evidence that at least £160,000, at the present value of money, had been spent upon it, as follows :

Receipts from the Duchy of Lancaster (1448, 1449, 1450, 1451)	£1077.	3.	5
Spent in the reign of Edward IV.	77. 1. 7	}	1373. 3. 5
	1296. 1. 8		
————— Richard III.	746.	10.	9½
————— Henry VII.	1700.	0.	0
————— Henry VIII.	10,026.	3.	9
	14,923.	1.	4½

The stone-work of the Chapel had been completed as we have seen in 1515 ; but no provision had been made for fittings of any kind. It is probably to this date that we should assign the following petition and estimate, both undated :

“To the King our sovereign Lord.

In most humble wise shewyng beseches your Highness your contynual and perpetual Oratours the provost and scholars of your College of Cambrige that whereas the Prince of most noble renowne your derrest Fadre King Harry the VIIth graunted and be his last wyll willed that the Church of the seid College which his blissed uncle King Herry the VIth beganne to bild shuld be performed att his cost and charge ;

Whereupon it pleased his said highness that he be his lyf daies and also his executours sith his deth have ben at gret cost and charge so that the said werk is now almost performed and accomplished, except the pavyng, and stallyng and glasyng of the same which is not done for lak of money; It may therfore please your said Highness the premisses tendrely considered in a way of charite to commaund and cause the said executors of your said most noble Fadre to see the said church fully performed and accomplyshed in pavyng stallyng and glasyng according to the said last wyll and your said Oratours shall continually pray God for preservacion of your most noble and roial astate long prosperously to endure."

"Cambrage. Here ensue all maner charges esteemed to be sufficient to perfourme the buylding of the great church of the Kinges Colledge at Cambrage.

Ston- werke	Imagery	Two Images of Kinges at the west dorre in two tabernacles made for the same, Eyther of viij foote high. Fowre at the sowth and north doorres of the saide Church, Eyther of vj foote high And xlvij Images within the saide Church Every of them of three foote high. Amounting in all to Clxxij foote. At v ^s the fote, esteemed in workemanship which amounteth vnto	xliij li.	lvi li. vj ^s . [viij ^d .
	Ston	xl ton of Yorkshire ston is esteemed to be sufficient for all the saide Images. At vj Shillinges viij ^d . the toon	xij li. vi ^s . [viij ^d .	
	Paving	Paving of the church floore with marble or Ragge of Kent amountyng by estymacion vnto xij ^m ix ^c lxxiiij fote at xij ^d the foote in stoon and workemanship cometh to	vj ^c xlviij li. [xiiij ^s .	DCCCC.v. [li xiiij ^s .
	Ston and workeman- ship	Item for paving of twenty chappelles and two porches euery of them conteynyng c.c.lx fote. Amountyng in all M ^l M ^l M ^l M ^l .c.c.c.c. at the same price	ccxx li.	
		of the high Aulter by estimacion C.s. Item Ston and workemanship of xvi other Aulter, Every of them at xl ^s by like estimacion Amounteth in all vnto	xxxvij li.	
Summa DCCCC.lxij li. viij ^d .				

Dorres

For the workemanship of the gret west doorre of the saide churche vi li. The sowth and north gret doorres, Eyther at C^s. x li. two dorres entring into the Revestries eyther at iiij li. viij li. vi dorres for particions of the saide Revestries euery of them at xl^s. xij li. fowre small doorres betwen the saide chapelles Every of them at xiijs. iiij^d. liijs. iiij^d. And fowre doorres at the fowre corners within the saide churche at xx^s the pece iiij li. And soo the workemanship of all the saide dorres amounteth vnto

lj li. xiijs.
[iiij^d]

Item waynscot for all the saide dorres is estemed at C and di' At vj li. the C besides the cariage ix li.

Stalles

Item for the workemanship in karving and ioynynge for x hedstalles with their tabernacles of them. That is to say v stalles vppon the oon side of the quere, And other v on the other side, with a pulpyt over the doorre at the comyng in to the same quere. And also for lxiiij principal Stalles with their tabernacles in the vpper degrees. That is to say xxxij of them on the oon side of the quere, and other xxxij on the other side. And for lvj Stalles in the lower degrees with the foredeskes for the same. That is to say xxviij of them on the oon side of the saide quere, and other xxviij on thother side. The costes and charges of all which werkes and ordynances to be made according to a plat therof set owte and devised wol amounte by estimacyon vnto the somme of

M li.

Rodelofte

And for the workemanship in karving and ioynynge of the roode lofte with Imagery, tabernacles, dorres Stayers, and euery other of concernyng the same werkes to be made accordyng to the plat therof dyvysed woll extende by estymacion vnto

C.

MCCC.iiij^{xx}
[v li]

	Stuffes	Waynscot to be employed vpon the saide Stalles and Rodelofte wol amounte by estymacyon vnto M ^l . M ^l li at vi li. the C. besides the cariage.	Cxx li.	
		Iron worke and other small necessities concerning the same, as copper to hang the misericordes with glewe nayles broddes and Stayes be esteemed to amounte to	xiiij li. vi ^s . [viiij ^d .]	
	Tymbre	Remayneth in store of former provision ynowgh redy spoyled to perfourme all the saide Stalles and Rodelofte		
Smithes werke.	Iron worke and Lockes	For all the dorres above rehersed wole amounte by estymacion vnto	xxvi li. xiiij ^s . [iiii ^d .]	xxvi li. xiiij ^s . [iiii ^d .]
Paynters werke	Gilding and painting	The gildyng and payntyng of the great vawte devided in xij seueres euery seuerer at xxvi li. xiiij ^s . [iiii ^d .]	CCC.xx li.	CCC.xx li.
	Necessary expenses	Appending vpon the premisses as wages, rewardes, and costes of Surveyours, Clerkes and purveyours like to gyve their labours and attendaunces vpon the saide werkes by the space of thre yeres or more yet to comme, Cariages, portages, and other expenses necessary not as yet in remembrance wole amownte by estymacion above	CC. li.	CC. li."

The works here enumerated would have cost £2893. 14s. 0d. The estimate is a rough one, and not always either accurate or consistent, but it is interesting on account of the richness of decoration suggested for the worthy completion of the Chapel. The document must be subsequent in date to the scheme for filling the windows with stained glass, as they are not mentioned in it.

In the next chapter we will compare the building as it exists at present with the design and with the history; and subsequently trace the history of the stained glass and the wood-work.

CHAPTER X.

COMPARISON OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL WITH THE WILL
OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH, AND WITH THE INFOR-
MATION DERIVED FROM THE ACCOUNTS.

THE dimensions of the ground-plan of King's College Chapel correspond almost exactly with those assigned to it in the Will. The width, taken as at Eton "within the respondes," is just 40 feet, and the length 289 feet, of which the Ante-chapel occupies 120 feet, and the rood-loft 14 feet, as directed. The Will further prescribes a height of 90 feet for "the walls" without further particulars being given. At Eton the corresponding measurement is given "vnto the crestis of the batelment," and it ought perhaps to be so taken here. The walls are actually (fig. 43) 83 feet high to the commencement of the battlements, which are 11 feet high; so that the total height is 94 feet. In the interior, from the floor to the central point of the vault, the height is 80 feet¹. The east and west windows are each of nine lights, and the side-windows of five lights².

The spaces between the buttresses, on both sides of the Church, are occupied by chapels, which, in the Will, are directed to be so placed in the "body" or Ante-chapel only³. The two

¹ [This measurement is given on the authority of Mackenzie. See p. 492.]

² [The Will directs that the east window shall be "of .xj. daies," and the west window "of .ix. daies." It is possible that the copyist may have transposed the numerals in the former case.]

³ [A similar ground-plan had already been employed in the Cathedral of Albi, begun 1382, completed 1397, consecrated 1480. It "consists of an oblong terminated by an apse, and completely surrounded by Chapels...These Chapels are taken between the vast buttresses which support the great vault. Above the Chapels are chambers communicating with each other by small doorways cut in the buttresses, and forming a gallery all round the church." The length, exclusive of E. chapels and W. tower, is 290 feet, span of roof 60 feet, height, from pavement to keystone of vault, 95 feet. The Church of the Cordeliers at Toulouse, erected in 13th century, resembles King's even more closely, for the chapels have no upper story, and the buttresses rise above their roofs. The Church of the Jacobins, in the same town, is also similar. It was begun 1229, completed 1336, consecrated 1385. The Church of S. Catherine at Oppenheim, near Worms (built 1262—1317, consecrated 1322), has chapels "made by enclosing the space between the buttresses with a wall flush with their outer line; the space comprised being covered in with slabs at the level of the sills of the aisle

easternmost, at least, on each side, were plainly intended for vestries, and take the place of the vestry on the north side directed in the Will; for they not only occupy the usual position of those offices, but are entered from the Presbytery through richly molded doors (HH, fig. 42). The Will assigns an altar to each chapel; a direction which, however, was but partially complied with. The westernmost of the two vestries on the north side (*ibid.* N) is the chantry and burial-place of Dr William Towne, one of the original Scholars, who died 11 March, 1496. It once contained an altar, at which, by his Will, mass was to be said for the repose of his soul by one of the Fellows, to whom an annual stipend of four marks was to be paid. Two other chapels on this side (*ibid.* V., IX.) have altars, as the plan shews, but it is not known that they commemorate special persons. On the south side the second chapel from the west (*ibid.* XI.) is the chantry of Dr Robert Hacomben (Provost 1509—28)¹; that next to it (*ibid.* XII.) of Dr Robert Brassie (Provost 1556—58)²; and the easternmost (*ibid.* XVIII.) of John Argentein (Provost 1501—7). There were altars in each of these, but none, so far as we know, in any of the others.

The white magnesian limestone from Thesdale or Hudleston is most useful, as at Eton, in determining the portion of the building erected during the reign of Henry the Sixth; for after his deposition the regular supply of stone from Yorkshire ceased, and an oolite from Northamptonshire or Rutlandshire replaced it. The white stone is used for the plinth and basement molds (*ab*, fig. 43) except in the westernmost bay on the south side (*abcd*, fig. 42) where the west side of the quadrangle would have abutted against the chapel; for the towers at the west end, to a height of about 8 feet in the northern tower, and 6 feet

windows, and thrown open to the nave with a double arch." For further details of these churches, see "The Study-Book of Mediæval Architecture and Art," by T. W. King, 4to. London, 1858.]

¹ [His will, dated 21 October, 1528, says: "And I will that my body be buried in the myddill Chapel within the body of the new church of the saide college on the south side whiche I have honored att myne owne propre costes and charge."]

² [His will, dated 27 July, 1558, says: "I wyll my bodye to be buryed in the middes of the south chappell next beneythe the Roodeloft in the kynges Colledge Church...Item I wyll y^e vth be bestoed vppon the aforesayd chappell in the kynges colledge yf I be ther buryed and yf I do not bestowe the sayd summ or part therof vppon the ornament of the sayd chappell in my tyme."]

in the southern ; and for the west wall to a similar height on each side of the great west door. The east wall and towers are built of it, but it rises only a little higher than the springing of the arch of the east window. In the north and south walls it never rises high enough to bear the roof, the highest level being the string above and touching the hood-molds of the windows (fig. 43, *c*). This level it attains in the two easternmost buttresses on the north side, but in the westernmost of these it is mixed with other stone. In the third and fourth buttresses it terminates with the second division of the set-off between the second and third stages (ibid. *d*) ; in the fifth it terminates four courses below the commencement of the same set-off ; and in the sixth at the level of the parapet over the side-chapels. Eastward of this buttress it is used for the walls of the side-chapels ; but westward of it it does not rise higher than the sills of their windows. On the south side it does not rise so high as on the north. In the first and second buttresses it terminates near the beginning of the third stage ; in the third and fourth at the second division of the set-off between the second and third stages, as on the north side ; in the fifth, sixth, and seventh just above the first stage, at the same level in all three ; and in the eighth about half way up the first stage. As far as this point the walls of the side-chapels are built of it. In the interior it is used for the lowest courses of the walls separating the chapels of the Ante-chapel, and for the bases of the piers. It is used in a similar way for the east and west walls of the chapels along the south side of the choir ; but on the north side these walls have generally been faced with Weldon stone, and Hudleston stone appears only occasionally. It is, however, quite clear from this examination that the whole Church was set out at the beginning, in close correspondence with the dimensions assigned to it in the Will ; and the presence of the white stone in the walls of the side-chapels on the north and south sides of the choir proves that their erection was not an afterthought, but a change of plan adopted from the first.

Above the magnesian limestone we find stone from Weldon and Clipsham employed throughout, except for the vaults of the north and south porches, which are built, according to the contract, of a magnesian limestone from Hampole in Yorkshire,



Fig. 43. Elevation of the fifth severy of King's College Chapel, shewing the sixth and seventh buttresses on the north side (fig. 42)

more yellow in colour than that from the former locality. The west door-case, though not mentioned in any existing contract, appears to be of the same yellow stone.

Evidence of the progress of the Chapel may be derived from the directions respecting burials contained in the Wills of Fellows and others¹. Thus William Warmynster, Fellow (13 October, 1457), leaves his body to be buried "in the graveyard of the College, so that his head shall lie close to the cross in the middle of the said graveyard, on the east side of the said cross;" and John Goldsmyth, Fellow (11 October, 1457), Nicholas Walhop, Scholar (3 May, 1458), and Godwin Catesby, Fellow (31 May, 1458), leave directions for their burial "in the graveyard of the College." But at the end of 1458 burials begin to take place in the Chapel. John Stok, servant to the Provost (12 December, 1458), desires to be buried "in the nave of the new Church;" William Skelton (12 August, 1471) "in the new Church;" William Boston (5 January, 1473) "in a Chapel on the south side of the new Collegiate Church²;" John Savage, Conduct (8 May, 1474), "within the walls (*fabricam*) of the new Church of the College;" and Richard Stevyns, Fellow and Vice-Provost (20 February, 1505), "in the quire of the new Church."

Some observations leading to the conclusion that the five eastern severies were completed some time before the rest are found in Malden's "Account of King's College Chapel," published in 1769³:

¹ [These are copied in the College Ledger-Book, Vol. i.]

² [This chapel seems to have been paved by this time from the following: Mundum-Book, 1476—77. *Expense necessarie*. "Item sol' pro reparacione pauimenti sepulture .M. Boston, viz. In calce adust', zabulo, ac labore Willelmi Martyn et filii sui...xiiij^d"]

³ ["An Account of King's College-Chapel in Cambridge;" ... By Henry Malden, Chapel-Clerk. 8vo. Cambridge, 1769. Cole says (MSS. i. 105) "Henry Malden, Chapel Clerk, died Wedn. Aug. 23, 1769, after having been in that Office near 30 years: first Boy to Mr Wade the College Butler. M^r James wrote the Book for him, he being an illiterate and drunken Fellow." Thomas James, afterwards Tutor of King's College, and Headmaster of Rugby, was admitted Scholar 1766, A.B. 1771. The portrait of Malden, which serves as a frontispiece, was etched by Thomas Orde, afterwards Orde-Powlett, Lord Bolton, admitted 1765, A.B. 1770. The book (which the preface informs us was published to relieve the distresses of Malden and his family) appears from this to have been really got up by two charitable undergraduates, which may account for the numerous mistakes in it. The history of the progress of the works (pp. 17—23), from a note to which the following extracts are quoted, was undoubtedly written by the Rev. E. Betham, Fellow, for it is to be found in nearly the same words in one of his MS. volumes in the College Library.]

"Within the long entry, above the Choir, on the North side of the stone-roof, and on the outer wall, may be perceived Toothings, where the Building was formerly joined.

Nearly in a line with these Toothings, between the two roofs, runs a principal beam; on which one may (by the assistance of candle-light) discover the remains of moss, which once spread about that part of it, which faces the West. This side of the beam bears a very different appearance from all the others about the roof; for it looks as if it had been a long time exposed to the weather. This is the fifteenth beam from the West end."

A similar observation is made by Essex, who was at work on the Chapel in 1771¹. At the present time the moss has disappeared, but the west side of the beam in question, which is opposite to the fifth buttress, is in quite a different state from any of the others, or from the opposite side of the same beam, being much worn and decayed, as if from long exposure to the weather. The "toothings" are still to be seen in the middle of the seventh severity, counting from the west (c. fig. 42,

Again, we have seen that scaffold-timber was bought in 1477; that between 1480 and 1483 a large quantity of the same was given by Edward the Fourth, together with stone from Weldon; and that the fitting of the iron-work to the windows at the east end of the choir was proceeding from 1477 to 1484, when the east window, with one window on each side next to it, was glazed with white glass. From this we learn the important fact that the pattern of the tracery of these three windows is not later than the reign of Richard the Third.

Some of the eastern severies must certainly have been roofed with timber at this time; and the roof may have extended as far as the beam noticed by Malden and Essex, for we have seen that the iron-work of the seven easternmost windows on the south side was provided in 1480, which implies that the stone-work was then in a forward state. On the north side we are without evidence about the iron-work of the windows except for the two easternmost, that for the second of which was ordered at the same time as that for those on the south; but it is evident that progress had not been so rapid as on the opposite side, for

¹ ["It is easy to see how far the work was carryd on and covered in, there being a little variation in the work of the windowes and in the timbers of y^e Roof; the timbers of the last principals to the west being long exposed to y^e weather had contracted a Moss which yet continues." Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. p. 13.]

the white stone does not rise to so high a level. On the whole, therefore, there seems good reason for concluding that the five eastern severies were roofed in 1484, and the walls immediately to the west of them raised to a nearly equal height, on the south side at least, at the same time. These five severies constitute nearly half the Chapel; but the appearance of the whole would have been sufficiently incomplete to warrant the statement made by Henry the Seventh in 1509: "the church as yet restith vnperfited and not finissed, litle or no thinge wrought or done therupon sens the deceasse of his uncle¹."

When Henry the Seventh commenced work on the Chapel in May 1508 he probably merely continued the walls and buttresses left incomplete by his predecessors, without changing the style or the ornamentation. The date 1508—9 may therefore be assigned to the western half of the seventh severy, and to the greater part of the sixth severy. On the western side of the latter, however, a marked change in the architecture commences. The eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh buttresses on the south side, and the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh on the north side, are ornamented with heraldic devices², crowns, roses, and portcullises, while on the set-offs separating the stages, are dragons, greyhounds, and antelopes, bearing shields (fig. 43). The former are his supporters, the latter those of Henry the Sixth. These heraldic emblems, supporting the royal arms, are profusely employed in the interior, where additional evidence that the work had progressed farther on the south side than on

¹ [Dr Caius records (*Hist. Cant. Acad.* i. 69) that half the Chapel had been completed before Henry the Seventh undertook to finish it, but he is certainly wrong in referring the whole of the previous work to Henry the Sixth. The text is corrupt, but the sense is perfectly clear. "*Intra eius Collegii septa magnificentissimum etiam et Regale templum cum pedamentis, ex quadrato lapide, item Henricus sextus ex fundamentis posuit, homo ad omnem pietatem natus, et ad magnam perfectionis partem, id est, a summo altari ad dimidiam longitudinem perduxit. Sed cum aduersa in exitu fortuna fuit quod reliquum erat absolut perpetua memoria dignus Henr. 7, et operam suam, ut ex asperitate contigiti muri adhuc extantur [apparet], partem omnem, Angliæ insignibus decorauit, et a cætera parte distinxit.*"]

² [See Mr Evans' essay on 'The Heraldry of King's College Chapel, Appendix II. The constant repetition of the same heraldic device is one of the characteristics of the Renaissance. It may be observed at the Chateau de Chambord (begun 1526), where the panels of the vault of the four great halls are all decorated with an **F** and a Salamander, the crest of Francis I., alternately.]

the north before the change took place is afforded by a study of the niches that ornament the window-jambs. In the Ante-chapel there is an upper and a lower row, in the choir an upper row only, of less elaborate design. At the jambs corresponding with the seventh buttress however, those between the fifth and sixth windows, counting from the west (fig. 42), the rule is interrupted on both sides of the Chapel. On the north side the two upper niches are of the design used in the Ante-chapel, on the south side of that used in the choir. This shews that it had been intended originally to prolong the series used in the choir along the Ante-chapel; and that this design had been carried out on the south side as far as the end of the seventh buttress (the last on that side that is without the heraldic devices above mentioned) before the character of the work was altered. On the north side also the change in the type of niche is co-extensive with the use of the heraldic devices on the exterior.

This western portion was, in part at least, executed before February 1511—12, for the agreement respecting the second sum of £5000 then given enumerates as works to be executed the vault, the fittings, and the glass, as though the walls were finished; and the contracts drawn up immediately afterwards are all, with the exception of £400 spent on the towers, for the vaults of the nave, chapels, and porches, or for the portions of the stone-work directly appertaining to them, as the pinnacles of the buttresses, and the battlements of the chapels¹. It is possible that this departure from the original design may have been sanctioned by the King himself, but considering the almost superstitious reverence with which he regarded his uncle, it seems unlikely that he would think right to alter his work². His executors, on the other hand, uninfluenced by such considerations, would be anxious to exhibit the way in which they had discharged their trust, and therefore publicly marked off the portion erected by themselves, as Dr Caius records, by the introduction of these emblems. In attempting to date the different portions of the Chapel, however, it should be remembered that though the total amount of the contracts drawn up in 1512—13 was £2138, the expenditure for the four years

¹ [No special contract for the upper battlements has been preserved.]

² [Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster*, ed. 1876, p. 146. (Carter, p. 70.)]

preceding July 1515 was £4654. 2s. 11½*d.* It is clear therefore that the Chapel could not have been as complete in 1511-12 as the language of the King's executors would at first lead us to believe; and the words "perfourme and end al the warkes that is

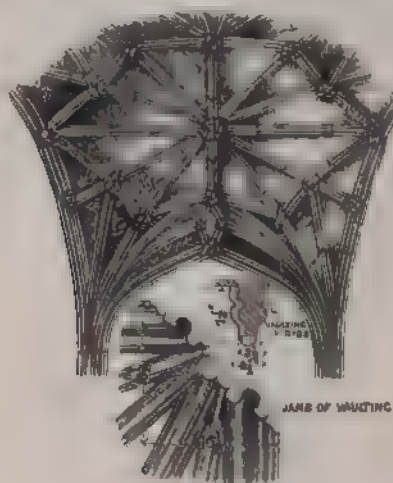


Fig. 44 Vault of the easternmost chapel, north side

not yet doon in the said chirche" probably indicate an unfinished condition of the walls. The petition to Henry the Eighth quoted in the last chapter proves that the money was all spent upon stone-work of some kind.

The gradual and intermitted progress of the building is

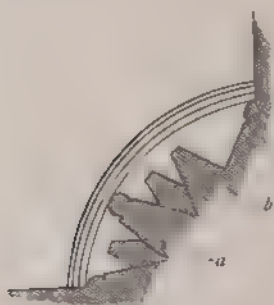


Fig. 45. Impost mold of chapel v, north side

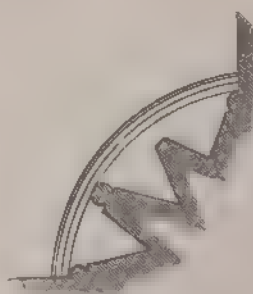


Fig. 46. The same, altered

very clearly seen by studying the vaulting employed in different portions of it. The great vault, which was contracted for in 1512, and probably completed by 1515, is a remarkably fine specimen of a fan-vault. We may however safely affirm, even without examination of the building, that the architect employed by Henry the Sixth could not have intended to design a vault of this description; for although fan-vaulting had been employed, on a small scale, at Gloucester¹, and elsewhere, before the foundation of this Chapel, no large specimen of it appears until long afterwards. The vault employed for large spaces in the middle of the fifteenth century was that for which the name of "Lierne" or "Stellar" vault has been proposed, and we shall see that vaults of this description were originally intended in the different parts of this building.

The two easternmost side-chapels (I., II., fig. 42) on the north side have lierne vaults (fig. 44), which are probably among the earliest works executed, and these chapels ought perhaps to be identified with those referred to above as completed in 1469 and 1470. Moreover, it was intended to vault the two westward of them (III., IV.) in a similar manner, for the molds of the continuous imposts in the angles of all four are identical. The work however was arrested before the vaults were made, and we find a simple rib-and-panel vault of a different stone and in a later style imposed upon the earlier and more elaborate molds. The next chapel (V.) has a similar vault, but different molds (fig. 45), plainer in design, and conforming exactly to the ribs of the vault. These vaults and molds are found in the six chapels that flank the choir on the south side (XIII.—XVIII.); and it was clearly intended to vault all the others in the same style, for although their molds are at present of a different pattern (fig. 46), carrying fan-vaults (fig. 47), examination shews that in every case they have been formed

¹ [The fan-vault of the Cloisters at Gloucester is dated 1381–1412; of the Inner Porches at the same place 1420–1437; of All Souls, and S. John's, Oxford, 1437–1444. See "Construction of the Vaults of the Middle Ages," by Prof. Willis Trans. Inst. Brit. Arch., 1840. The roof of King's has been the subject of a special monograph, "Observations on the Construction of the Roof of King's College Chapel, Cambridge," by F. Mackenzie, 4to. Lond., 1840. The excellent plate in Ackermann, shewing the construction of the vault, is by the same. The drawings in Britton's Architectural Antiquities are by William Wilkins. See also "Mathematical Principles of Mechanical Philosophy," by J. H. Pratt. 8vo. Camb. 1836.]

by cutting out those members (*a, b*, fig. 45) which could not be accommodated to the fan-vaults which they have to carry. This system of alteration has been done so neatly in some cases, that it is difficult to detect it; but in others the superfluous member has been chipped off hastily, and the surface left rough. This examination of the chapels leads to the following conclusions; first, that it was originally intended to vault them with lierne vaults, of which two only were executed and two others contemplated before the works were interrupted; secondly, that after the resumption of work, rib-and-panel vaults were substituted for them; and lastly, that when Wastell contracted to vault sixteen chapels in 1512, he changed the style into fan-vaulting in chapels VI.—IX. on the north side, and X.—XII. on the south side; while the older design, described in the contract as “of more course werke,” was carried out in the remainder.

Further evidence of alteration is afforded by an examination of the piers that support the great vault, which, as mentioned above, are of Hudleston stone, up to a certain height, and may therefore be referred to the Founder's time. In the profile of one of them here given (fig. 48), the outermost members, *a, b, c*, support the arch that spans the Church; *d* is the arch applied to the side wall; and *e* the shaft from which the fan springs. The remaining member *f* is unemployed; and in the choir, the portion containing it, here bounded by a dotted line, has been cut out, and the surface left plain. Had the original design been carried out, we should probably have had a vault similar to that already noticed in the side-chapels (fig. 44). We learn from the contract that the design for the vault actually executed was submitted to the “lordes executours” of King Henry the Seventh, approved and signed by them.

We have seen that with regard to the pinnacles and towers Wastell was commissioned to set up one of each as a pattern, before the design was finally settled. The tower, as first set up, appears to have given satisfaction, but the pinnacles were to be enlarged in certain places. They have since been so frequently and so thoroughly repaired that it is impossible to trace the difference between the pattern and those constructed afterwards.

The contracts (C, E) respecting the towers enumerate every principal part of the composition, except the upper stage with

the ogree cap, which is not specially mentioned. We will now attempt to elucidate the terms of the contract with the help of the drawing of the Tower at the S.E. angle (fig. 49)¹. Each

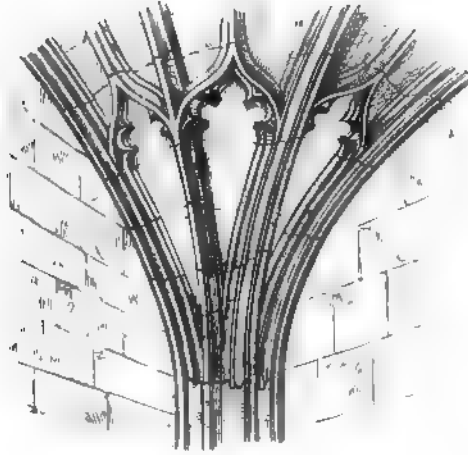


Fig. 47. Fan-vault, used in chapels vi.—xii

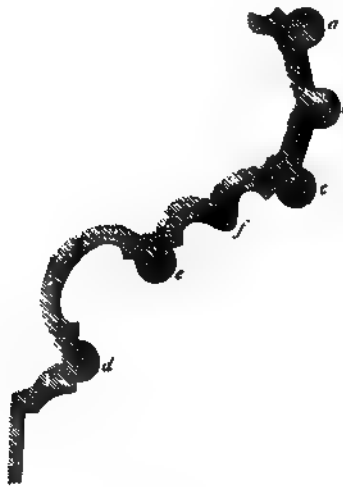


Fig. 48. Profile of one of the vaulting-piers in the Ante-chapel.

¹ [This explanation is derived from Professor Willis' "Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages," § 14, 78, 87, where this contract is discussed.]



Fig. 49. Tower at the south-east angle of King's College Chapel.

To face p. 497.

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of the eight sides of the tower has at its angle a "fynyalle," or shaft terminated by a pinnacle, finished on each of its four sides with a "*ryfant gablette*," that is, as the figure shews, a small gable, the outline of which is an ogee arch. The sides of the tower are divided into two stories, each exhibiting a series of quatrefoiled openings or "*quaters*," so arranged that the lines between them intersect each other at a right angle. They are therefore described in the contract as "*crosse-quaters*;" and it will be observed that they merely pierce the panel in which they occur, and do not destroy its character as a blank panel or "*orb*." Each side is finished above between the pinnacles with an indented parapet, "*batelmentes*." The upper stage with its ogee cap was not contemplated in the first contract (C), unless it be included in the last clause, "euery other thyng belongingyng to the same." The second contract (E), however, includes "*badges*" among the specified ornaments. These can only apply to the Tudor badges, a rose or portcullis surmounted by a crown, which occur on each division of the upper part.

The stone-work was probably completed by the end of July 1515, having been 69 years in building, but as it will be shewn in the next chapter that the glazing of the windows may be dated 1526—1531, and the stall-work 1532—1536, it is unlikely that the Chapel was used for service before those works were completed. Again, the old Chapel did not fall down until 1536—37, and Dr Caius connects that event with the completion of the new one in language which, although it cannot be interpreted literally, yet conveys the impression that the latter was not used so long as the former was in existence¹.

¹ [Professor Willis (Arch. Nom. l.c.) prints this word "rysant," and connects it with the French "ressant." The word as written, however, is clearly "ryfant."]

² [Hist. Cant. Acad. i. 69. "Post quem fenestris clausit, intercepto diuisit, pauamento marmorato magna ex parte strauit et portis clausit eius filius et rex noster Henricus fœlicissimæ memoriæ octauus, vt sit ad orationes receptus, cum vetus sacellum, humile et angustum, quod paulo vltra portam minorem veteris collegii positum fuit, vt ex eius reliquiis adhuc extantibus scire licet, corruerat, nullo prorsus læso, etsi statim a vespere eius diei casus ille fuerit." The date of the fall of the old Chapel is certainly 1536—37, from a charge in the Mundum-Book of that year for removing the materials; and the date of the completion of the Roodscreen (*interceptum*) cannot be later than 1536, from the connection of Anne Boleyn with it. Dr Caius is therefore inaccurate in saying that Henry the Eighth executed this and other works "in

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CONTINUED TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

History of the Glass, Stalls, and Panelling.

[THE second agreement between the executors of King Henry the Seventh and the College expressly stipulates for the erection of stalls in the choir, and for the glazing of the windows "with such images, storis, armys, bagis, and other devises" as the said executors shall approve¹.

We will first investigate the history of the latter; for it is so evident that the building was designed for the exhibition of pictures in glass on a grand scale that their history is connected with the general architectural history more closely than that of glass usually is with that of the buildings in which it occurs.

The work appears to have been put in hand as soon as the roof was completed, for we find the following memorandum of a payment of £100 to Barnard Flower, the King's glazier, on 30 November, 1515:

"This bill written the last day of November in the vij.th yere of the reign of o^r soverain Lord Kyng Henry the viij.th witnesseth that Mr. Thomas Larke prest surveior of the Kinges werkes in Cambridge have

order that there might be a retreat for prayer after the old Chapel had fallen down." As however the two events probably happened in the same year, it is easy to imagine that they would afterwards be connected in the relation of cause and effect. The heading *Reparationes facte circa nouum Templum* occurs first in the Mundum-Book for 1541—42; after which year it appears together with the older heading, *Custus Ecclesie*, under which the cost of the service is set down; but as the accounts for 1537—38, 1538—39, 1539—40, 1540—41 are wanting, it is impossible to decide from this source the year of the completion of the building.]

¹ [These directions are almost identical with those in the Will of King Henry the Seventh relating to his Chapel at Westminster: "But also that the said Chapell be desked, and the windowes of our said Chapell be glazed with stores, ymagies, armes, bagies and cognoisaunces, as is by vs redily diuised, and in picture deliuered to the Priour of saint Bartilmews beside Smythfeld, Maistre of the workes of our said Chapell; and that the walles, doores, windows, Archies and vaults and ymages of the same our Chapell, within and without, be painted garnished and adorned with our armes, bagies, cognisaunces, and other conuenient painteng in as goodly and riche maner as suche a werk requireth, and as to a kinges werk apperteigneth."]

received of Mr. Robert Hacumblen provost of the Kinges Colledge there one hundreth poundes sterling to be delivered unto Barnard Flower the Kinges Glasier in way of prest towards the glaising of the great Church there in such forme and condition as my Lord of Winchester shal devise and comande to be doon.

In witnes whereof I the saide Mr. Thomas Larke have subscribed this bill w^t. myn own hande the day and yere above written

Summa .C. li."

The same sum was paid to him, 12 February, 1516—17¹. The Bishop of Winchester, Richard Fox, to whom the direction of the work was entrusted, had been secretary to Henry VII.², and is named in his Will as one of his executors. Hence it is probable that the design for the windows had been approved by the King, and was to be carried out according to his intentions. The contract with Flower has been lost, and there is no direct documentary evidence to shew how much he had engaged to do, or what portions he had completed before his death, which apparently took place at the end of 1525, or the beginning of 1526, for we find that in the latter year two contracts (H, I), dated 30 April and 3 May respectively, were entered into with six other glaziers, who undertake between them to glaze twenty-two windows in the Chapel, of which the east window is to be one, and the west window another, "accordyngly and after suche maner as oon Barnard Flower Glasyer late deceessed by indenture stode bounde to doo;" and further to place in the windows "at their owne propre costes and charges alle the glasse that nowe is there redy wroughte for the seid wyndowes." These stipulations lead to the conclusion that Barnard Flower had finished at least four complete windows before his death³.

¹ [I owe these memoranda to the kindness of my friend J. T. P. Carter, Esq., formerly Fellow of King's College, who found them among the Muniments.]

² [He was made Bishop of Exeter 1487, translated to Bath and Wells 1491—2, to Durham 1494, and to Winchester 1501. He died 1528. There is a tradition that Edward Fox (Provost 1528—1538) persuaded Henry VIII. to supply funds for glazing the windows. Harwood, *Alumni Etonenses*, p. 38. MSS. Cole i. 93. May there not, however, be a confusion between two men of the same names? for the contracts were drawn up in May 1526, two years before Edward Fox became Provost. If this suggestion be accepted, the windows, as well as the vault etc., were paid for by Henry VII. Another tradition defrays the cost of the windows out of a fine levied on Richard Nix, Bishop of Norwich, 1501—1536. Blomefield's *Norfolk*, ii. 386.]

³ [The merchant's mark in II. N. side, and the date 15017 (1517) in VI., make it probable that these are two of Flower's four windows.]

The first contract, the parties to which are, for the College, Robert Hacomblen, Provost; William Holgill, Master of the Hospital of St John by the Savoy in London; and Thomas Larke, Archdeacon of Norwich; further stipulates that the glaziers, Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve, and James Nicholson, all resident in London, shall finish six windows within twelve months, twelve more within four years, and, with regard to the remaining four, supply designs for them to Francis Williamson, and Symon Symondes, glaziers resident in London, like the others, who undertake, by the second of the two contracts mentioned above, to supply two windows within two years, and two others within three years, so that all the windows would have been finished by May, 1531. Of these latter windows, two are to be on one side of the Chapel, and two on the other, but nothing is said about the position of the rest, nor about the subjects of any, except in the most general terms, namely, that they are to represent "the story of the olde lawe and of the newe lawe, after the fourme, maner, goodnes, curyousytie, and clenlynes in euery poynt of the glasse wyndowes of the kynges newe Chapell at Westmynster." These windows being thus referred to as a standard, it seems probable that the selection of subjects made for them would be followed at King's; so that in our windows we may have a copy more or less close, of glass which was once famous, but has now perished so completely that its very existence would hardly be known except for this reference to it. It has been further suggested that the executors would most likely employ the same artists for both Chapels¹.

There are twenty-six windows; namely, the east window, the west window, twelve on the north side, and twelve on the south side, the easternmost of which was a half-window (fig. 15), at the time of the glazing. The plan is the same in all the side

¹ [See a paper on "King's College Chapel Windows," by Rev. W. J. Bolton, *Arch. Journal*, xii. 153, another by G. Scharf, Jun., F.S.A., *ibid.* xiii. 43, and "Historical and Architectural Account of King Henry the Seventh's Chapel," p. 45, in Neale's "Westminster," 2 vols. 4to. 1818. Both the glaziers in the second indenture were Dutchmen or Flemings, as will be seen from their signatures. Of those in the first Nicholson appears as doing work at Great S. Mary's in 1519 (Sandars and Venables; *Historical Notes*, etc., *Camb. Antiq. Soc.* 8vo. Publ. No. x. p. 18). He is probably identical with the "James Nycolson in Southwarke in Saint Thomas hospitale," who is found in 1536—38 printing the English Bible and other books connected with the Reformation.]

windows (fig. 43). There is elaborate tracery in the head, the pattern of which never varies, except that in the two easternmost windows on each side, all four of which are exactly alike, it differs slightly from that of the remaining twenty. The lights, of which there are nine in the east and west windows, and five in each of the side windows, are divided horizontally by a transom into an upper and lower portion.

For purposes of decoration these spaces are treated as follows. The tracery is filled with heraldic devices¹. The space below, in the east window, contains six pictures, each occupying three lights. In each of the side windows there are four pictures, each occupying the two side-lights above and below the transom; while the central light contains in each of the same subdivisions two figures called Messengers, because they bear scrolls, or tablets, or some other device, for the exhibition of a legend descriptive of the pictures at the sides.

As a general rule the pictures in the lower tier follow each other in regular sequence. The series begins with the Birth of the Virgin in the westernmost window on the north side, and proceeds through the principal events of our Lord's Life to the Crucifixion in the east window, which is followed, on the south side, by the subsequent events recorded in the Gospels, of which the last depicted is the Ascension in the sixth window. It next enters upon the history of the Apostles, as recorded in the Acts, which occupies the fifth, fourth, and third windows; and, lastly, resumes the legendary history of the Virgin in the second and first. The west window would probably have contained the Last Judgment, but, so far as we can ascertain, it was not filled with stained glass in ancient times. The pictures in the upper tier are not in any regular sequence, but are selected out of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, or legendary history, because they correspond with the former on the principle of type and antitype. There are certain exceptions to this arrangement, as in the first window, in the east window, and in those illustrating the Acts; but the general arrangement is as above stated.

The following list gives the subjects of each window in their proper order, with their legends, so far as they can be deciphered.

¹ [For these see Mr Evans' Essay in the Appendix.]

In those windows where the order of type and antitype is observed, the description of the upper picture is given immediately after that of the lower. In order to render the enumeration complete, the description of the west window, the glass of which was not finished until 1879, has been added to the rest. The numbers affixed shew the position of the pictures and the messengers, by reference to the accompanying diagram.

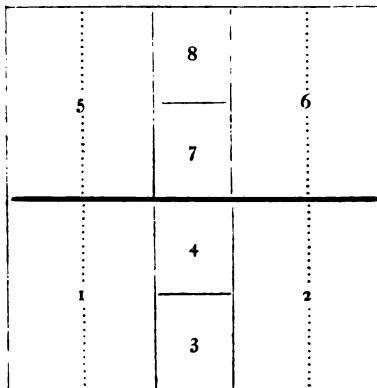


Fig. 50. Diagram to shew the arrangement of the subjects in the windows.

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW I.

Joachim's offering refused by the High Priest	5
* * Instead of the text belonging to this picture is a duplicate of (4) below	8
Joachim with the Shepherds	6
* * Instead of the text belonging to this picture is a duplicate of (3) below	7
Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate of the Temple	1
<i>Angelus</i>	4
Birth of the Virgin	2
... <i>peperit Anna Mariam benedictam</i>	3

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW II.

Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple	1
<i>Maria domino oblata est in templo</i>	4
Presentation of the golden tablet (found by fishermen in the sand) in the Temple of the Sun	5
<i>Mensa aurea [in sabulo] oblata est in templo</i>	7
Marriage of Joseph and Mary	2
<i>Hic Virgo Maria despons' Joseph</i>	3
Marriage of Tobit and Sara	6
<i>Hic Sara desponsatur Thobie m[inori]</i>	8

* * In this window only there is a small compartment at the bottom of each light, containing a half figure of a man or angel bearing a legend, as follows, counting from west to east :

Lower Lights. 1. *Primo libro Regum iii* [Samuel offered to the Lord].
2—5. Legends gone or illegible.

Upper Lights. 1. *Hester iii*^o. (On a shield is a mark, probably Flower's.)
2. *Yepte* [Jephthah] *obtulit filiam suam domino*.

3. *Ego sum alpha et omega.*
4. Blank.
5. *Regina Persarum contemplabatur.*

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW III.

The Annunciation	1
<i>En Bethleem terra Juda, non eris minima [int]er prin[cipes].</i> [Matth. ii. 6]	4
Eve tempted by the Serpent.	5
<i>Præcepit Deus nobis [ne comed]eremus [et ne] tangeremus [ill]ud.</i> [Gen. iii. 3]	8
The Nativity	2
<i>Natus est Jesus in Bethleem Jude regnante Herode.</i> [Matth. ii. 1]	3
Moses and the Burning Bush	6
<i>[App]aruit [ei Domini]s in flamma ignis de medio r[ubi].</i> [Exod. iii. 2]	7

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW IV.

The Circumcision	1
<i>Impleti sunt dies octo ut aranderetur [sic] puer.</i> [Luke ii. 21]	4
The Circumcision of Isaac	5
<i>Vocavitque Abraham nomen filii sui quem genuit ei Sara Isaac et circumcidit eum octavo die.</i> [Gen. xxi. 3, 4]	8
The Adoration of the Magi	2
<i>[Aper]tis thesauris suis obtulerunt ei munera.</i> [Matth. ii. 11]	3
The Queen of Sheba visits Solomon	6
<i>Dedit regi centum viginti tal[enta] auri et ...</i> 3 Regum. [3 Reg. x. 10 = 1 Kings x. 10]	7

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW V.

The Purification of the Virgin	1
<i>Adduxerunt illum in [Hierus]alem ut sisterent eum domino ut scriptum est in lege domini.</i> [Luke ii. 22, 23]	4
The Purification of Women under the Law	5
<i>Sancti[fica] m[ihi] ...</i> [Exod. xiii. 2]	8
The Flight into Egypt	2
<i>Surge et accipite puerum et matrem eius et fuge in Ægyptum, et esto ibi vsque ...</i> [Matth. ii. 13]	3
Jacob's Flight from Esau	6
<i>[Ecce Esau frater] tuus min[atur us] occ[id]at te.</i> [Gen. xxvii. 42]	7

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW VI.

The Idols of Egypt falling down before the Infant Jesus	1
<i>Dominus ascendet super nubem levem et ingreditur [Ægyptum, et commovebuntur simulacra Ægypti a facie eius] Es ...</i> [Isaiah xix. 1] (On a block is the date 15017, i.e. 1517)	4
The Golden Calf	5
<i>Iratusque valde projecit de manu tabulas et confregit eas.</i> [Exod. xxxii. 19]	7
The Massacre of the Innocents	2
<i>[Et missis] satellitibus [interfecit] omnes pueros [qui erant in Bethleem] Ma'. 2º.</i> [Matth. ii. 16]	3
The Massacre of the seed royal by Athaliah. [4 Reg. xi. 2 = 2 Kings xi. 2]	6
<i>Legend illegible</i>	8

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW VII.

The Baptism of Christ	1
<i>Baptisatus autem] Ihs confestim ascendit d[e aqu]a et ecce aperti sunt ei celi et vidit ... [Matth. iii. 13]</i>	4
Naaman washing in Jordan	5
<i>Naaman leprosus septies [lavit in Jordane] et mundatus est. [4 Reg. v. 14 = 2 Kings v. 14]</i>	7
The Temptation of Christ	2
<i>Et accedens tentator dixit ei, Si filius Dei [es] dic ut [lap]ides isti pan[es] fiant[ur]. [Matth. iv. 3]</i>	3
Esau tempted to sell his birthright	6
<i>[Ait] Jacob Jura [ergo mihi. Juravit ei Esau et vendidit primogenita]. [Gen. xxv. 33]</i>	8

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW VIII.

The Raising of Lazarus	1
<i>Lazare veni foras et prodiit qui fuerat mortuus. [Joh. xi. 43, 44]</i>	3
Elisha raising the Shunammite's Son	5
<i>Tolle filium tuum Venit illa et corruit ad pedes eius et tulit filium suum et egressa est. [4 Reg. iv. 36, 37 = 2 Kings iv. 36]</i>	7
The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem	2
<i>Ecce rex tuus venit mansuetus sedens super asinam. [Joh. xii. 15]</i>	4
David with the Head of Goliath	6
<i>[Assumens autem] David caput Philistinum attulit illud in Jerusalem. [1 Reg. xvii. 52 = 1 Sam. xvii. 54]</i>	8

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW IX.

The Last Supper	1
<i>Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha comedere vobiscum antequam patiar. Luce 22. [Luke xxii. 15]</i>	4
The Manna in the Wilderness	5
<i>Panem de celo prastitit eis Sapiencie 16. [Wisd. xvi. 20]</i>	7
The Agony in the Garden	2
<i>Pater si vis transfer. Luce 22. [Luke xxii. 42]</i>	3
The Fall of the Rebel Angels	6
<i>Si ceciderint in terram a semetipsis non resurgent. Baru. 8. [Baruch vi. 26]</i>	8

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW X.

The Betrayal of Christ	1
<i>Dixit ave Rabbi et osculatus est eum. [Matth. xxvi. 49]</i>	4
Cain killing Abel	5
<i>Consurrexit Caim adversus fratrem. Gen. 4°. [Gen. iv. 8]</i>	7
Christ blindfolded and mocked	2
<i>Velaverunt eum et percutiebant faciem eius. Lu. 22. [Luke xxii. 64]</i>	3
Shimei cursing David	6
<i>Egredere, egredere, vir sanguinum et vir Belial. 2 Regum 10. [2 Reg. xvi. 7 = 2 Sam. xvi. 7]</i>	8

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW XI.

Christ before the High Priest	1
<i>Johannes ca. xviii. Si malum locutus sum testi[monium perhibe de] malo.</i>	
[Joh. xviii. 23]	4
Jeremiah imprisoned	5
<i>Irați principes contra Jeremiam cæsum eum miserunt in carcerem. Ihe. 37.</i>	
[Jer. xxxvii. 14]	7
Christ mocked before Herod	2
<i>Ve qui dicitis malum bonum et bonum malum. Ysaie v. [Is. v. 20]</i>	3
Noah mocked by Ham	6
<i>Bibensque vinum inebriatus est et nudatus. Genesis [9]. [Gen. ix. 21]</i>	8

NORTH SIDE, WINDOW XII.

The Flagellation of Christ	1
<i>Tunc ergo apprehendit Pilatus Jesum et flagellavit. S. Joannem 19 [Joh. xix. 1]</i>	4
Job vexed by Satan	5
<i>Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit, sit nomen domini benedictum. [Job i. 21]</i>	7
Christ crowned with thorns	2
<i>Et milites plectentes coronam de spinis imposuerunt capiti eius. [John xix. 2]</i>	3
Solomon crowned	6
<i>Egredimini et videte filie Sion regem Salomonem. [Cant. iii. 11]</i>	8

EAST WINDOW.

Ecce Homo	lower north triplet.
Pilate washing his hands	lower centre triplet.
Christ bearing the Cross	lower south triplet.
Christ nailed to the Cross	upper north triplet.
The Crucifixion (In the mouth of the Centurion : <i>Vere filius dei erat ille. [Matth. xxvii. 54]</i>)	upper centre triplet.
The Deposition	upper south triplet.

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW XII.

Moses and the brazen Serpent	5—8
. The upper portion (5—8) of this window formerly contained what is now below (1—4). After the removal of the old glass into the lower lights in 1841, the upper half was filled in 1845 with new glass, forming a single picture intended to serve as a type to the Crucifixion in the upper centre of the East Window.	
Christ bewailed	2
<i>Quin et tuam ipsius animam penetrabit gladius Luce 2 Capitu. [Luke ii. 35]</i>	4
Naomi and her Daughters-in-law	1
<i>Ne vocetis me Noemi. Ruth primo. [Ruth i. 20]</i>	3

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW XI.

The Entombment	1
<i>Posuit illud in monumento suo novo. Mathe 27. [Matth. xxvii. 60]</i>	3
The casting of Joseph into the Pit	5
<i>Et mittamus eum in cisternam veterem quæ est in solitudine. Genes. 37. [Gen. xxxvii. 22]</i>	8

The Release of the Spirits from Prison	2
<i>Aduenisti desideratus Saluator mundi. Augustin.</i>	4
The Exodus	6
<i>Eduxit ysrahel de egipto per turmas suas, exodi. 12º.</i> [Exod. xii. 51]	7

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW X.

The Resurrection	1
<i>Revoluit lapidem et sedebat super eum. Mate 28.</i> [Matth. xxviii. 2]	4
Jonah cast up by the Whale	5
<i>Evomuit Jonam in aridam Jone 2º.</i> [Jonah ii. 11]	7
Christ appearing to the Virgin	2
<i>Salve parens enixa est puerpera regem qui calum terramque regit</i>	3
Tobias returning to his mother	6
<i>Et ilico cognovit venientem filium suum. Tobie Ca.</i> [Tobit xi. 6]	8

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW IX.

The three Maries at the empty Sepulchre	1
<i>Et valde mane a primo die Sab. venerunt ad monumentum orto sole. Mar. 16.</i> [Mark xvi. 2]	4
Reuben seeking Joseph, finds the Pit empty	5
<i>[Reversus]que Ruben ad cisternam non invenit puerum. Ge. 37.</i> [Gen. xxxvii. 29]	7
Christ recognized by Mary Magdalen	2
<i>Hæc cum dixiss[et] conversa est retrorsum et vidit Jesum stantem.</i> [Joh. xx. 14]	3
Darius finding Daniel alive in the Lions' Den	6
<i>Venit autem rex die ... [pla]ngens Daniele Daniele¹</i>	8

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW VIII.

Christ appearing to two Disciples on the way to Emmaus	1
. Instead of the text belonging to this picture (Luke xxiv. 13) there is a dupli- cate of (4) in the Fifth Window; <i>Viri Judei</i> , etc.	3
The Angel appearing to Habakkuk	5
. Instead of the text belonging to this picture (Dan. xiv. 33) there is a duplicate of (3) in the Fifth Window; <i>Petrus autem dixit</i> , etc.	7
The Supper at Emmaus	2
. Instead of the text belonging to this picture (Luke xxiv. 30), is that referring to (2) in the Fifth Window: " <i>Quid utique convenit vobis tentare spiritum Domini. Act. 5.</i> " [Acts v. 9]	4
Habakkuk feeding Daniel	6
. Instead of the text belonging to this picture (Dan. xiv. 36) is a duplicate of (8) in the Fifth Window: <i>Et dimiserunt</i> , etc.	8

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW VII.

The Incredulity of S. Thomas	1
<i>Pax vobiscum; deinde dixit Thome infer digitum tuum huc et vide manus meas.</i> <i>Johan. 20. Ca.</i> [Joh. xx. 27]	4
The Return of the Prodigal Son	5
<i>Pater peccavi in calum et coram te. Luce. 15 Ca.</i> [Luke xv. 21]	8

¹ The text in the Vulgate is "Tunc rex primo diluculo consurgens, festinus ad lacum leonum perrexit: appropinquansque lacui, Daniele voce lachrymabili inclamavit, et affatus est eum: Daniel serve Dei viventis," etc. Dan. vi. 19, 20.

Christ blessing the Apostles	2
<i>Pax vobiscum; et cum hæc dixisset ostendit eis manus et latus. Johan. 20.</i>	
[John xx. 20]	3
Joseph welcoming Jacob	6
<i>Dixit Jacob ad Joseph; iam latus moriar quia vidi faciem tuam. Ge. 46 Ca.</i>	
[Gen. xlv. 30]	7

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW VI.

The Ascension	1
<i>Quis est iste qui venit de Edom tinctis vestibus. Esai 63. [Is. lxiii. 1]</i>	3
Elijah carried up to Heaven	5
<i>Cum que transissent, Helias [dixit] ad Heliseum. 4° Regum. [4 Reg. ii. 9 = 2 Kings ii. 9]</i>	4
The Descent of the Holy Spirit	2
<i>Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum. Sa. [pri]mo. [Wisd. i. 7]</i>	7
Moses receives the Tables of the Law	6
<i>Videns autem populus quod moram faceret Moyses. Exod. 32° capit°. [Exod. xxxii. 1]</i>	8

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW V.

S. Peter preaching on the Day of Pentecost	1
<i>Viri Judei et qui habitatis Hierusalem universi hoc vobis notum sit. Act. 2°.</i> [Acts ii. 14]	4
. This messenger and text occur in duplicate, misplaced, in the Eighth Window (3).	*
S. Peter and S. John heal the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple	5
<i>Petrus autem dixit, argentum et aurum non est mihi quod autem habeo hoc tibi do. 3 Ca. [Acts iii. 6]</i>	3
. This messenger and text occur in duplicate, misplaced, in the Eighth Window (7).	
Ananias struck dead	2
. The messenger and text belonging to this picture, " <i>Quid utique convenit vobis tentare spiritum Domini. Act. 5</i> " [Acts v. 9], occur only in the Eighth Window (4).	
The Arrest of S. Peter and S. John	6
<i>Adveniens autem princeps sacerdotum et omnes qui cum eo erant convocaverunt [concilium]. Act. 5. [Acts v. 21]</i>	7
. No. 8 in this window is a messenger with the text, " <i>Et dimiserunt eos et illi quidem ibant gaudentes a conspectu concilii</i> " [Acts v. 40, 41], which occurs in duplicate in the Eighth Window (8). There is no picture belonging to the text, and the repetition of the texts in this window and in the Eighth Window shews that there must have been confusion from the beginning.	

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW IV.

The Conversion of S. Paul	5
<i>Et subito circumfulsit cum lux de calo. Et cadens in terram audivit vocem dicentem Saule quare persequeris me. [Acts ix. 3, 4]</i>	8
S. Paul disputing with Jews at Damascus	6
<i>Fuit autem Saulus cum discipulis qui erant Damasci per dies aliquot. [Acts ix. 19]</i>	7
S. Paul and S. Barnabas worshipped at Lystra	1
<i>Sacerdos autem Jovis qui erat ante civitatem illorum tauros et coronas ad vestibulos [afferens cum populis volebat sacrificare]. Act. 14. [Acts xiv. 12]</i>	3

S. Paul stoned at Lystra	2
<i>Supervenerunt autem quidam ab Antiochia et Iconio [Judei] qui cum persuasissent</i>	
<i>...Paulum. Act. 14. [Acts xiv. 18]¹</i>	4

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW III.

S. Paul setting out from Philippi	1
<i>Cum soluissemus igitur a Troade recto cursu venimus Samothracen. Act. 16.</i>	
<i>[Acts xvi. 11]</i>	4
S. Paul casting out a Spirit of Divination	5
<i>Præcipio tibi in nomine Jesu Christi exire ab ea. [Acts xvi. 18]</i>	7
S. Paul before the Chief Captain	2
<i>Et apprehendentes Paulum trahebant eum extra templum. [Acts xxi. 30]</i>	8
S. Paul before Nero	6
<i>Permissum est Paulo manere sibi cum custodiente se milite. Act. 28. [Acts</i>	
<i>xxviii. 16]</i>	3

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW II.

The Death of the Virgin	1
<i>A messenger, text illegible</i>	4
The Death of Tobias. [Tobit xiv. 5]	5
<i>A messenger, text illegible</i>	8
The Burial of the Virgin	2
<i>Sepelivit...</i>	3
The Burial of Jacob	6
<i>Sepelivit Jacob... [Gen. l. 13]</i>	7

SOUTH SIDE, WINDOW I.

The Assumption of the Virgin	1
<i>A messenger, text illegible</i>	3
The Translation of Enoch	5
<i>A messenger, scroll blank</i>	7
The Coronation of the Virgin	2
<i>A messenger, scroll blank</i>	4
Solomon receiving his mother Bathsheba	6
<i>A messenger, scroll blank</i>	8

WEST WINDOW.

Christ on the Throne of Judgment	upper centre triplet.
Apostles and other Saints in the Hall of Judgment	upper south triplet.
do. do.	upper north triplet.
The base of the Throne, with S. Michael between two other Angels bearing scrolls ;	
the one on the south with <i>Judicabit orbem terræ in æquitate et populos in veritate sua</i>	
[Ps. xcv. 13]; the one on the north with <i>Deus in judicium pro omni errato sive</i>	
<i>bonum sive malum illud sit</i> [Eccles. xii. 14]	lower centre triplet.
Angels with the Blessed (with the scroll <i>Venite benedicti Patris mei</i> [Matth. xxv. 34]).	
among whom is King Henry VI. holding up the Chapel	lower south triplet.
Angels with the Damned (with the scroll <i>Discedite a me maledicti</i> [Matth. xxv.	
41])	lower north triplet.

¹ The text in the Vulgate is "Supervenerunt autem quidam ab Antiochia et Iconio Judei: et persuasis turbis, lapidantesque Paulum, traxerunt extra civitatem, existimantes eum mortuum esse."

In attempting to determine the source whence these pictures were derived, it should be remembered that from the middle of the 15th century numerous series of illustrations representing the Life and Passion of Christ were produced, and that from 1480 onwards hardly a year passed without the appearance of one or more printed books, of which these are a principal feature. The number of scenes taken for illustration varies in each instance, but all are conspicuous for a marvellous similarity, almost uniformity, of treatment. In the fuller series we find the History of the Blessed Virgin, as well as the Life of Christ; and the whole is illustrated by what are called "prefigurations" of each subject, taken from sacred, and sometimes even from secular or legendary history. The most universally popular of the earlier productions were designed in Holland, but, by the time with which we are concerned, Albert Dürer had drawn his famous series at Nuremberg. This work, by a master of far greater power than his nameless predecessors, has become so familiar to everybody that Dürer is at once claimed as the originator of any series containing the same subjects treated in the traditional way. There is, however, no ground whatever for supposing that his designs were followed in these windows.

We will next investigate the subsequent history of the windows. For the first few years after their completion we meet with charges for ordinary repairs only, as in 1541—42, when the west window was fitted with iron bars; and in 1570—71, when a small portion of glass was taken to London to be mended¹. In 1591—92 the north-west window required a thorough repair, both of stone and glass. Workmen were sent for from Weldon²

¹ [Mundum-Book 1541—42, *Reparationes facte circa nouum templum*. "Item Yong vitriario pro emendacione magne fenestre occidentalis, et infigenti in parte interiori yern barrys ad conseruandum vitrum contra impetum venti xlii." Then follow the charges for the bars, amounting in all to £6. 7s. od. *Ibid.* 1570—71, "for caryng twoe paynes of the churche glasse to London and home agayne iiij. iiijd. Item for certayne glasse newe mendid at London xx. iiij^d."]

² [Ibid. 1591—92. "Item solut' pro faciendo le scaffold, et pro vectura meremii pro eodem a Barnwell pro fenestra novi Templi Aquilonoccidentali supervidenda. v. x^d. Item proficiscenti Weldonam Northamtonie pro conducendis Lapidariis pro reparanda eadem fenestra versus Aulam Clare xvjd. Item pro le molde pro formandis lapidibus xvijjd. Item solut' vitriatori pro vitro eiusdem fenestre reparand' et reponend' iiijli. xv^d. Item solut' fabro ferrario pro ferro reparando et novo ferro pro eadem fenestra iijli. xvijjs. vijd."]

to undertake the former; and the glass was taken out, repaired, and new iron-work provided. The whole cost £36. 18s. 3d. This window was again repaired in 1616—17, when the glass was again taken down. During the first quarter of the seventeenth century we meet with frequent charges for repairing and releading the glass of all the windows, and for renewing the stone mullions. The following entries may be quoted as specimens :

1611—12. "Solut' Gray pro .128. holes de wrought glasse ad
3^s. 4^d. le hole circa fenestras novi templi xx^{li}. vj^s. viij^d.
Sol' Simpson pro 376 foot de new lead circa idem opus..xviiij li. xvj^s.
Solut' eidem pro expensis in itinere ad petend' artifices in Comitatus
Warwic' xij^s."
1613—14. "Solut' Johanni Sims le mason pro reparandis les muni-
elli in diuersis fenestris Novi Templi xx^{li}."

The confusion that is to be observed in much of the glass, which has evidently not only been taken down and releaded, but put up again by ignorant hands; and the condition of three windows in particular, namely, the first on the north side, and the first and second on the south side, in which the subjects have been so grievously mutilated that they can only be made out after much careful study, has often been ascribed to wilful damage done during the Civil War, or to the zeal of some members of the College, who in order to preserve the glass, hastily removed and concealed it. This tradition has been preserved by Cole¹:

"The large W. window is not painted like y^e rest, but plain, as it always was as I conceive, to throw a light into y^e Chapel w^{ch} y^e fine colours of all y^e rest w^d too much obscure if it was not for this being left as it is: Tho' there is a Tradition, but upon w^t foundation built I cannot say, y^t this was broken by y^e Soldiers in the Rebellion, upon w^{ch} y^e rest were taken down and hid under y^e N. [S?] side of y^e Organ Loft: it is true there is such a place wth a door into it close by y^e Door of y^e Provosts Stall...and big enough to hold y^m. but I am well informed y^t they never were removed, except to be mended, since their 1st putting up: but it was a wonder being so very beautifull and regular [a] set of Scripture History y^t they were spared by these Enemies to all Beauty and Regularity."

It will therefore be a peculiarly interesting task to examine the condition of the College at that period, and especially during the winter of 1643—44, when the forces commanded by the Earl of Manchester occupied Cambridge. The series of *Mundum-Books* for this period is fortunately complete, and we are

¹ [MSS. Cole, i. 103.]

therefore in possession of a contemporaneous record of passing events which in most other Colleges does not exist. Before citing extracts from them, however, we will quote the following passage from the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, which has generally been accepted as true :

"Nor was it any whit strange to find whole Bands of Soldiers training and exercising in the Royal Chappel of King *Henry* the sixth : Nay even the Commanders themselves (being commanded to shew their new Major General (*Crawford*) how well they understood their trade) chose that place to train in (whether in policy to conceal their Mistery, or out of fear to betray their ignorance, or on purpose to shew their Soldiers how little God's house was to be regarded, let the World conjecture). And one who calls himself *John Dowsing*, and by virtue of a pretended Commission goes about the Country like a Bedlam breaking glass windows, having battered and beaten down all our painted glass, not only in our Chappels, but (contrary to Order) in our publick Schools, College-Halls, Libraries, and Chambers, mistaking perhaps the Liberal Arts for Saints (which they intend in time to pull down too) and having (against an Order) defaced and digged up the floors of our Chappels, many of which had lain so for two or three hundred years together, not regarding the dust of our founders and predecessors, who likely were Buried there ; compelled us by armed Soldiers to pay forty shillings a College for not mending what he had spoiled and defaced, or forthwith to go to Prison¹."

The intentions of Dowsing towards King's are recorded in the following memorandum in his Diary, under the date 26 December, 1643. The language is obscure, but the reference to the stained glass is obvious :

"King's Colleg. Decemb. 26.

Steps to be taken and 1 thousand Superstitious Pictures ye layder of Christ & theves to goe upon many Crosses Jesus write on them²."

Dowsing appears to have visited the College between Lady Day and Midsummer 1644, for during that period we find the following payment to him—"Solut' magistro Dowzing £0. 6. 8,"³ a gratuity which may perhaps explain his forbearance.

The accounts shew that soldiers were quartered in the College, but there is no evidence that they caused any serious

¹ [*Querela Cantabrigiensis*: or A Remonstrance by way of Apologie for the banished Members of the late flourishing University of Cambridge. *By some of the said Sufferers*." 8vo. London, 1685. Dowsing's Christian name was William, not John.]

² [Cooper's Annals, iii. 365.]

³ [Mundum-Book, 1643-44, *Feoda et Regarda*. (Termino Annunciacionis.)]

inconvenience¹. The only two entries that prove damage or disturbance on their part are the following :

1643. Mids.—Mich. "Item solut' pro reparandis ostiis et Fenestris Columbarii a militibus effract'	o	o	10
Item solut' pro 2 deale boardes circa idem	o	1	8 ² "
1644. Mich.—Christmas. "Elargit' militibus cum tumultuarent in Sacello	o	10	0 ³ "

In fact, the general impression produced by a careful study of the accounts is that the usual life of the College was not interrupted ; the income did not suffer ; the usual number of Fellows and Scholars was in residence ; while the allusions to disturbances in the kingdom are few and far between.

The glass in the Chapel was repaired as usual. We find :

" Christmas 1642—Lady Day 1643. Item solut' Harwood vitreario (<i>sic</i>) et tribus laboratoribus pro le taking downe some glass in le Chappell	o	5	6
Lady-Day 1643—Mids. 1643. Item...pro opere vnus diei et dimid' in taking downe more glass in theast window.....	o	7	6
Solut' Harrow pro .51. foote of glass newe leaded in le East window of the Chappell ad 1 ^s . le foote	2	11	o
Item solut' eidem pro 2 holes mending ibidem, ad 2 ^s 6 ^d the hole	o	5	o
Mich.—Christmas 1644. Solut' R. Harrow Le Glasier pro reparandis fenestris bibliothecæ	1	2	9
Mids.—Mich. 1645. Solut' Harrow vitriario pro reparanda fenestra in Sacello Viceprepositi	4	3	4
18 Feb.—24 Mar. 1650. Sol'...Roberto Harrow...pro opere in reparandis fenestris Sacelli	21	13	0 ³ "

There is nothing in these extracts to indicate anything more than reasonable wear and tear ; nor do we find that the wood-work or stone-work fared worse than the glass. The following entries may be taken as representing the full extent of the mischief done, for it will be observed that the last, respecting the

¹ [The charges respecting their lodging begin at Lady Day, 1644. Mundum-Book 1643—44. *Expense necessarie*. Term. Annun. "Solut' Hibble pro le setting vp 2 bedsteds in the Pentionary pro Militibus. o. o. 9. Solut' uxori militis for keeping the sick souldier, o. 2. o. Solut' patri militis, o. 1. o. Solut' pro Turfes et portagio Carbon' pro Militibus, o. 3. o. Solut' pro borrowing sheets pro militibus o. 1. 6. *Feoda et Regarda*, Solut' in sustentationem Militis ægrotantis in Collegio, 1. 13. o." Ibid. *Expens. necess.* (Mids.—Mich. 1644). "Solut' diversis mulieribus pro washing et lending sheets et making bedds pro Militibus, o. 9. 6."]

² [Ibid. 1642—43. *Expense necessarie*. Term. Bapt.]

³ [Ibid. 1644—45. *Feoda et Regarda*. Term. Mich. 1644.]

repairs that were necessary in the Chapel, was set down at the Restoration, when we may be sure that the case against the Puritans would be stated as strongly as possible. The removal of the organ, to which may be added the suppression of the Choral Service, was in consequence of an order of the House of Commons, and applied to the whole kingdom.

"Christmas 1642—Lady Day 1643. Solut' Magistro Gennyng pro taking downe le Organ	2	0	0
Item solut' le Joyner et diversis laborantibus circa idem vt patet ¹	1	1	0 ¹
Mids.—Mich. 1644. Solut' Ashley pro taking downe the Orgaine case	0	3	0
26 January, 1650—51. Sol'...Georgio Ashley pro reformandis scutis in Sacello	0	6	0
1651—52. Sol' Georgio Woodrooffe pro opere suo et servorum circa le Roodloft et in reparandis iis quæ con- fracta sunt tempore Commission'	0	13	0
Sol' eidem pro consimili	0	5	0
Sol' Thomæ Parker pro 400 le paving tyles pro sac- cello vna cum arena calce et aliis vt patet per billam	12	7	6
Sol' Thomæ Grumball pro opere suo circa orientalem partem Sacelli	0	10	4
Mich.—Christmas 1652. Sol' Johanni Adams pro Meremio et pro opere suo et servorum circa le Rood-loft in Sacello	3	4	7
Mids.—Mich. 1660. Sol' sub adventum Regis pro restaurando in regiis Insignibus apud Sacellum 8°. Leones Vnicorniumque cornua, et pro magnam Chori portam emendando; vt per billam patet Cornelii Austen	0	12	0"

We will now return to the windows, upon which we find that no serious work was undertaken until 1657, when the glazier who has been so often employed before was engaged to relead them, and to fit them with iron bars. The work began 1 June, 1657, and was continued until 16 October. It was resumed 16 May, 1658, and was continued until 16 October as before, by which time the most important portions were probably completed, for in the next year (1659) the west window, and the windows in the Library, i.e. in the chapels on the south side, are the only windows mentioned, and the sum spent is not large enough to include any others. In subsequent years special repairs only are paid for. The sum spent on this work, which was not concluded until 1664, was £178. 18s. 9d. We can hardly suppose

¹ [Ibid. 1642—43. *Reparationes novi Templi.*]

that it could have been rendered necessary by damage done thirteen years before; for other important repairs of the Chapel had been undertaken in the interval¹, and had the windows been injured, it is unlikely that they would have been left to the last².

Similar repairs occur occasionally until 1690, after which date the glass was suffered to rest until 1711—12, when "Burges the Glasier" receives £131. 3s. 3d. "for mending all the Chappel windowes;" and in 1720—21, £212 for similar work. In 1725—26 a systematic repair was commenced, and continued yearly until 1729—30, when a workman named Belcher, who had apparently succeeded Burges, was paid "in full for Chappell windows." In these six years he received £523. 14s. 8d. Another repair, still more thorough than the last, began in 1757, and was not concluded until the summer of 1765. During those eight years nearly £1600 was spent, chiefly in payments to Tomson the stonemason, by whom the mullions and tracery were repaired and extensively renewed. The glass was releaded, with new iron-work, and numerous charges for the purchase of coloured glass prove that it was also mended. The Accounts shew that every one of the windows was treated in this way, not in regular order, but probably according to the amount of dilapidation in each case³.

The subsequent history of the windows will not detain us long. The idea of completing the series by opening the lower half of the twelfth window on the south side, and filling it with stained glass, had been first considered in 1812, when a proposal was made to purchase some glass—apparently old—at

¹ [In 1644 the lead roof was repaired; in 1645—46 Grumbald, Salathiel Ireland, and other masons are at work on "le pinicle Novi Templi;" and in 1646—47 on the battlements, from 8 Sept. to 16 Oct., when the lead roof was again repaired.]

² [The following are a few of the entries referring to this work. In 1657 (1 June) workmen are engaged "circa reficiendas fenestras." On 23 June, 1657, we find "Sol' Johanni Harrow vitriario pro 271 ped' plumbi et pro vitro, £7. 1. 6." In 1658 (14 August) "Sol' Willelmo Graves pro 76 vectibus ferreis quorum pondus 144 libb' £2. 14. 0.;" and on 4 Sept. "Sol' Ricardo Ambler Lapidæ pro suo opere et operariis circa reparacionem fenestrarum, item pro saxo £3. 8. 4." In 1659—60 (Mich.—Christmas 1659) "Sol' Guil' Coatman Lapidæ pro 30 pedibus Saxi ad reparand' in Sacello diversas fenestrarum Columellas 1. 16. 0."]

³ [The order was as follows (N. S. denoting North and South side respectively): 1756—7, N. I. III.: 1757—8, S. II. IV.: 1758—9, N. II. V.: 1759—60, N. XI. S. XI. XII. East Window: 1760—61, N. XII. X. S. X.: 1761—62, S. VI.—IX.: 1762—3, N. VI.—IX.: 1763—4, S. III. V. N. IV.: 1764—5, S. I. West Window.]

an outlay of £700. This price appeared to be excessive, and the purchase was declined. Nothing further was attempted until 1819, when an estimate for "making perfect the South East end of the Chapel" was obtained¹. In 1826 a design for glass was ordered²; and in 1827 a College Order directed that the stone-work should be changed from what is shewn by Loggan (fig. 15) to its present appearance :

"24 March 1827. Agreed that the Chapel Window be altered and faced with Ashlar according to the Estimate, at an Expence of Four hundred and seventy two Pounds fifteen shillings and seven pence ; and also the window of the side Chapel and parapet and Buttress, at an expence of three hundred and two pounds five shillings and five pence ; to be paid for out of M^r Davidson's money."

The design ordered in 1826 was evidently unsatisfactory ; and no further work upon the windows is recorded until 1841, when Mr J. P. Hedgeland was engaged to clean and repair them. It was first agreed (24 May, 1841) that he should "take down and repair a single centre compartment." The experiment gave satisfaction, for a few months afterwards we find :

"2 Nov. 1841. Agreed that Mr Hedgeland be employed to repair and place in the situation suggested by him the half Window on the south side of the Chapel on the terms specified in his letter."

This marks the period when the glass which had originally filled the upper, was transferred to the lower, lights ; but Mr Hedgeland was not commissioned to supply new glass for the vacant half of the window until 1845³.

¹ [College Orders : 6 Nov. 1812 ; 22 March, 1813 ; 30 August, 1819.]

² ["14 Nov. 1826. Agreed that M^r Chalons be requested to make a design for the Chapel window at an expence of Fifty pounds, and that the subject is to correspond with the upper part of the Window, and to be approved by the College."]

³ [College Order, 2 July, 1845. "Agreed that M^r Hedgeland be employed to fill up the vacant half Window at the South-East end of the Chapel with stained Glass representing the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness after Rubens, at a Cost of four hundred and fifty guineas, including the expence of putting up ; and that the charge be defrayed by appropriating to that purpose two hundred and fifty pounds, the residue of a thousand pounds given by M^r Davidson with permission so to apply a portion of it ; and that the remaining sum of Two hundred and twenty-two pounds ten shillings be paid by a contribution to that amount which has been offered to the College by the Provost." The Rev. Joseph Davidson (A.M. 1774) had given £1000 to the College, 9 Nov. 1825, to be appropriated as they thought proper. It was then agreed that the interest "arising from it and from such other sums as from time to time shall be added to it be appropriated to the repairs of the Chapel." It was in-

In 1842 the systematic cleaning of the windows was begun, under the direction of the same artist, and continued from year to year, until 1849, by which time ten windows had been cleaned, exclusive of the half window¹. The operation, as conducted by Mr Hedgeland, was not confined to the mere removal of dirt, and renewal of lead-work, but included a reproduction of the shading that had been destroyed by age, and in many instances the substitution of new glass for old. Objections to this mode of treatment were raised from time to time, but without effect, until a writer in "The Guardian" newspaper drew public attention to the "work of destruction going on²." Mr Hedgeland published an answer in the same journal; and a long correspondence ensued between him and the College, in which he attempted to justify the course he had pursued. Experts were consulted, and notwithstanding some difference of opinion, it was finally decided that the work should not proceed.

The offer to fill the west window with stained glass was made by Francis Edmund Stacey, M.A., formerly Fellow, 9 February, 1869. The design, by Messrs Clayton and Bell, was accepted 22 October, 1872; but the glass was not completed until 1879, when, 22 April, the conclusion of the work was celebrated by a special service.

WOODWORK. The Will of King Henry the Sixth provides for a Roodloft 14 feet broad, and as wide as the Chapel, with 36 stalls on each side, for 70 Fellows and 10 Conducts. They are to occupy 90 feet, measured from the Provost's stall to the step called "gradus chori" (D, fig. 42). A lower range of stalls

tended to call it "Mr Davidson's Chapel Fund," but afterwards, at Mr Davidson's own request, it was agreed (15 Nov.) that his name should not be prefixed to it. He gave a further sum of £1200 to this fund 6 Jan. 1826, and £1000 18 Oct., "with liberty to apply the same or so much of it as may be necessary for a stained Glass Window on the South side of the Chapel near the Provost's old Lodge."]

¹ [They were windows VIII.—XII. on the north side, and VII.—XI. on the south side. The average cost of the restoration was nearly £200 for each whole window. One of the College Orders is worth quoting, as shewing the way in which the glass had been displaced on some previous occasion. 2 June, 1843. "Agreed that Mr Hedgeland be employed to repair, on the terms for which he has already contracted to restore two other windows, the tenth window on the North side of the Chapel, as some of the glass in the eleventh window on that side has been misplaced, it evidently appearing that it originally belonged to the tenth window."]

² [See *The Guardian*, 7 Nov. and 21 Nov., 1849.]

is not mentioned, and, from the words of the 45th Statute, "*De modo standi in choro*," was not intended. It is there directed that if distinguished strangers should be present, and so the number of stalls be insufficient, then the Fellows are to stand "in front of the stalls in the choir." Nor is the number of stalls to be placed against the Screen specified in the Will, but, if we suppose that 4 on each side were intended, we shall obtain a total of 80 stalls, the exact number required. The estimate quoted in the ninth chapter goes into the matter with far greater detail. It specifies on each side of the Chapel 5 "headstalls,"—that is, stalls set against the screen; 32 principal stalls with tabernacles (canopies) over them; and 28 lower stalls with desks; making a total of 130 stalls. The total cost of stalls and roodloft, exclusive of the value of the timber, which, as being in stock, is not calculated, is to be £1333. 6s. 8d., equivalent to about £16,000 at the present day. As £1000 is assigned to the stalls, and only £100 to the roodloft, we may infer that it was intended that the former should be richly ornamented, and the latter comparatively plain. The number of stalls is now less by 12 than that described in the estimate. There are only 4 "headstalls" on each side, 30 principal stalls, and 25 lower stalls, making a total of 118. The screen, or roodloft, is exactly 14 feet deep, as directed in the Will; but the distance of 90 feet now includes the roodloft, instead of representing the length of the stalls only.

The accounts for the reign of King Henry the Eighth are unfortunately imperfect, and contain no reference to either screen or stalls. We must therefore content ourselves with internal evidence for their date. Among the ornaments on the screen are the arms, badge, and initials of Anne Boleyn, with the rose, fleur-de-lis, and portcullis. This leads us to conclude that it was executed when her influence was at its height, namely, between 1531 and 1535. We have seen that the glass, finished in 1531, represents wholly the work of the executors of Henry VII. With the woodwork that of Henry VIII. commences¹.

The general plan of the screen, which, to judge by the style,

¹ [Anne Boleyn was married to Henry VIII. 14 November, 1532; and beheaded 19 May, 1536. For some reason that I have not been able to discover, the Screen is sometimes said to have been set up in 1534. Cambridge Portfolio, p. 434.]

was executed by foreign, perhaps by Italian artists, will be understood from the drawing of one compartment of the west side (fig. 51). The compartment selected is that next the centre on the north. The upper part projects 3 feet beyond the lower, and the curved panelwork, with which the under surface of the projecting portion is ceiled, is elaborately ornamented. This portion was found to be too delicate to be shewn successfully in a drawing on so small a scale, especially in shadow, and the details of it have therefore been omitted. The general treatment of the ornamentation is the same throughout, but most of the arabesques and bands of foliage are different, exhibiting the most exquisite variety in their details. There is no evidence that a Rood was ever set up upon it.

The erection of an organ on the roodloft dates from 1606, when we find a separate account at the end of the Mundum-Book for the year, headed, "The Charges about the Organs." From this we learn that the maker's name was Dallam¹. He came to Cambridge with his men, and began to work 22 June, 1605. The materials were all brought in the rough and made up on the spot. The price of each article, such as tin, lead, ebony, box-wood, ash-wood, leather, etc., "bought in divers places of the Citie," is set down separately. The men were paid for 58 weeks' work, ending 7 August, 1606, when we may suppose that the Organ was ready for use, although further charges occur in subsequent years². The cost was £371. 17s. 1d. The following items, having reference to the case of the organ, are the most important for our purpose :

¹ [Mr Carter suggests that this was Thomas Dallam, who made an organ for Worcester Cathedral in 1613, and that he was probably the father of the three celebrated organ-builders of the same name. See Dr Rimbault, *History of the Organ*, in "The Organ," by E. J. Hopkins, 8vo. London, 1855, for notices of these and the other builders mentioned. The separate account referred to above, has been printed by the Rev. T. Brocklebank, M.A., Fellow, in the *Ecclesiologist* for 1859. The Organ used previously had been sold by order of Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners, as Provost Goad (Provost 1569—1610) states in his answer to the complaints made against him. Heywood and Wright, p. 233. *Mundum-Book*, 1570—71. *Receptio forinseca*. "Item pro Organis C.s." "Item rec' for thold organ pipes xlv^s. x^d."]

² [Dallam and his men spent 8 weeks in Cambridge, in 1613—14, in which year Andrew Chapman also, who had wainscoted the Hall of Trinity College in 1604, did work to the Organ.]



Fig 51 One bay of the west side of the Roodloft, or Organ-screen,
in King's College Chapel,

To face p. 518.

Vol. 1.



"Item payd to the Carpenter for the frame of tymber whereon the organsxvj^{li}.
 Item to Chapman the Joyner for 82 yards of waynscott about the sayd frame at 5^s. the yardxx^{li}. x^s.
 Item payd to Hartop the Joyner for wages for him and his men for 10 monethes ad 18^s le weeke.....xxxvj^{li}.
 Item payd to the Carver for the Kings Armes standing upon the chayre organ.....iij^{li}.
 Item to him for the Scutchins of this Colledge and Eton Armes xxx^s.
 Item to him for 2 figures or pictures that stand in the greate Organxxx^s.
 Item payd for ix^c. of leafe gould at 7^s. 6^d. le c.....iij^{li}. vij^s. vj^d.
 Item payd to Knockle the Limber for laying the sayd gould etc vpon the pypes, Armes, and scutchins of the Chayre Organiij^{li}.
 Item payd to him for imbossing and strawing with bice the 2 greater pypes of the chayre organxxvj^s. viij^d.
 Item to him for gould and gilding the crownes of the sayd Organxxvj^s. viij^d."

The organ and case set up by Chapman and Hartop were taken down, as we have seen, during the Civil War; but we are not told whether they were then broken to pieces, or merely removed from their former position. When the choral service was resumed at the end of 1660, there was clearly no organ in the Chapel that could be used, for a chamber-organ belonging to Loosemore the organist was brought in and tried, but without success¹. In the same year a carpenter, John Adams, was paid for work on the Organ. This was probably in connection with a new "chaire-organ," for which £200 was paid in 1661². In 1668 Thamar, an organ-builder of Peterborough, was employed to mend the Organ, and on 4 May, 1674, he received a first instalment "for setting up a loftier Organ in the Chapel³." This was completed in 1676—77 at a cost of £130. Ten years later René Harris commenced to build a new Organ, which was completed at the beginning of 1688, at a cost

¹ [Mundum-Book, 1660—61. *Custus ecclesie*. Mich.—Christmas. "Sol' Lancelote Pease pro removendo Organo Magistri Loosemore et erigendo in Ecclesie Choro £1. 15. 0. Sol' eidem pro organ' iterum removend' in Cubiculum Magistri Loosemore £1. 15. 0."]

² [Ibid. Lady Day—Mids. "Sol' Joanni Adams pro diuersis circa Organum et pro opera sua cum servis et aliis necessariis...£14. 15. 0." Mids.—Mich. "Sol' Lancelote Pease pro le Chaire Organ £200. 0. 0."]

³ [Ibid. 1673—4. *Custus ecclesie*. "Solut' (Maii 4^{to}.) Thomæ Thamar pro prima solutione Centum et Triginta librarum erga Ereccionem altioris Organi in Sacello nostro £32. 10. 0."]

of £350¹. This Organ must be that shewn by Loggan, in his view of the interior of the Chapel. The two angels with trumpets that he figures on the outer towers were subsequently replaced by gothic pinnacles. This had been done before Cole's time, who wrote in 1742²:

"Over each side of y^e Choir Door towards y^e Choir are y^e Coats of Arms of this and Eton College in sheilds neatly carved and blasoned ; and directly over it stand y^e Organs. The small Chair Organ hangs somewhat over y^e Door into y^e Choir, and is elegantly carved abt y^e mouldings and wainscote part, wth beautiful gilt and painted Pipes adorned wth y^e 2 aforesaid College Arms and other devices, as Portcullices, Fleurs de Lis, Roses, all crowned. Over y^e middle part of this Organ, w^{ch} is y^e lowest, are y^e College Arms agⁿ carved, and over y^e 2 side parts where y^e Pipes are much larger, are 2 large Royal Crowns. This Chair Organ was put up abt y^e year 1661, and cost abt 200p^d. and is a mighty neat one ; this stands just before y^e great Organ, y^e Pipes of w^{ch} on this side are neither gilt nor painted, but quite plain : over y^e lower middle part of it are y^e Royal Arms supported by a Lion and Unicorn, Garter round y^m and crowned ; and over y^e 2 large side parts of it are 2 very large Imperial Crowns : The Wainscote of it is handsomely carved and adorned by several small Images in Niches abt it. Over y^e middle part fronting y^e Antichapel is an Image of King David playing on his Harp, and on each side of him over y^e larger Pipes of y^e Organ are 2 Gothic carved Pyramids : y^e Pipes on this side are painted, gilt, and adorned as those of y^e Chair Organ. These Organs were put up agⁿ, after they had been demolished by y^e Puritans in 1643, in 1661 ; and tho' they are not y^e best of the sort, yet they are not by any means y^e worst."

In 1774 it was agreed "to paint the Upper Range of the Eastern Front of the Organ and repair the other parts," and subsequently "that the rest of the Organ be new painted agreeably to that Range that has been painted already." These decisions shew that the east side of the great organ was then for the first time decorated so as to correspond with the chaire-organ³. This organ remained until 1803, when John Avery re-

¹ [The first payment to him was made at Michaelmas 1686, and the last at Lady Day 1688. Ibid. 1687—88. *Custus ecclesie*. Christmas 1687—Lady Day 1688. "Solut' Magistro Harris pro vltima solutione £350 in plenum pro novo Organo in novo Templo nuper erecto £50. 0. 0." It was increased by the addition of new stops in subsequent years ; but as we are concerned with the external appearance of the Organ, rather than with its excellence as a musical instrument, these improvements need not be further alluded to.]

² [MSS. Cole, i. 100.]

³ [College Orders, 2 May, 23 Sept. 1774. *Mundum-Book*, 1773—74, *Custus ecclesie*. "Paid Joseph Freeman for painting the Organ £45."]

constructed and enlarged it¹. The pipes were then plain gilt. In 1859 Messrs Hill of London again enlarged it, and more than doubled the case in depth from east to west; but they were careful to preserve the ancient appearance of the fronts. At this time the pinnacles were replaced by angels imitated from those shewn by Loggan².

The stalls having been completed, but without the canopies, in the reign of Henry VIII. the walls above them were probably covered with hangings, as we see by the hooks which remain under the string below the windows. No attempt was made to complete the stall-work until the reign of Charles I., when Thomas Weaver, whose work at Eton in 1625 has been already recorded, gave the large coats of arms carved in elmwood which form the back of the stalls under the canopies, together with the pilasters which form the framework. The following entries give all the information that can now be obtained respecting this gift, and shew that it was brought by Weaver in person, early in 1633³:

"Item aurigis Magistri Weaver in comportand' le wainscot pro novo Templo	o	5	o
Item Michaeli Rose servo Magistri Weaver		2	6
Item fabro eiusdem		10	o
Item eiusdem pauperi scholari		5	o
Item eiusdem sculptori	1	o	o
Item pro recepcione Magistri Weaver extra aulam com- munem eique in opere novi Templi servientium	1	14	6."

In 1636 Woodroffe the carver, whom we have found employed at Clare Hall and elsewhere, made the gates of the screen that are still in use⁴. The date, and the arms of

¹ [Avery's work cost £859. 15. 6. It was apparently badly done, and incomplete, for it was agreed 17 June, 1805, to "take Measures to get the Organ put in a proper State;" and in 1809—10 we find "Paid Mr Elliot Organ-Maker for repairing and compleating the Organ left unfinished by Avery £36."]

² [The screen is still described as a "Rood-loft" in the accounts for 1652—53. In those for 1660—61 the term "Organ Loft" first occurs.]

³ [Mundum-Book, 1632—33, *Feoda et Regarda* Termino Annunciationis. A further charge occurs in 1635 (ibid. 1635—36), *Custus ecclesie* Termino Michaelis "Item le Joyner pro opere, glew, et boards circa le wainscot Magistri Weaver in novo Templo, vltra 10^l. ab eodem recept' ad idem opus o. 16. o."]

⁴ [Ibid. 1635—36, *Rep. Novi Templi*. Term. Annun. "Item Magistro Woodrolf (*sic*) le Joyner pro novis valvis Chori 32. o. o. Solut' Day fabro ferrario pro iron work circa easdem 6. 6. o. Item Magistro Knuckle pro eisdem pingendis o. 2. o."]

Charles I., are carved upon them. It should be remarked that doors are included in the estimate already quoted ; and there is evidence that doors of some sort existed before the erection of the present ones¹. Woodroffe's work is a clever, though inferior, imitation of the style of the sixteenth century.

The canopies over the stalls were executed between 1675 and 1678 by Cornelius Austin, who wainscoted the Combination Room at Clare Hall in 1689. He received for each stall "five pounds, and five pounds for the ioyning the olde wanscott on bothe sides," making a total of £305, which was defrayed by subscription, the principal contributors being Mr Barnabas Oley of Clare Hall, who gave £100, and Mr Thomas Crouch of Trinity Hall, formerly Fellow, who gave £50². An attempt has been made to imitate the style of the screen in these stalls, but with moderate success, and the joining of the mold of the cornice to that of the older work is particularly clumsy.

The north and south doors, and the doors leading from the choir into the north and south vestries are, to judge from the style, of the same date as the screen. Those of the chapels flanking the Ante-chapel are earlier, and were probably added as soon as the stone-work was completed. That of Provost Hacumblen's chapel is, we may presume, of the same date as the wood-work of the interior, which, as we have seen (p. 487), was put up in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

ALTAR AND RITUAL ARRANGEMENTS. The Founder did not leave precise directions, as he did for Eton, respecting the High Altar, and efforts to discover the foundation-stone, over which it is likely to have been placed, have been unsuccessful, as mentioned above (p. 465). Having regard, however, to the position of the doors into the vestries, and the obvious convenience of a space between the altar and the east wall, the position occupied by altar and reredos until 1774 (EE, fig. 42) may represent the original arrangement.

¹ [Ibid. 1633—34, *Custus ecclesie*, "Sol Magistro Eusden pro a lock pro le quire dore o . i . 8."]

² [This account is derived from the "Particular Book" of King's College for 1675—6 and following years. The list of subscriptions and the payments to Austin were kept separate from the rest of the College Accounts, and are headed "An account of the making the Stalls in the Chapel." For the arms see Mr Evans' Essay.]

The arrival of an altar is recorded in 1544—45, and from the care that was taken to bring it safely to Cambridge, with the charges for decoration, we may conclude that it was the original High Altar, richly carved and ornamented :

"Item per manus M. Lyne pro cariagio Altaris a domo M. Butt ad garderobam, et a garderobera ad bisshoppgatt ij^s. x^d. Et pro Nayll, quarters, et borde ad faciendum le case pro salua vectura eiusdem ix^s. viij^d; et pro stramine et corde (*sic*) ad tegend' dict' case v^d; et pro pabulo equorum londini et in expensis ad Canteb. v^s. viij^d...xviij^s. vij^d.

Item pro cariagio dicti Altaris a londino ad Canteb. vltra xx^s. dat' per M. Buttvj^s. viij^d.

Item M. Antonio pro celatura iiij Imaginumviij^s.

Item eidem pro C doble goldviij^s.

Item eidem pro celatura vnus columnnev^s.

Item eidem pro labore suo a londino ad Canteb.xxvj^s.

Item Kelley pro gildyng iiij Imagesx^s. iiij^d.¹

This altar was destroyed, like that at Eton, under Edward VI., set up again under Mary, and finally destroyed in the first year of Elizabeth. The commandments were set up over what the accounts still style "High Altar" in 1560—61. A pulpit was provided in 1570—71, a sounding-board in 1587—88, and an hour-glass in 1589—90.

In 1633, the year in which Mr Weaver's wainscot was added to the stalls, Woodroffe began to erect a Screen across the east end, which appears to have been completed by Lady Day 1634 :

"1633, Mids.—Mich. Sol' Woodrof le Joyner pro timberad conficiend' le skreen in parte orientali novi Templi	20	0	0 ^s
Solut' Woodrooff (<i>sic</i>) le Joyner in part pro le Screene	60	0	0 ^s
1633—4. Solut' Magistro Tolly le Upholster pro : 41 : virgis de blew perpetuana ad : 2 ^s . 6 ^d . le virg' pro hanging le screen in novo templo vna cum portagio	5	14	8 ^d
Item Tomson et Brent free masons pro reparand' les steps in orientali parte novi Templi vt patet	0	18	2
Item Woodrof pro le screen in novo Templo vltra : 80 ^{li} : prius solut' pro eodem	20	0	0
Item eidem pro le floare and rayles circa mensam sacram	30	0	0 ^s
1635. Solut' magistro Harvie mercatori pro le damask in parte orientali novi templi vt patet	73	7	6
Item Woodrof le ioyner pro setting up les hangings			

¹ [Mundum-Book, 1544—45. *Custus novi templi*.]

² [Ibid. 1632—33, *Reparaciones novi Templi* (Termino Baptiste).]

³ [Ibid. 1633—34 (Termino Michaelis).] ⁴ [Ibid. (Termino Natalis Domini).]

⁵ [Ibid. (Termino Annunciationis).]

in parte orientali novi templi 0 2 0
 Item magistro Tolly le Vpholster pro conficiend' les
 hangings et footstooles in novo Templo vt patet ... 7 0 0¹"

There are further charges for a bason, candlesticks, service-books and "a purple velvet Communion Cloth with silk and gold fringes," partly paid for by the Provost, Dr Collins, in 1629². A century previous Dr Robert Hacumblen (Provost 1509—1528) had given the brass lectern which is still in use. Cole writes of it thus :

"Directly in y^e middle of y^e Choir, betwⁿ y^e Choiristers Seats, stands y^e noble brass Desk, w^{ch} turns on a Pillar y^e bottom part of w^{ch} rests upon 4 Lions seiant ; on y^e Top of y^e Pillar stands a small Image of y^e good King Henry 6. wth a Sceptre in one hand and Monde in y^e other, crowned, and a Dragon at his Feet. On one side of y^e Desk is *Robertus*, and on y^e other *Hacumblen*, betwⁿ y^e Rose in y^e middle of w^{ch} are y^e College Arms. In y^e Winter Season 2 brass branches³ [added 1667-68] are affixed to y^e Pillar to receive a couple of large wax Tapers to light y^e Singing Man and Conduct to read y^e 1st and 2^d Lesson, whereof y^e 1st is read by y^e one, and y^e 2^d by y^e other, on y^e different sides of it. This...stands on an eminence of 2 marble Steps. Immediately before y^s on Litany Days stands y^e Desk covered wth Scarlet on w^{ch} y^e Litany is chanted."

This lectern was removed in 1774 to the Library, where it remained until 1854, when it was cleaned at the expense of one of the Fellows, and restored to its ancient position⁴.

¹ [Ibid. 1634—35. *Custus ecclesie* (Termino Annunciationis)]

² [Ibid. 1628-29. *Custus ecclesie*. Term. Bapt. "Item pro a purple velvet Communion Cloth with silk and gold fringes, etc, in toto iam portagio 27^l. 6^s. 8^d; reliquam partem sumptus exhibente doctore Collins Praeposito, ultra recept' olim a doctore Singleton et iam primo all'cat' £10. 0. 0." At this period the use of incense was not uncommon: Ibid. 1624-25, *Custus ecclesie*, "Item pro perfumes in die solennis jejuni vni^l." Ibid. 1636-37, "Solut' pro thymiamate in festo Annuntiationis 0. 0. 4."; 1637-38, "Item pro thymiamate in adventu Cancellarij 0. 0. 8" and again after the Restoration, Ibid. 1665-66, "Sol' pro thure ad funigandum sacellum 0. 1. 1. 1673-74, Sol pro thure 0. 0. 6"]

³ [Particular Book, 1667-68. *Custus ecclesie*. "Solut' Johanni Wardell pro duobus Candelabris pro le Brasen Desk ex ære fusis et elaboratis £04. 10. 00."]

⁴ [College Orders, 2 May, 1774; 21 Jan. 1854. Cole says of the removal (Ibid. p. 102): "This noble Brass Desk, which stood on 2 Marble Steps in the middle of the Chapel, was removed in 1774, when the new Altar Piece was erected. I make no doubt, for I don't know it, but the Litany Desk is also sent packing, in this Age of Philosophy, Reason, and Inndelity; for that is at the Bottom. Not that I think these things essential: but the way to demolish the great Fabric is to weaken the Foundations." A rough coloured sketch by Cole shews that the steps were hexagonal. There is an excellent drawing on stone of the lectern in the Cambridge Portfolio, p. 434.]

After the Restoration Cornelius Austin was employed (in 1662—63) to put up some new panel-work behind the screen, and to mend the altar, but the position of the screen was not changed. New hangings of damask, and silk curtains round the altar, were also provided at this time¹. The panel-work between the stalls and the screen was the work of Cornelius Austin in 1678—79. It cost £115, which, like the price of the canopies for the stalls, was defrayed by subscription².

No further alterations occur until the end of the 18th century: and as the work done at the Restoration was decorative rather than constructive, the following description, written by Cole in 1742³, practically describes the reredos of 1633:

"The High Altar is not erected immediately under y^e E. Wall or Window, but at a pretty distance from it, agst a fine Wainscote Screen for y^t purpose w^{ch} runs quite across y^e Chapel from y^e division of y^e 1st. and 2nd. Window, w^{ch} has a kind of Canopy over it adorned with fine carv'd work; and in y^e middle directly over y^e Altar are y^e Arms of y^e College royally crowned, and on each side of it 4 Fleurs de Lis de Florence crowned also. On each side of y^e Rails is a Door finely carved to enter y^e afores^d void space⁴; and over y^e S. one are y^e Arms of King James y^e 1st. .. Over y^e S [N ?] Door are y^e Arms of K. Henry y^e 6. crowned, and supported by 2 Antilopes. These are elegantly carved as is all w^t is ab^t y^e Screen of y^e Altar. Under both these Arms on y^e Doors is carved H.R. with Portcullices, etc. The back of y^e Altar is hung wth a rich silk Damask of Purple and Crimson, wth a Fringe of y^e same quite as far as y^e Rails reach. The Furniture of y^e Altar is of y^e same Stuff, viz: Covering, Cushions, and large kneeling Stools on both sides; tho' it is always covered agⁿ wth a fine white Damask Linnen cloth. On an Eminence on y^e Altar agst y^e Screen, w^{ch} is also covered like y^e Altar itself, stands y^e noble embossed Silver Dish given by S^r Thomas Page, and w^{ch} has y^e representation on it curiously wrought of ye Lord's Supper, and on each side of it stand y^e two magnificent Silver Candlesticks⁵ given by y^e same Person also, as was y^e small Filligree work'd

¹ [Ibid. 1662—63 *Custus ecclesie* Termino Michaelis. "Sol' Cornelio Austin pro repagulis in parte orient' sacelli: et pro novo tabulato intra septum ibidem, et pro reparando Altare £24. 12. 0. Solut' pro 38 virgis le damasque ad 16' 4". per virgam £47. 7. 0. Sol' Magistro Shuter pro 3 pulvinis et pro conficiend' et deap-tandis auleis sericis ceterisque ornamentis circa Altare £5. 0. 0."]

² [Particular Book, 1678—79, 1680—81.]

³ [MSS. Cole, i. 94.]

⁴ [Cole had described this "void space" (p. 92) as "peculiarly appropriated for y^e Interment of the Senior Fellows, as y^e Antichapel is for that of y^e Juniors, etc, the Choir not being suffered to be broke open by reason of y^e curious marble floor"]

⁵ [The dish and candlesticks had been given in 1668—69, the paten in 1673. The candlesticks were stolen on the night of 13 July, 1749, by Mary Stubbs, a tramp. She was taken in Southwark shortly afterwards, tried, convicted, and "transported to the

silver Paten w^{ch} stands under y^e afores^d Dish, on y^e Altar...A fine purple silk elbow Chair stands on y^e N. side of y^e Altar for y^e Provost when he officiates. The silver gilt large Hasps¹ for y^e 2 large Books on y^e Altar, and w^{ch} are bound in Crimson Velvet, have on y^m Crowns and Sceptres, and Harps and Thistles crowned. The Altar stands on an Eminence of one Step above y^e rest all round, and rail'd in ab^t it with neat wainscote Rails, and round y^m on y^e outside, blew Cloth Cushions to kneel on."

The idea of replacing this altar-piece, which another writer describes as "decent, though not grand²," by a more magnificent structure, appears to have originated with Dr Charles Roderick (Provost 1689—1712), who gave £150 for this purpose in 1707³, which was increased by a bequest of £50 from his widow. and of £30 from Dr William Fleetwood, Fellow, who died 1723, having been Bishop successively of S. Asaph and Ely. These sums, however, were insufficient to defray the cost of so important a work, and nothing was done until the munificent legacy of John Hungerford, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, was received. He bequeathed two-thirds of his estate to the College 29 May, 1729, to be paid to them after the death of his widow, and then "to be invested and laid out as his worthy and learned friend Dr Snape the then Provost should direct." Dr Snape (Provost 1719—43), by deed dated 13 November, 1742, appointed, among other provisions, that so much should be laid out upon an altar-piece as would make the above sums up to £1000. The College obtained possession of the property 1758—59. After discharging the rest of Dr Snape's appointments, there remained £1209. 6s. 5d. for the altar-piece. It was commenced in 1770—71, under the superintendence of Mr Essex. The wood-work was executed by Messrs Cotton and Humfrey, the stone-work by Messrs Jeffs and Bentley. It was not finished until

plantations in the West Indies." Most of the silver was recovered. The new candlesticks, bought 1750, were made as near as could be to the pattern of the old. They were stolen, 1816—17. The present pair was given by Edward Balston, D.D., formerly Fellow, 1850.]

¹ [These hasps had been bought in 1662—63. *Custus ecclesie*. "Sol' Magistro Vobin aurifabro pro 2 novis offendicibus argenteis cælatis et deauratis pro libro novæ Liturgiæ...£5. 10. 0." The books are now in the College Library.]

² [Malden, p. 35.]

³ [At the end of the account headed "New Building Rents," for 1706—7, is the following note: "I acknowledge to have in my hands one hundred and fifty pounds, being Mr Provosts gift towards adorning y^e Altar. T. Evans." [Bursar.]

1775—76, when a payment of £80 to Mr Essex "for superintending the new Altar" marks the conclusion of the work¹. The whole cost was £1652. 9s. 3d. The picture over the Altar was to have been a "Mater Dolorosa," by Romney, presented by Mr Thomas Orde; but, before it was finished, the College accepted, in 1780, from Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, a "Deposition," ascribed to Daniele da Volterra, which still hangs over the Altar².

The work done by Essex comprised a new altar and rails, with oak panelling extending round the open space eastward of the former screen, and two stone niches let into the wall north and south of the east window. Before his design was accepted, Sir James Burrough had furnished an "Estimate of the charge of building a new Altar piece according to the Plan designed by him." This plan has unfortunately been lost, but we learn from the items of the estimate that it included a "new marble Pavement," 31 "pannels of Wall-work," and 4 "towers and turrets." This composition, which was estimated to cost upwards of £718, would doubtless have been executed in stone or marble, and would have been classical in style³. Essex has tried to imitate the original architecture of the Chapel⁴.

¹ [These details are taken from the Mundum-Books for the years mentioned. The Chapel was formally re-opened Thursday, 23 March, 1775, having been closed for 11 months. Cam. Chron. 25 March. All the workmen were inhabitants of Cambridge. The history of the Altar is thus stated on Mr Hungerford's monument, placed in Provost Hacumben's chapel in 1775. "Ad cætera eius [capelle] ornamenta Altare etiam nunquam non antea per trecentos ferme annos desideratum aliquando tandem accessit ex collatis donationibus Caroli Roderick prepositi eiusque viduæ Dorotheæ; Gulielmi Fleetwood Asaphensis primo deinde Eliensis episcopi Ioannis Sumner prepositi et præ aliis longe...Ioannis Hungerford."]

² [Mundum-Book, 1780—81. *Expens. necess.* Term. Mic. 1780. "For carriage of the Picture given to the College by the Earl of Carlisle. £5. 7. 6." Romney was bitterly disappointed, and did not care to finish his picture. Life, by Rev. John Romney, 4to. London, 1830. Four studies for it are among the collection of his drawings in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Nos. 47—50.]

³ [A copy of this estimate, undated, without the plan, is in the Muniment Room. The celebrated architects, Robert and James Adam, had also furnished designs: Mundum-Book, 1768—69: "Paid 27 Oct. 1769 to Mr Robert and James Adams for two Designs for an Altar Piece for the Chappell 79. 2. 0."]

⁴ [Before we leave this part of the Chapel it is worth recording that on Wednesday, 4 May, 1763, nine Spanish standards taken at Manilla in 1762 by Brigadier General Draper, formerly Fellow, were carried in procession to the Chapel by the Scholars of the College. A Te Deum was sung, and the Rev. William Barford, Fellow, and

PAVEMENT. The directions contained in the Will respecting the levels of different parts of the Church have been already given. In order to shew clearly the deviations from them that exist at present, the two sets of measurements are here placed in parallel columns :

	Will.	Actual.
	ft. in.	ft. in.
Floor of Ante-chapel above Court	4 0	2 2
„ Choir „ Antechapel	1 6	0 10
„ Altar Platform „ Choir	3	2 10½
Total	8 6	5 10½

These totals shew in the first place that it was intended to raise the floor of the Ante-chapel 22 inches higher than it is at present. The difference is not due to a change in the level of the court without, for the steps leading from the porches into the Ante-chapel are original. The change in the height of the choir floor was probably made when the roodloft was erected, and may perhaps be due to the height of that structure, which rises rather above the sills of the windows. The present altar-platform, on the other hand, is very little lower than the directed height above the choir, and the researches of Sir G. G. Scott in 1866 shewed that the pavement of the eastern bay had originally been at about the same level¹.

Dr Caius records a marble pavement among the benefactions of Henry the Eighth. He does not mention in what part of the Chapel it was laid, but it must certainly have been in the choir, and perhaps extended as far as the altar. It certainly did not extend beyond it, for when the eastern bay was paved in 1611—12², it was with tiles only. The present pavement was laid

Public Orator, made a Latin oration. The colours were first placed on each side of the Altar rails, but afterwards were hung up upon the Organ-screen. They are now in one of the south chapels. Cooper's Annals, iv. 327. Malden, p. 34. Mundum-Book, 1762—63. *Feoda et Regarda*. Term. Bapt. 1763. "Elargit' Militi Misso a Gulielmo Draper Tribuno nuper hujus Collegii Socio cum Signis Hispan' ab Ipso Manilæ Captis et Novo Templo affixis Jussu Regio 5. 5. o." The old rails are now in the church at Milton, near Cambridge, to which they were given by the Provost in 1774. Hist. of the Parish of Milton, by W. K. Clay. Camb. Antiq. Soc. 8vo. Publ. xi.]

¹ [Carter, Appendix A.]

² [Mundum-Book, 1611—12. *Reparaciones novi Templi*. "Sol' Symes le Mason pro le new footpace Saxi albi in orientali fine templi ad 12^d. le Foot xvij^s. Solut' Wright et Crosland et tribus laborantibus in paving le East end ad 3^s. 4^d. le C. iiijth. iiij^s. iiij^d. Solut' Ayres de Ely pro 25^s. de white paving tile ad 12^s. le C. xvth."]]

in 1702¹, with the exception of that in the eastern bay, which is part of the work done in 1775.

The narrative of the reception of Queen Elizabeth in 1564 records that "the place between the north, south, and west doors of the Church was strawed with rushes being not paved²." This implies that the rest of the Ante-chapel was paved in some way. In 1614—15, when the present west door was made, a strip of pavement was laid across the unpaved part, as the following entries shew:

"Solut' Rule pro le ironwork of the new west dore in y^e Chappell vt per billam patet vj^{li}. xj^s. j^d.
Solut' Hen. Man pro occidentali porta novi Templi...xxij^{li}. vj^s. viij^d.
Solut' for laying .90. foot of marble in the Chappell }
et pro .220. foot of Cliff ragg and laying it in the same } ix^{li} xij^s. vj^d.
place
Solut' Hen. Thorp free mason for p^t of the marble layd in the Chappell and vnpaid for iij^{li}.³"

The width of the west door being 10 feet, the 310 feet then paid for would have extended eastwards for 31 feet, or as far as a line drawn across the Chapel westward of the north and south doors. This marks the limit of the part previously paved, which was re-paved after 1702 with the discarded pavement of the choir, as we learn from Cole's description written in 1742⁴:

"You ascend 2 Steps in y^e Anti-Chapel to come up to y^e Door of the Choir, w^{ch} is entirely paved very beautifully from these Steps quite to y^e Screen of y^e Altar wth black and white marble squares in a regular Figure. This was thus paved ab^t 1690 [in 1702]; the Pavement of y^e Anti-Chapel, w^{ch} is of an English grey marble, being there before; w^{ch} however did not serve to pave it all; for on both sides below y^e 2 Doors is only laid wth Brick on each side of a broad stone pavement of y^e breadth of y^e great W. Door, w^{ch} reaches from that to y^e rest of y^e old part w^{ch} came out of y^e Choir."

While the work at the east end of the Chapel, begun in 1770, was going on, it was determined to lay out a legacy of £300 bequeathed by the Rev. John Heath in paving the Ante-chapel.

¹ [Mundum-Book, 1701—2. (Term. Annunt.) "Solut' pro novo pavimento ex consensu collegii £300.0.0."]

² [Nichols' Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, Ed. 1823, p. 159.]

³ [Mundum-Book, 1614—15. *Reparationes novi Templi* (Term. Nat.). It was repaired in 1631. Ibid. 1630—31 (Term. Bapt.), "Item pro strato pavimento in inferiore parte sacelli £9.6.3."]

⁴ [MSS. Cole, i. 102.]

The work was ordered to be begun 23 February, 1774; but before it had advanced far, or perhaps even before it had been begun, Lord Godolphin, who is said to have come accidentally into the Chapel while the alterations were going on¹, gave £400 towards the same work. His donation is commemorated in the following College Order, dated 23 September, 1774:

"The Provost having read a letter from the Lord Godolphin declaring his Intention to give the College 400^l for defraying the Expence of the new pavement in the Ante Chapell, His Lordship's Favour was received by the Members present with great Thankfulness, and the Provost was desired to Express their grateful Sense of it Immediately, reserving the more Solemn acknowledgement of it to the future meeting of the Society at their Sealing²."

It was accordingly paved in that year with Portland stone³.

EXTERIOR: REPAIRS AND ALTERATIONS.—As a general rule the stone-work has weathered extremely well, and it is only in particular places that repairs have been necessary from decay of the material. The battlements, pinnacles, and towers, being the most exposed portions of the building, have suffered occasionally from wind and weather; and repairs have in consequence been executed from the end of the sixteenth century, before which date none appear to have been required, down to the present time. The dates and particulars of a few done in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which none seem to have been important, are given in the note⁴.

¹ [This rests on the authority of Cole (MSS. i. 84): "The present Lord Godolphin, who was educated in Queen's College in Oxford, coming accidentally into the Chapel in the Summer 1775, while the Alterations were going on, generously gave the College £400 towards new paving the Anti-Chapel. This, Mr Betham told me at Eton in November following, was his Lordship's own Designation of his Benefaction." Francis, Lord Godolphin of Helston, youngest son of Henry Godolphin, Provost of Eton, succeeded his cousin in the Baronetcy 1766, died circa 1785.]

² [The formal letter of thanks was sent 23 November. The previous Orders are as follows. "20 March, 1773. Agreed that the legacy of £300 left by the late M^r Heath to the College be applied towards paving the Ante Chappell." (Was not so applied, L^d. Godolphin having given £400 for that work.) MS. note. "23 Feb. 1774. Agreed that the Ante Chapell be paved."]

³ [Mundum-Book, 1773—74. *Chest Account*.]

⁴ [Mundum-Book, 1579—80. *Reparaciones novi Templi*. "Solut' Humphrie the mason for setting fast the pinnacle in the east end of the chappel iij^j. iiij^j. Item ... for repairing the ij west pinacles of the Chappel iiij li." Ibid. 1591—92. "Item solut' Lapidario pro opere 11 dierum in reparando le pinnacle in novo templo et horologio

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, a more thorough repair had evidently become necessary; for just before that done to the windows, as related above, we find the four towers and the battlements taken in hand. The work lasted from 1754 to 1757, and cost upwards of £400¹. In 1811 it was agreed (2 October) "that the Battlements and leadwork of the Chapel be repaired under the direction of Mr Wilkins, Architect." This work occupied two years. In 1875—76 seven pinnacles on the north side and seven on the south side were renewed, together with the battlements of the seventh and eighth bays on the south side.

The repairs to the roof, both of Chapel and vestries, have of necessity been frequent and extensive. Those that concern the lead-work only, of which the first took place in 1570, need not be farther mentioned. The wooden beams, also, were repaired from time to time until 1860, when it was decided (10 September) to obtain "the advice of a competent architect upon the state of the Chapel roof." Sir G. G. Scott was accordingly consulted, and in consequence of his report, read 15 October, which pointed out that the timber was worm-eaten and affected by dry-rot, a thorough renewal of the lead-work and timber, with the addition of iron tie-rods, was commenced in the following spring, and completed at the end of 1863, four bays being undertaken in each year. The total cost was £2715. Before leaving this part of the Chapel it should be mentioned that the leaden water-pipes discharged their contents on to the roofs of the vestries and thence through open spouts on to the ground, as shewn by

super altero pinaculo xv¹." Ibid. 1606—7. "Item solat' Symes variis reparandis (sic) circa le Chappell stone woorke xxjli. xixs. ij^d." Ibid. 1612—13. "Solat' Gray et Simson pro reparandis fenestris novi templi xlvijli. li. xixs. iij^d." Ibid. 1622—23. "Item Georgio Tomson et Asoly pro .3. diebus alteri pro .1. die dan' circa le searching et cramping the Chappell pinnacles ix¹." In 1624—25 1629—30, similar entries occur. Ibid. 1634—35. "Solat' Georgio Tompson le stonemason pro cramping le small pinnacles in y^e fower turrettis of the Chappell. 2. 0. 0." Ibid. 1636—37. "Sol' Johanni Westly et Georgio Tomson pro lapilibus quadratis, ferramentis, plumbo, assenibus, machinis, ceterisq^{ue} requisitis, tum etiam pro opere in reparandis les battlements et pinnacles novi Templi. 50. 10. 0." Ibid. 1661—62. A similar repair to the battlements at the W. end with Ketton stone. Ibid. 1669—70. The towers at the same end repaired by Robert Grubball.]

¹ [Earl Stanhope (History of England, etc.) states that in the great storm of 26—27 November, 1703, the Chapel "lost many of its pinnacles, and had some of its painted glass dashed in." This is not confirmed by any entry in the accounts.]

Loggan, until 1798, when it was agreed that those on the north side should be carried down into drains, under the superintendence of Mr Wilkins. The same was ordered for the south side in 1802¹.

The battlements of the north and south porches were repaired in 1752—53; and again more extensively in 1785—87. In the former year £113 was paid "for repairing Arms etc. over the south porch;" and in the latter £162 for similar work to the north porch. The amount paid implies a considerable decay of the stonework. The west porch, built of the same materials as the other two, had become so much decayed during the first half of the present century, that in 1875 its repair was entrusted to Sir G. G. Scott, under whose direction the ornaments in the jamb were skilfully restored by taking casts in plaster of those that had suffered least, which served as models for the others². The sundial on the eastern pier of the south porch was painted, apparently to replace an older one, in 1578, a date which it still bears³, together with the motto, "*Ut hora sic fugit vita*," which appears to be original. The exterior of the easternmost bay of the south side preserved the appearance shewn by Loggan (fig. 15) until 1828, when the contractor for the new buildings was paid £750 "for repairing and compleating the South East Window of the Chapel."

The Mundum-Books contain frequent references to a clock and clock-house. The clock was originally affixed to the Belfry⁴, but in the 16th century a separate clock-house occupied the space between the last chapel on the north side, and the north-east tower (fig. 54). In a large drawing of the Chapel, preserved in the British Museum⁵, which appears to have been made in the reign of Henry the Eighth, it is shewn as a wooden building, with

¹ [College Orders, 27 June, 1798; 7 July, 1802. Mundum Book, 1798—99. *Reparationes Nova Templi*. "Pai! Wilkin (sr.) for superintending the making of drains and fixing of Lead pipes to the Chapel 6. 6. o."]

² [College Order, 2 February, 1875. "The iron gate and railing in front of the W. door was ordered 4 March, 1817: those at the entrance to the N. and S. porches, 20 March, 1821.]

³ [Mundum Book, 1578—79. *Expens. necess.* "Item Corbet for newe painting the diall on the soathe side of the Charche 1. s." Charges for repainting it occur frequently in subsequent years.]

⁴ [Ibid. 1472—73. "Item sol' pro sera et claue pro domo Orlogu in Campanili..."]

⁵ [MSS., Cotton, Aag. 1. v. 2. It is on paper, 50 inches long by 25 inches broad,

a tiled roof resting on the string below the twelfth window. The face of the clock is gilt, and surmounted by a long tapering spire rising as high as the second stage of the adjacent tower. The position was probably selected because the entrance to the College from Trumpington Street was originally at the north-



Fig. 52. Part of the south front of the Old Court of King's College, shewing the entrance from the Chapel-yard, and the Porter's Lodge (reduced from Loggan's view of the west front of the Chapel).

carefully drawn in pen and-ink, but by a person ignorant of perspective. The roof and spouts, and a piece of wall with trees at each end, are coloured. The spectator is supposed to be looking at the Chapel from the N.E. corner. The details are fairly accurate, but some were certainly added from memory, for heraldic emblems, Port-cullis, Rose, Fleur-de-lys, are placed on the first stage of all the buttresses, and supporters on the second stage only of the five westernmost buttresses, those on the third stage being omitted. At the top, in large letters, are the words "Capella beate Marie in collegio regali Cantabrigie.")

east corner of the University Library (fig. 58), and the Porter's Lodge at the south-west corner, between the Schools of Law and Arts (figs. 4, 52). The clock and clock-house remained until 1817, when it was taken down and the windows repaired¹.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE SEPARATE BUILDINGS OF KING'S COLLEGE.

ATTEMPTS TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL ACCOMMODATION.

WORKS OF GIBBS AND WILKINS.

THE history of the foundation of the Old Court was related in the second chapter. The buildings there described continued in use until the erection of the south side of the New Court by Wilkins (1823—27), and though they were pulled down soon afterwards, we must do our best to recover the points in their history that are worth preserving.

CHAPEL.—It has been shewn (p. 497) that the new Chapel was not ready for use until 1536—37, nearly a century after the foundation of the College. The accounts however prove that a Chapel existed from the beginning, the expenses of which are set down yearly under a separate heading, and a precise indication of its position has been preserved by Dr Caius², who relates that Henry the Eighth fitted up the new Chapel

“in order to provide a retreat for prayer, after the old chapel, a mean and inconvenient building, had fallen down, without injury to any one, although the accident happened just after vespers. It stood at a little distance outside the smaller gate of the old college, as may be learnt from the remains of it that are still in existence.”

¹ [College Order, 28 Oct. 1817. “Agreed that the Clock and Penthouse be taken down and sold, and the Windows in that part of the Chapel be replaced in Statu quo.” Through the Penthouse there was a private way into the Lodge (G, fig. 42), mentioned in the narrative of Queen Elizabeth's visit, quoted above. Cole also says, “At the end of this [N.E.] Chapel up a few steps is a way to y^e Clock;” and again, speaking of the burial of the Provost's daughter, 26 March, 1744, “She was...brought out of y^e Lodge into y^e Chapel...thro' y^e Door by y^e Clock.”]

² [The original of this passage was quoted above, p. 497. The two Chapels are sometimes mentioned together: Mundum-Book, 1515—16. *Expens. necess.* “Item pro mundacione exteriorum partium noue ecclesie et capelle. iij d.”]

The smaller gate (*porta minor*) may be identified with that on the south side at the end of the passage called "Cow-lane" (fig. 52), and the Chapel therefore stood between the south side of Old Court and the north side of the new Chapel. The accident above mentioned took place in 1536 or 1537, for in the Mundum-Book ending at Michaelmas in the latter year we find as many as 64 workmen employed "to pull down the stone walls and the roof of the old chapel, to take up the pavement, and to carry lead, glass, iron, timber, stones, and rubbish out of the aforesaid chapel into sundry places within the College precincts¹."

There is no evidence by which we can form any idea of its size. By collecting together various entries scattered through the accounts, the most important of which are given below, we can discover that it consisted of chancel, nave, and ante-chapel (*vestibulum*); that it had a door at the west end, and east and west windows. Stalls in the choir, a rood-loft, and altars of S. Mary and S. Nicholas are also mentioned. It was richly fitted up, and the services were performed with much pomp of ritual, from numerous allusions to plate, hangings, relics, service-books, vestments, choristers, and large and small organs².

¹ [Mundum-Book, 1536—37. *Reparaciones*. The men are employed "tam circa subuersionem murorum lapidiorum tecti et pavimenti veteris capelle... quam pro vectura et asportacione plumbi, vitri, ferri, meremii, lapidum et Rubbishe e dicta capella ad diuersa loca infra procinctum collegii."]

² [Mundum-Book, 1448—49. *Custus ecclesie*. "Item in vno par' Candelabr' de laton empt' de Johanne Birde London viij li." 1450—51. Ibid. "Item in Reparacione magnorum Organorum facta per Vice prepositum in festo Exaltacionis Sancte Crucis v." 1473—74. *Expense necessarie*. "Item sol' pro sculptura vnus lapidis super quo stat Imago sancti Nicholai in Ecclesia xvjd.:" and at the end of the Account for the year: "M^r M. Langley pro pede Sancti Johannis iij li. x^s. viij d." 1476—77. *Custus ecclesie*. "Item sol' pro ij pixid' pro Altaribus beate Marie et sancti Nicholai xvij d." 1489—90. *Custus noui edificii*. "Item sol' ... carpentario laborant' per iij^m dies circa stallos in choro xx d." 1503—4. *Custus ecclesie*. "Item pro cirpis pro capella in the Rodeloft jd." 1458—59. Ibid. "In primis sol' Johanni Bartilmew mense Nouembris pro canvasse empt' per ipsum pro vestibulo vj^s. viij^d." 1473—74. Ibid. "Item sol' pro lucerna empt' pro vestibulo ij d." 1476—77. *Expense necessarie*. "Item sol' ... pro .ij. mattes emptis pro altaribus in naui ecclesie ij d. ob." 1536—37. Ibid. "Item sol' septimo die Septembris Georgio Sherman pro lotionem ly hangyns veteris templi ijs. iij d." 1492—93. *Custus noui edificii*. "Pro reparacione fenestre vitrie occidentalis in capella collegii vj d." 1536—37. *Reparaciones*. "Item...pro emendacione fenestrarum in sacario veteris ecclesie et magne fenestre versus orientem cum vitro pro eisdem xix d." Ibid. 1509—10. *Reparaciones*. "Item W. Buxton reparanti hostium occidentale ecclesie

HALL—It is impossible to ascertain the style or size of the original Hall, but it was evidently much smaller than it afterwards became, from a payment in 1510 for painting "le border," which was not more than 99 feet in length¹. It had no doubt been hastily built, in expectation of the speedy erection of the larger College, and Dr Caius, who wrote in 1573, speaks of it as "antiquated" (*vetus*). The picturesque porch (fig. 6) belonged to this older building, and was erected in July, 1481. It had then a tiled roof². In 1562 the Hall was extensively repaired, or rather rebuilt of substantial materials, for the conventual buildings of Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire had been purchased and pulled down in the previous year, and the stone brought to Cambridge³. The destination of it is indicated by a separate heading in the Accounts, "Repairs to the Hall." The work cost £121 13s. 10d., equal to about £1200 at present.

In 1634 another extensive repair took place, at a cost of £233. 7s. 2d. besides £20 given by the Provost, but no particulars are given⁴. The plan taken about 1635 (fig. 4) shews that the Hall was then 50 long by 25 feet broad, with an oriel on the south side; and Storer's view (fig. 6) shews two other windows on that side, plain oblong openings, subdivided by a mullion and transom, which may belong either to 1562 or 1634. In the beginning of 1706 it was again repaired, at a cost of £505. 17s. 1d. This charge was partly for a roof, from a payment of £218. 12s.

viij d." See also the elaborate inventories of vestments and furniture, the first of which was taken in August, 1453, printed by Rev. G. Williams, M.A., Fellow, in *The Ecclesiologist*, Vols. xx-xxi. It was in this Chapel that Henry the Seventh kept St. George's Day, 1506. Ashmole, *Hist. of the Garter*, Ed. 1673, p. 487, speaking of the "large Paper Scutcheons" used when "the celebrations of St. George's Day were kept at any other place besides Windsor Castle," says, "We have not met with any memorial of this usage that reacheth higher than an. 21. H. 7, when the Sovereign holding the day of St. George at Cambridge King's Colledge Chapel was furnished with Scutcheons of the Knights Companions Arms."

¹ [Mundam Book, 1510-11. *Expens. necess.* "Item Johanni Nede pingenti le border in Aula continen' xxxij, virg' ad vij d virg' viijs. viij d. "]

² [College Accounts, Vol. 6, 1480-81. "Item sol magistro Collegii Corporis Christi xj die Iuli pro M. lyle pro le porche prope Aulam Collegii vjs. viij d. "]

³ [Mundam-Book, 1560-61. *Expens. necess.* "Item sol . pro destructione totius convent. de le freestone empt' apud Ramsey lijs. viij d." The next heading is "Reparationes lacie circa magnam Aulam in Anno domini 1562 "]

⁴ [Ibid. 1633-34. *R' parationes* (Term. Bapt.). "Item solat' in reparacionibus circa Aulam communem hoc anno, vt patet per billas, ultra xxli. elargit' per magistrum prepositum versus easdem £233. 7. 2. "]

to the carpenter. In Michaelmas Term of 1709, it was seriously damaged by a fire, which probably destroyed the roof put on three years before¹.

COMBINATION ROOM.—A parlour (*parlura*) is alluded to in the early accounts; those for 1592—93 contain the charges for the erection of a new Combination Room or Parlour (*conclave*), together with some new chambers and studies. The material employed was principally brick. The position is not mentioned, but it would of course be as near the Hall as possible, and is perhaps the original destination of the first floor of the picturesque building west of it (fig. 6), from the mention of a staircase and a window. In the following year the floor was paved with tile, and furniture ordered, which was at that time of the simplest description. From the Inventory of 1598 we learn that "the newe parlor," "all seeled with waynscott," had "iron casements" and "ij long curten rodde with ij greene say curtens for the wyndowes," and was provided with "a courte cubborde of waynscott," "a fayre long table" and "formes" of the same, and "a plate candlestick."

LIBRARY.—Numerous charges in the Mundum-Book for 1448 for the purchase and chaining of books prove that a Library was even then in existence; and the apartment was of sufficient importance to be shewn to Henry the Sixth, from a charge for strewing it with rushes in expectation of a visit from him². From the fact that the only volume now remaining of those mentioned in the catalogue of 1452 belonged to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, it is not improbable that the King furnished the College Library with many of the Duke's books, obtained after his death at Bury in 1447. No precise record of its situation has been preserved; we learn, however, from a catalogue of its contents in the College Register that the door was at the east end, and that it contained sixteen compartments³. Again,

¹ [There is a separate heading in the Mundum-Book, 1709—10, Term. Mich. 1709. "Reparationes Aulae communis semustae et expensae in Igne extinguendo." This heading is repeated in the two next years. The sum spent was £240. 10s. 9d., but this did not cover the whole outlay, see below, p. 557.]

² [Ibid. 1448—49. *Empciones necessariorum*. "Item in Cirpis emptis pro libraria erga aduentum Regis x d."]

³ [College Register, containing a number of inventories, made in 1452. The Catalogue begins, "ad hostium eiusdem ex parte orientali," and the "distinctiones" or compartments, are numbered A—Q.]

when the books were moved into the new library, it was turned into two rooms for Fellows¹. It was therefore about forty-five feet long, judging from the dimensions of the plan (fig. 4), and the position of the door at the east end leads to the conclusion that it must have been either on the first or second floor of the south side of the Old Court. The view of the exterior of that side (fig. 7) shews four windows close together on the second floor, which look as if they might have belonged to it, and this conjecture is supported by a charge for "mending the ledges over the librarie chambers" in 1578—79.

The vestries on the south side of the choir of the Chapel were used as a Library from 1570, until the new Library was built by Wilkins. They were fitted up for this purpose at the expense of Dr Roger Goade (Provost 1569—1610), as he has himself recorded in his defence, endorsed May 1576, against the accusations preferred against him by the Fellows, under the head "what hath been done since my tyme to the furtherance of learning in the Colledge:"

"I have caused a fayre newe Lybrarye to be made and furnished with Bookes, specially of Divinitye, both of ould and new wryters: whereas, before my tyme, the Library was utterly spoyled, and this cost upon the newe Lybrarye without any charge in the Colledge accompts²."

No details therefore respecting the original fittings are to be found in the accounts for that year. In 1609—10 Woodroffe, the joiner, who afterwards made the screen in the Chapel, fitted up some new bookcases; and in 1613—14 further alterations were contemplated, from a payment for a "platt of the library³." In 1659 Mr Nicholas Hobart, formerly Fellow, bequeathed £100 to the college, of which part, according to the directions in his Will, was expended on the Library:

"For y^e new Stalls in y^e Library, markt with N. H. 38 . 01 . 08."

In 1677—78 new classes were made by Cornelius Austin, and in 1680, a bequest of £40 from Thomas Crouch, formerly Fellow, was laid out in the same way⁴:

¹ [Mundum-Book, 1570—71. The expense is given "for conuerting thould Library vnto twoo chambers for Fellowes."]

² [Heywood and Wright, p. 229, from MSS. Baker iv. 10, MSS. Harl. 7031r.]

³ [Mundum-Book, 1613—14. *Feoda et Regarda*. "Solut' Thorp pro le drawing of the platt of the Library xxx^s."]

⁴ [These and the preceding details are from separate accounts at the end of

"Paid to Cornelius Austine (May y^e 20th 1685) for
Mr Thomas Crouch his new classes in the College
Library the sum of 33 . 00 . 00
Paid to John Castle for y^e iron werke ther 03 . 11 . 00
Paid to the Herald Painter for painting y^e Armes ... 02 . 14 . 06."

The Library is thus described by Cole in 1744¹:

"Out of this [Provost Brassie's vestry, fig. 42. xii] you descend a Step into y^e 6th Chapel [ibid. xiii], w^{ch} is y^e 1st of those y^t compose y^e Library for y^e Society. It is floored with Deal as are all y^e rest w^{ch} compose y^e Library, w^{ch} includes what remains, except y^e last, w^{ch} serves for y^e keeping of y^e Archives, and writings of y^e College.

The Books in this Chapel were for y^e most part given by Tho^s Crouch formerly Fellow.... The Classes for y^e Books in this Library are all of Norway Oak elegantly fitted up and neatly carved; 5 of w^{ch} are in each Chapel, viz: 2 at y^e extremities, w^{ch} are but half one's, and 3 in y^e body, of w^{ch} y^e middlemost is much loftier yⁿ y^e rest. Over each of these classes, both in Front and at y^e ends are the Arms and Crest of y^e Donor, wth y^e Initial Letters of his name in Gold Capitals several Times, thus T. C.... At y^e end of y^e great middle Class is this Inscription in gold Letters on a black ground:

LEGAVIT
THOMAS CROUCH
1680.

The 5th Chapel [ibid. xiv] is fitted up in y^e same manner as y^e 6th saving y^e Arms of Crouch over y^e Classes; and has no painted Glass nor Monuments. The 4th Chapel [ibid. xv] or Vestry is fitted up in y^e same elegant manner as the two precedent ones, and has y^e Arms and Crest of Hobart over y^e Classes exactly as those of Crouch in y^e 6th Chapel. . . . At y^e end of y^e biggest middle Class is wrote in gold Letters:

LEGAVIT
NICOLAUS HOBART.
1659.

and several times, as y^e arms and Crest also, N.H.... On y^e N. side of y^e Wall of this Chapel is a great Gothic Arch, but for what use designed, I can't conceive, for there is no entrance that way into y^e Choir, nor ever could be by reason of y^e Stalls, which stand against this part of y^e Wall on y^e other side. It is however filled up with a neat wainscot Cabinet wth Glass Doors for y^e MSS and other curious Books

the Particular Book for 1659; 1678; 1679. The arms of Hobart and Crouch are described in Mr Evans' Essay in the Appendix. Crouch is buried in chapel vi. His epitaph, "*Aperiet Deus tumulos et educet Nos de sepulchris. Qualis eram, dies isthac cum Venerit scies.*", is commented on in the Spectator, No. 518. Beneath the inscription are the words "*Terræ creditus die 30 Augusti Annoq' a nato Domino 1679.*"

¹ [MSS. Cole i. 89.]

w^{ch} are safer here than in any other part of y^e Library. On y^e same side and close to y^e Door as you enter into y^e 3^d Vestry [ibid. xvi] is a Wainscote Box wth a Glass Door, in w^{ch} stands y^e Sceleton of a Malefactor executed at y^e Castle of Cambridge¹.... The 3^d Vestry is exactly like y^e last saving y^e Arch in y^e N. Wall and serves for a Library. The 2^d Vestry [ibid. xvii] is like y^e rest w^{ch} serve for y^e Library, and is the last w^{ch} is appropriated for that use.... The 9th and last Chapel from y^e West, or y^e 1st from y^e East, is now made use on as a place for y^e Archives of y^e College, and is always safely locked up. It has lately had a new Door to it, and has had Cabinets and Chests of Drawers set all around it for y^e writings of y^e College to be placed in.... There are Maps and other Pictures hanging agst y^e N. walls of y^e 6 last Chapels of this side I have last described, but being not very extraordinary shall take no further notice of y^m."

The bookcases against the east and west walls of the three chapels above described are still in existence. They are all exactly similar in design, with trifling differences in ornamentation, and are extremely interesting specimens of the style of bookcase in use at that period, preserving traces of the ancient system of bars, locks, and chains. One of those in chapel XIV. will be figured and fully described in the chapter on College Libraries. It is one of the set put up with Hobart's bequest. Those in chapel XIV. may be dated 1677—78; and those in chapel XIII. 1680. The other bookcases were partly removed to the Provost's Lodge in 1851, partly used to make additional seats in the Chapel, eastward of the stalls².

PROVOST'S LODGE. The 10th Statute directs that a distinct and separate dwelling-house (*mansum*) is to be assigned to the Provost, in order that his diverse occupations in the despatch of College business may not interrupt the Fellows and Scholars. The same statute further prescribes that a suitable retinue (*familia*) is to be maintained for him, consisting of one gentleman, three valets, and two grooms³; that he is to receive a

¹ [In the omitted passage Cole points out that the three easternmost chapels on each side were evidently intended for vestries from the first, from the position of the doors, which leaves no room for an altar in any except the two last.]

² [College Orders, 18 January, 21 February, 1851.]

³ [Commiss. Doc^u. ii. 517. "Familiam secum habeat condecenem, necessariam, utilem, et honestam, videlicet ad minus unum generosum, tres valectos, et duos garsones, deservientes eidem debite sicut decet." Notwithstanding these provisions the Founder's Will places the Lodge at the corner of the quadrangle (fig. 3). A

yearly stipend of one hundred pounds, besides furniture, kitchen utensils, horses, and stable requisites; and that it shall be part of his duty to receive strangers, the cost of whose entertainment

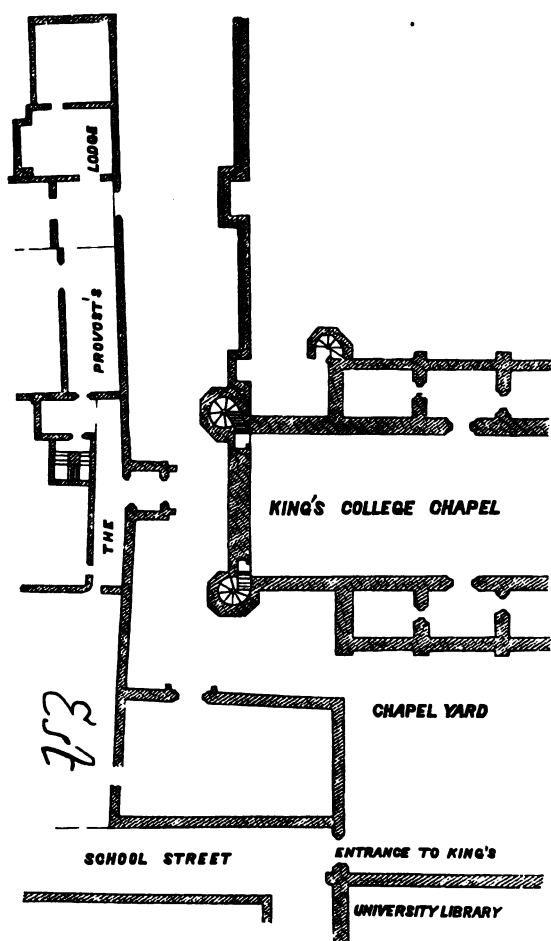


Fig. 53. Ground-plan of part of the Provost's Lodge, reduced from the plan of Clare Hall, made about 1635 (fig. 4).

is to be defrayed by the College. This unusual arrangement was carried out from the beginning, for in the accounts for portion of it however extended westward, beyond the limits of the quadrangle, and the Provost could easily have had a private entrance.]

1448—49 the entertainment of the Provost of Eton in the Provost's Lodge is charged for; and an inventory of its contents taken 3 July, 1452, only eleven years after the foundation of the College, enumerates a hall, parlour, chamber over the parlour, kitchen, little parlour at the gate, closet chamber, and provost's chamber, besides stables, pantry and buttery, to which a private chapel or oratory was soon after added¹.

The Lodge had been built on the ground between the Chapel and Trumpington Street before 1450, for at Michaelmas in that year the Prioress of Swaffham Bulbeck gives an acquittance for a rent due "for the Provost's kitchen, which formerly was the bake-house of Thomas Fordham²." His house, at the corner of Piron Lane, had been acquired in 1443 (p. 337), and it is probable that the Lodge was commenced soon after that date. It is shewn in this position by Hammond in 1592 (fig. 57); a ground-plan of part of it is given in the plan of 1635 (fig. 53); a block-plan on a very small scale by Loggan (fig. 58), with a distant view of one of its gables and of its south wing (fig. 56); and lastly several plans, taken between 1786 and 1797, are preserved in the College, from which an attempt has been made to lay down a ground-plan of the whole, with its relation to neighbouring streets and buildings (fig. 54). By comparing these authorities with the accounts, we shall be able to recover as much of the original arrangement as is necessary for our purpose, and to shew that the later building is only an extension of that alluded to in 1448—49 as already in existence.

The earlier portion of the series of Mundum-Books is unfortunately imperfect; but payments for building-work done at the Lodge between 1452 and 1536, when an important extension of it took place, can be extracted from them³, proving that during

¹ [Mundum-Book, 1469—70. *Expens. necess.* "Item pro renouacione cuiusdam Tabule beate Marie stantis super Altare infra mansionem M' prepositi xij d." This inventory, with others taken in the 17th century, and copious extracts from the Mundum-Books, has been printed in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications, 1879-80, No. XIX. Very few passages therefore will be quoted in these notes.]

² [Muniments of King's College, A. 108.]

³ [These extracts, unimportant in themselves, have been given at length in the paper referred to above. In 1469—70 the "coquina," "parua parlura" and "camera magistri prepositi" are mentioned; in 1473—74 "le skrene pro parlura mansionis magistri prepositi;" and in 1482—83 the "interior camera," probably the "Closet Chamber" of the inventory.]

that period it was being repaired, but not reconstructed on a new site. In 1536 however, workmen are employed "to pull down certain old rooms in the Provost's dwelling-house that had become ruinous;" and to build "one large room and a gallery, and to repair the rest of the house against the king's arrival¹." The mention of stone brought from the quarry at Weldon, and from other places; the large sum, £140, equal to at least £1400 at the present day, spent upon a portion only of the work; and the length of time it occupied, for it was still proceeding in 1542—43, the next year for which the Mundum-Book has been preserved², all indicate that it must have been both substantial and extensive. In 1546 the porch (fig. 53) is mentioned for the first time; and we learn that it had a room over it, as was so frequently the case in manor-houses of that period³. At the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth the decoration of the rooms built in the previous reign was undertaken. In 1560—62 we find charges for "waynescottynge the new studye," and "the great dynynge chambre" in the Lodge; for canvass "to make a border for the new haull," and for "the new chamber by the new haull;" for "iiij peces of Norwyche sayes to hange the new haull and the chamber next vnto yt;" and for "a creast of waynscot" in the same two rooms⁴. In 1592—93 a charge for "seeling le ould Hall" occurs, which proves that part, at least, of the old Lodge had been retained.

The gallery may be identified with the long building in two floors forming the south wing of the Lodge (figs. 53, 56), afterwards replaced by the "Brick Building;" and the hall with part

¹ [Mundum-Book, 1536—37. *Reparaciones*. "Item sol'...laborantibus in mansione domini prepositi pro vna magna camera et galeria de novo erigen' et ceteris reparandis in adventum domini Regis; et pro freeston de quarrura de Welldon et aliis lapidibus emptis a...fratribus Carmelitanis; necnon pro lateribus, tegulis, asseribus, clavis, zabulo, calce adusto, etc., pro eodem opere, vt patet per quaternum pecuniarum in parte solucionis de vij^{xx}li iiij^{xx}lii."]

² [Under a new heading "Custus noui edificii infra mansionem M' Prepositi" similar expenses to those last quoted occur, and £89. os. 2½d. is spent.]

³ [Ibid. 1546—47. *Expens. necess.* "Item xx^{mo} decembris Rogero Yong vitriario pro 85 pedibus normandy glase pro superiore porticu in mansione d' prepositi... et 56 pedibus de burgon glase pro inferiori [etc.] liiij s. xj d."]

⁴ [Ibid. 1562—63. "Item sol' for a creast of waynscot in nova aula in mansionem magistri prepositi longitudine continens centum pedes ad vj d pro pede liiij s. vj d." "For a creast of waynscot in the chamber next to the newe haull conteyning iiij^{xx}vj foote ad vj d pro pede xliij s."]

of a large building, with a high-pitched roof, also in two floors, extending from the north end of the gallery to Trumpington Street. These portions of the Lodge were used for the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth in 1564. The narrative of her visit says "The Guard Chamber was the Lower Hall of the Provost's Place; the Chamber of Presence, the Lodging over that; the Gallery and other Chambers served for the Queen's Lodging." The inventory of 1660 enumerates "The Great Hall" as well as "The Waynscot Hall;" and the term "Neyther Hall" also occurs in the accounts. Again, the quantity of crest used, viz. 100 feet, corresponds with the dimensions of the room on the ground-floor, afterwards subdivided into "ante-room" and "dining-room," or of that over it, due allowance having been made for windows, doors, and fireplace¹; but the position to be assigned to "the chamber next to the hall," which was nearly as large as the former, for it required 80 feet of crest to go round it, is a matter of much greater difficulty, unless we may be permitted to place it on the upper floor. The porch, which existed until 1802, was nearly opposite to the centre of the east end of the Chapel. The older portion of the Lodge stood north of this, where a large room, subdivided into "vestibule" and "Servants' Hall," probably represents the old hall, over which was the "Audit-room," wainscoted in 1648—49 by Richard Chapman. No other changes worth recording took place until the end of the following century. Carter, writing in 1753, remarks that

"The Provost's Lodge, tho' it makes not so grand an out-side Appearance as some do, yet within, few exceed it for grandeur and convenient Apartments²."

We next arrive at the transaction mentioned at the end of

¹ [The total length of the 4 walls is 129 feet; but if we deduct 18 ft. for 3 windows (the number probably before the room was divided), 7 ft. for the west window, 8 ft. for 2 doors, and 5 ft. for the fire-place, = 38 ft., we obtain a total of 91 ft., to which 8 ft. may be added for the jambs of the 4 windows, over which the wainscot would of course extend. This makes 99 ft., which is so nearly the number of feet of crest paid for, that we may be certain that the identification of the Hall with this part of the Lodge is correct.]

² [Carter's Cambridge, p. 162. The Provost's principal garden was always the same (fig. 3). Besides this, he had a small garden west of the north wing of his Lodge enclosed by a wall, as shewn by Loggan (fig. 58).]

Chapter III., which must be briefly noticed here, so far as it affected the Lodge. In 1769 the College had sold to the University for £1920 eleven houses at the north-east corner of the site, abutting against the northern and eastern wings of the Lodge, between Trumpington Street and S. Mary's Lane¹, at the west end of which the entrance to the College from the street then was; and in 1786 a second application was made for the ground on which part of the north wing of the Lodge stood. This request was communicated by the Vice-Chancellor on February 22, and at a meeting held 22 April following the Provost and Fellows drew up a minute stating "that they are willing and disposed to accommodate the University with all the particulars as stated and desired." At the same time they intimated that they expected to receive in exchange a quantity of ground equal in superficial extent to that taken from them. On December 26 "Articles of agreement" were drawn up, by which King's College agreed (1) to convey the ground required at their own cost within one year, provided the University should erect a certain wall between the two properties within the same time; (2) "for promoting the said Design and enabling the Provost to give up so considerable a part of his Lodge," to annex "their Brick Building at the South-East End of their Chappel," with the ground behind it, to the Lodge; (3) to put the University in possession of the wing of the Lodge standing on the ground required within three years, or sooner if possible. The University agreed (1) to give to the College ground equal in extent to that which should be conveyed to them, or to pay in ready money the sum which the deficiency should be fairly judged to be worth by two surveyors; (2) to pull down the houses heretofore conveyed to them, and to erect a brick wall, fourteen inches thick and twelve feet high, between their property and that of the College; (3) to leave a passage twelve feet wide between the College property and the intended building; and (4) in consideration of the expense of altering the Lodge, to pay to the College £1150 in two sums, viz. £650 before Michaelmas 1787 or sooner if necessary, and £500 before Michaelmas 1788².

¹ [The conveyance is dated 8 November. The houses extended for 102 feet along S. Mary's Lane and for 144 feet along Trumpington Street.]

² [The payment of this sum was authorized by Grace 31 October, 1786; and at

This agreement was faithfully carried out by both parties. The details will be better understood from the plan (fig. 54) than from any description. The "Brick Building" was added to the south wing of the Lodge; the portion of the north wing that stood north of the line AB, which marks the southern limit of the ground ceded by King's College, was pulled down, and the remainder replaced by a square building (fig. 55), in part erected over the site of the houses sold in 1769. A piece of this site (BCDEFGHI) became the property of the College, in exchange for the piece (IKLMNOPA) which they gave up; and lastly, a brick wall of the covenanted height was built by the University along the line AB, as shewn in the woodcut (fig. 55).

No formal conveyance had however been executed; and by the time that these preliminaries had been completed, the idea of erecting the proposed building had been abandoned by the University. The College therefore demurred to the exchange, as having been authorized and justified only in virtue of an Act of Parliament (6 George I.) for enlarging the Public Library¹; and no further steps appear to have been taken until the beginning of 1797, when the University tried to obtain a piece westward of their former acquisition (fig. 54), by which they would have become possessed of all the ground eastward of a line drawn in extension of the front of the University Library. This proposal, however, the College declined by an unanimous vote (13 May); and the University soon after agreed to erect a dwarf wall and iron railing (QAPR) at the eastern extremity of

the same time the Syndics obtained leave to pull down the houses purchased in 1769. It was determined by King's College, 10 November, 1786, "that the said sum of £1150 be applied to the annexing the said Brick Building, and fitting it up in a proper manner for the accommodation of the Provost and his family...but so that the College be not charged with any additional expence." The building thus denominated is first mentioned in the "Particular Book" for 1693-94. It then consisted of 1st and 2^d chamber "over Mr Provost's Kitchin," and 1st, 2^d, and 3^d chamber "over the Schoole," probably the Choristers' School. At some subsequent period it was wholly occupied by chambers, which after the completion of the Gibbs building were no longer required.]

¹ [This appears from a minute, in the Registry of the University, drawn up and signed by Dr William Cooke, Provost, dated 10 December, 1791. The same minute states that the Provost had given up "no fewer than six rooms, and conveniences of various sorts upon the Ground-floor, and four rooms or Bed-Chambers above, together with the great Audit-room of the College of 38 feet by 18½ feet, and two staircases."]

the ground between King's College Chapel and the University Library'. Lastly, by deed of exchange, 31 October, 1798, it was agreed that the passage between the two properties, at the end of which was the new entrance into King's College, should be 20 feet wide, instead of 12 feet, as originally suggested; and the University, whose property this strip of ground became, bound themselves not to lay it open for horses or carriages, or to erect any building upon it.



Fig. 55. View of the Provost's Lodge, taken in 1798 from the north east

It was probably in consequence of this agreement that this passage became the property of King's College after the old lodge had been destroyed, and the new gate made, 1824—1829. A Grace of the Senate 24 April, 1833, authorized the removal of part of the railings of Senate House Yard which had been set up in 1791 to their present curved line, so as to join the new line of railings set up by King's College in 1832 [33¹]

CHURCH OF S. JOHN BAPTIST. The position of this Church, usually called the Church of S. John Zachary, has been already

¹ [Synetics to carry out this plan were appointed 7 July, 1797, King's College having agreed (10 June) to contribute towards it £100 due to them from the University for 300 superficial feet of ground in excess of the quantity received. The whole cost was not to exceed £230.]

² [These railings cost £1395 13s. 10½d.]

discussed (p. 340). Some points however in its further history demand a brief notice¹. It should be premised that the acquisition of the enlarged site of King's College had absorbed nearly the whole of the parish, with the exception of the colleges of Clare Hall and Trinity Hall, which had been accustomed to use the Church for their devotions, and the graveyard for the burial of their dead². They would manifestly therefore be much inconvenienced by the loss of it. Clare Hall however does not appear to have taken any independent action in the matter; Trinity Hall, on the other hand, which had also sold a considerable quantity of land to the King, as has been already related, and had thus established a claim to the royal favour, lost no time in trying to obtain compensation. Three years before the grant of the advowson to King's College in the charter confirmed 16 March, 1446, it was agreed by formal indenture, dated 8 June, 1443, between Simon Dallyng, Master of Trinity Hall, and John Langton, then Chancellor of the University, that the latter should do his best to obtain for the former the appropriation of S. Edward's Church, together with other privileges, for which good offices "anone after the said Appropriacion is made," he was to receive 100 marks sterling. At that time the advowsons of both churches belonged to Barnwell Priory. Three years elapsed before the appropriation was effected, but it was at last confirmed to Trinity Hall by the King in letters patent, 1 March, 1446³, "in consideration of the innumerable acts of kindness and goodwill that the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity Hall have shewn to our royal college in various ways, and still are shewing daily." Moreover, on 10 November following, the Bishop of Ely declared the two parishes united and appropriated to Trinity Hall, King's College, so far as we know, offering no objection.

The destruction of the parish church however weighed upon the King's conscience, and from the first he intended to rebuild

¹ [The history of this Church has been fully related in a paper printed in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications, 1879—80, No. XX., in the appendix to which all the documents referring to it have been printed.]

² [See above, pp. 80, 220.]

³ [It is curious to observe that though Henry VI. granted the Vicarage of S. John's to King's College in 1446, he did not obtain it from Trinity Hall until 29 June, 1448, together with the Vicarage of S. Edward.]

it elsewhere, as we learn from a passage towards the close of his Will already quoted (p. 378). It is commonly supposed that the intention was abandoned; but this is by no means the case. By letters patent, dated 20 June, 1453, he declares that "whereas the church had been completely destroyed through the erection of our college on its site, and another church in honour of S. John Baptist had been newly built at our own cost near to our aforesaid college¹," the new church is made a parish church, and a yearly stipend of ten pounds is assigned to the Rector. Further, by a second document, issued on the same day, the advowson of this new church is granted to the Provost and Scholars of King's College².

A distinct record of its position has been preserved by Dr Caius in the following passage, in which he is evidently describing the rebuilt church, and not the original one:

"He [King Henry the Sixth] increased the site of his College by taking into it the Church and churchyard of St John Zachary, which was opposite, on the south, to the west garden of Gonville and Caius College, from which it was separated only by a thoroughfare. This site is occupied, at the present day, by the old and only Hall of King's College³."

By the "west garden" (*hortus occidentalis*) Dr Caius evidently meant the Master's Garden, at the south-west corner of the site, as the plan of Caius College shews. The Church therefore

¹ [Patent, 31 Hen. VI., p. 2, m. 5. The words used are "Cum nuper...quoddam Collegium infra parochiam olim Sancti Johannis Baptiste...ereximus et fundauimus eciam in loco ubi dicta olim ecclesia parochialis sancti Johannis Baptiste fuerat edificata, propriaque olim ecclesia per edificacionem et construccionem dicti Collegii et domorum eiusdem funditus exstitit demolita, Ac aliam ecclesiam in honore Sancti Johannis Baptiste prope et iuxta Collegium predictum de nouo construi et edificari fecimus nostris sumptibus et expensis."]

² At the end of the copy of these letters patent in Bishop Bouchier's Register (MSS. Baker, xxx. 198) there is the following note, as though the provisions had never been carried out: "Occurrit in Registro Bouchier, sed lineâ transversâ obducitur."

³ Hist. Cantab. Acad. i. 67. When the foundations of the north wing of the new Library were dug, the traces of a building resembling a church were actually found on this spot, and immediately attributed to the old church of S. John. [Cole, who carefully collected College traditions, says (MSS. i. 68), "This Church of S. John Zachary stood in y^e place where our present Refectory in y^e old Court stands." The position suggested in the text is supported by the following entry; Mundum-Book 1468—69. *Custus noui Edificii*. "Et pro le howke pro magna porta iuxta Ecclesiam Sancti Johannis pond' xiiij lib'. x^s. Item sol' cuidam lathamo pro labore suo circa reparacionem magne porte prope Ecclesiam Sancti Johannis Baptiste vj^d."]

stood on the north side of the Old Court of King's College, not necessarily wholly on the site of the Hall, but on the ground westward of it, between it and Milne Street.

[A further proof that the Church was rebuilt, and used for service down to the end of the fifteenth century at least, is afforded by the inventories of altar-furniture and vestments preserved in King's College that have been already referred to, and by the Mundum-Books. In the earliest of the former, written in August, 1452, articles belonging to S. John's Church are enumerated among those belonging to the College¹; while in the latter entries occur which shew that the Church was repaired from time to time at the expense of the College; that it consisted of nave and choir, that it had a "rode loft," and that the walls were hung with tapestry, bought in 1488—89². This is the last entry respecting it. It is probable that it gradually became ruinous, and fell down, as the old Chapel did, for Dr Caius, whose history was published in 1574, speaks of it in the past tense. If the extensive repair of the Hall in 1562 included an extension, we may conclude that the Church had fallen down before that date, and that part of the site had been occupied by the enlarged Hall. It must from the first have been nearly useless as a parish church, for Trinity Hall and Clare Hall had provided accommodation for their members in S. Edward's Church, which the rest of the parishioners of S. John's, after the formal union of the two parishes, were equally entitled to use.

PLANS FOR COMPLETING THE COLLEGE. The site provided by the Founder for the enlarged College, described in Chapter III., appears to have been taken possession of soon after its acquisition, the lanes closed, and the houses pulled down, doubtless with the intention of at once proceeding with the buildings. The only portion begun, however, was the eastern

¹ ["Item vj ferial aulter clothes of grene tartren rayed and iij pair corteys of grene tartren the wheche were delyvered Rosky for to be occupied in saint Johns chirch." "Item ther is vij corporasses whereof ther beth v in ye vestiarie and one at london and an other in saint Johnes chirche."]

² [These entries, together with a long account for a substantial repair executed in 1480—81, and headed "Soluciones facte pro Ecclesia Sancti Johannis" have been printed in the paper above mentioned.]

range of the quadrangle, of which the staircase turret abutting against the Chapel has been already described (fig. 15). The outer wall, moreover, had been raised to a considerable height, as we learn from Loggan (fig. 56), from the plan of 1635 (fig. 53), and from Cole's description written in 1742:

"The S.E. Turret [of the Chapel] is left rough on purpose to joyn y^e intended Quadrangle w^h on this side was begun as may easily be discerned by a good part w^h remains still adjoining to y^e Chapel, and by all y^e intended Chimneys w^h make now y^e Wall of y^e Miter Tavern belonging to this College. Part of y^e Remains adjoining to y^e aforesaid Turret were within these 10 y^rs pulled down to make a view into y^e Feilds on y^e Back of y^e Provosts Study Window"



Fig. 56. Part of the east side of the great court of King's College, shewing the "Clerks' Lodgings" (D) the foundations of the intended east range of building (E) and part of the Provost's Lodge (F) reduced from Loggan.

The Mitre Tavern was in Trumpington Street, near the south-east corner of the quadrangle whence we may conclude that the wall on the east side had been begun for nearly the whole of its intended length, as shewn by Hammond fig. 57.¹

¹ [By "chimneys" Cole of course means the square towers which Professor Willis believes were intended for closets. The position of the Mitre Tavern is known from an account of the Perambulation of St. Edward's Parish preserved by Warren (App. cxvi): "Then thro' St. Edward's Lane and along Trumpington Street to

It has also been shewn (p. 489) that the Cloister Cemetery west of the Chapel was undoubtedly consecrated, and used for about thirty years, until the Chapel was sufficiently far advanced to admit of burials within the precincts. There is however no evidence that either the cloister or the belfry were ever begun. A drawing, said to be a design for the latter, is preserved in the British Museum¹. It shews a lofty structure in four stages, of the same area, and of nearly the same height. Each stage has a window of four lights, divided by a transom. The heads of the



Fig. 57. King's College, reduced from Hammond's Map of Cambridge, 1592.

Wilkinson y^e Painter's House. Then cross y^e Street to y^e Mitre. Then thro' y^e Mitre to y^e Back-gate. Then to y^e White-Horse back-gate." The back gate of the White Horse was in King's Lane (fig. 2), and therefore the Mitre must have been just north of Cory's House in Trumpington Street]

¹ [MSS. Cotton, Aug. 1. i. 3. It is on paper, and measures 52 in. x 15 in. It is very carefully drawn, tinted in grey of different shades, and lettered in a late hand "Campanile Collegii Regalis Cantabrigiæ."]

windows in the three lowest stages are rather acutely pointed, while that in the uppermost is much depressed. At each angle there is an octagonal turret, rising considerably higher than the roof, and terminating in a spire of great height, round the base of which there is a battlement and eight pinnacles. The sides of these turrets are ornamented by sixteen rows of panels, separated by suits of moldings. The panels are exactly alike, each being treated as a window of two lights, with meagre tracery above. The sameness of this design, together with the want of variety of outline and ornamentation generally in all parts of the composition, indicates a late style, and proves that it cannot have the authority of the Founder. It may possibly have been made for Henry the Seventh, for it recalls to a certain extent the exterior of his chapel at Westminster.

The idea of completing the College according to the Will of the Founder was never lost sight of, but want of funds prevented any serious effort to execute it until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Meanwhile various attempts were made to procure additional accommodation. In 1571 we find £30 spent on "raising the tower of stone next the kytchin higher and conuerting thould Library into twoo chambers for Fellows¹." This is the tower at the north-west corner of the Old Court (fig. 5), the top of which, as there shewn, is modern, and the raising of it may have included the construction of the upper story of the building immediately to the south of it, which is evidently of a date long subsequent to the floor beneath. In 1574 the Hall of S. Austin's Hostel, the position of which has been already indicated, was fitted up as rooms for Fellow-Commoners, afterwards spoken of collectively as "The Pensionary"; and in 1579 "the chambers in the tenise courte" are mentioned,

¹ [Note at end of Mundum-Book for 12-13 Elizabeth 1570-71.]

² [Ibid. 1573-74. A marginal note to the heading *Reparationes apud Cantabrigiam* records "Hoc An^o nova tenementa et cubicula commensalium erant ædificata:" and at the end of the account there is the following, "Charges extraordinary this yeere, vt patet: viz. The iiij tenementis new buylded in S^t Augustines hostle, in the place of the oulde stables fallen down. The pentioners Chambres made of the ould hall." Ibid. 1574-75. "Item pro timber and bourdes for the pensioners chambers made in S^t Austen hostell hall x^{li}." The "Orders for Pentioners" made 5 Oct. 1578 (Lib. Protoc. Vol. 1.) direct "the noumber to bee according to their chambers provided, or at the moste not to bee above xij at one time," so that we need not look for any extensive accommodation.]

but there are no means of ascertaining when they had been made, or where the Tennis-court stood¹.

There were also some sets of rooms in certain houses on the east side of the College next the Lodge, which are shewn by Loggan (fig. 56), and are called by him "The Clerks' Lodgings" (*clericorum cubicula*). His ground-plan (fig. 58) shews that they formed two sides of a small court, which must be that called "the conductes court" (*curia conductorum*) in the accounts, as contrasted with the College court (*curia collegii*). They are mentioned in 1466—67 as already in existence, and had probably been made by altering some of the houses already standing on that part of the site².

In 1602—3 we find a person named Simons paid for his pains "in drawing le Platforme of the College³." This is in all probability Ralph Simons, the celebrated architect, to whose skill the Great Court of Trinity College, and the Second Court of S. John's College, are due; and who was also employed to build Sidney College and reconstruct Emmanuel College. Nothing, however, was done at that time; but the intention of building at no distant date is referred to in the controversy with Clare College in 1636, and again in a letter from Lord Dartmouth to the College, 14 March, 1685—6, as follows⁴:

"I cannot but remind you, how long a time it is since I was acquainted of your good Disposition to attempt something towards y^e Building of our College (to which you have been sufficiently animated by y^e Example and Success of Colleges of much less Consideration

¹ [Ibid. 1579—80. *Reparaciones*. "Item Johanni Hind for woorkinge on the chambers in the tenise courte iij." Ibid. 1581—82, the "dore at the entraunce of the tenis courte yard" is mentioned. The tennis court was apparently pulled down in 1594—95. Ibid. "Item pro reponend' le tenis courte tymber in the storehowse."]

² [Ibid. 1466—67. *Custus noui edificii*. "Item sol' plumbario pro labore suo circa reparacionem aqueductorum infra Curiam Conductorum per iij. dies xjd." Ibid. 1489—90, "Item sol' Willelmo Tyler pro tegulacione in Curia Conductorum et in diuersis locis infra curiam Collegii." Ibid. 1563—64, "for tylynge M^r Provost's kytchyn and other places needfull abowt the conductes court viijs." Particular-Book, 1623—24, *Reparaciones*. "Pro 4 bigatis of grate pauing stones pro plateis iuxta mansionem et cameras clericorum." Ibid. 1621—22. *Reparaciones*. "Item Wilson le mason ... circa le paving the street before the Clerks Lodgings ix. iiij^d."]

³ [Ibid. 1602—3. *Feoda et Regarda*. "Solut' Simons pro opere in drawing le Platforme of the College viij."]

⁴ [This letter, and those of Provost Adams, to be shortly referred to, are in the Muniment Room of King's College.]

and Interest than your own); and I must begg leave to recommend once more to you y^e vigorous Prosecution of so noble and pious a Design. I shou'd think it a great Addition to y^e Happiness of my Life to see a Work so necessary for your own Convenience and so much for the Honour of our whole University to go forward in His Majesty's Reign.

Begin therefore a Found amongst your selves, either by cutting down Timber (w^{ch} cannot be dispos'd of to a better Use) or what other Ways your Prudence shall think best; And if you shall think fitt to lett me know your Proceedings, when this Design shall be reduc'd to some Method and Ripeness, I will not be wanting on my own Part, and to recommend both it and your selves to his Majesty's gracious Patronage."

This sensible advice was not however acted upon until Dr John Adams became Provost (1712—1719). His letters prove that from the very commencement of his tenure of the Provostship he devoted himself to the energetic prosecution of the building scheme. The Mundum-Book of 1713—14 shews the commencement of a Building-Fund¹, arising out of the sale of timber, which at the audit of 1716 had nearly reached the sum of £3000. Meanwhile the Provost was engaged in soliciting subscriptions, and in trying to obtain an audience of Queen Anne, at which he proposed to lay his "papers and Designs" before her. The following extracts from one of his letters to the senior Bursar, written probably in the winter of 1712—13, shew how deeply he was interested in the matter, and how sanguine he was of success. At the beginning of it he is evidently alluding to the formation of the Building-Fund :

"The College is very much Obligd to you for your Pain and Conduct, and I am sure I shall ever thinke my selfe so; I do not question but that we shall begin in a little time and shall find Encouragement from the Queen to go on, now we shall be able to answer that Question which has so often been thrown in my Way, 'What can you do for yourselves?' I have prospect of assistance from private Hands which I did not Expect....Notwithstanding this ill Winter thro the Queens Sickness and the great Business the ministry is ingagd in...I have watcht opportunitys so Successfully as to get some Ground in o^r Great Affair, and do not doubt but I shal see some very good Effects of their Promises in a few months, tho I am ofen forct to draw back for fear of pressing too far."

¹ [The first entry is set down as follows, with the heading: "*Pecunia Collegio Instaurando designata*. Dec. 17. 1714. Rec^d. three Hundred and thirty pound arising out of y^e Timber of Toft Monks Man^r and designed to be applied to y^e building of y^e College. J. Hayley" (Sen. Bursar).]

The following resolution, adopted by the College, 8 May, 1714, and signed by eighteen Fellows as well as by the Provost, shews how his enthusiasm had animated the Society :

"Whereas it was Agreed by the Provost and Fellows of the King's College of our blessed Lady and S^t Nicholas of Cambridge, that the timber in Toft Monks wood in the County of Norfolk should be sold towards the building some Part of the said College in or about the place where their Royall Founder first design'd it, and the said timber has been sold for two thousand three hundred and ten pounds which, (together with what remain'd of what was sold before for repairing the Hall and rebuilding what was burnt downe viz: three hundred and thirtie pounds) amounts in the whole to two thousand six hundred and forty pounds,

We whose names are under written do most solemnly promise that we will never by any means directly or indirectly propose or promote the applying the said mony or any part thereof to any other use or purpose then the above mentioned, and if any member of y^e said College shall be so wicked as to propose or promote the dividing or applying to any other use or purpose whatsoever (unles in case of fire which God forbid) either the said mony or any other that shall rise from the selling of timber which shall be found upon any of the College Estates We will discover and oppose him to the utmost of our power.

Furthermore We do also most solemnly promise that we will put out the said mony as fast as it shall be paid in and can conueniently be done to be improved by interest upon the best and safest fund or funds till it shall increase to such a summe as together with the Gifts of such Benefactours as it shall please God to raise up to promote this necessary and good designe shall be thought sufficient to begin it.

Wittness our hands the eighth day of May in the thirteenth year of the reign of our soueraign Lady Anne by the Grace of God of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland Queene defender of the faith etc. Annoque Domini 1714."

The work of collecting funds had not prevented the Provost from taking steps to obtain a suitable plan for the proposed buildings. On 22 March, 1713, he had an interview with Sir Christopher Wren at the house of Mr Nicholas Hawkesmore, one of Wren's pupils, and an architect of some reputation. From the terms in which Hawkesmore is spoken of by the Provost in the notes he fortunately preserved of the interview, it is clear that he had been already consultéd, and had prepared a plan and models of the proposed building. The following extracts are the most material for our purpose :

"March 1712—13. To M^r Hawkmores (*sic*) at Kensington 17th. To M^r Batemans Sunday 22. To M^r Hawkesmores again y^e same

day 22 : met Sr Christ. Wren and Mr Wren there. Mr Wren said some of o^r People had reported y^e Project of Building would come to nothing. Obser: That the Stone should be hewd out of the Quarry 12 month before it be usd, and cut in proper Peices. That there are excellent Bricks to be had about Ely of a White Sort, w^{ch} he once thought of sending for for St Pauls. That Clunch will fill up very well. ...

Saturday. 28th March. at Kensington with Mr Hawks[more]. He shewd me y^e upright model. I did not like the jetting out of y^e Pillars of y^e Portal nor number of them; desird they might be but four, and clapt close to y^e Rest of the Building. I thinke Pilasters would still do better. He had made y^e Studys and Bed parts to be towards y^e Quadrange. I thought them better towards y^e River and orderd them to be so. I desird this wing might be set more backward to give a full veiw of y^e Chappel. Agreed to. I told him y^e hight would be Majestick of its selfe and in its plainness more answerable to y^e Chappel: and desird all Ornaments might be avoided; this too y^e Rather because something of that Nature is in the Founders Will. The main Objection against Removing the Western Wing backward was y^e want of Roome towards y^e street for Removing y^t Part proportionably; but this I sayd might be don if y^e Lodgings there were Single, w^{ch} they may well be, when the others are built, the Number of Chambers amounting to more (if two in a Chamber) than the Coll. will have occasion for. The most Expensive part will be y^e Cloyster but it is y^e hardest for Mr Hawksmore to Part withal."

Hawksmore's ground-plan—or rather a rough pen-and-ink sketch of it—is in the British Museum¹. The court to the south of the Chapel measures 275 feet from north to south, by 300 feet from east to west. The former dimension is the same as that of the present court, the latter is 32 feet longer. This is due to the fact that he had adopted the Provost's suggestion and set the western building back so as to be quite clear of the Chapel. The eastern and western ranges are occupied by chambers; the southern by the Hall, at the western end, east of which are the kitchen and offices, with a through passage into a yard behind. At the west end of the Chapel there was to be a "Portico or Vestibulum" through which the cloister would be entered. This was to measure 100 feet in width by 225 in length, and to be set exactly symmetrically with reference to the Chapel. On its west side was to be the bell-tower, as directed by the Founder; and between it and the river the gardens for the senior and junior Fellows. A new way was to be made in a direct line from the end of Old King's Lane to the river. On

¹ [King's Library VIII. 58 b.]

the south side of this the brewhouse and stables were to be placed, and on the north side the Provost's Lodge, standing in a large garden, bounded on the north by a wall which was a prolongation of the south side of the court. Between this and the cloister was a lawn, extending to the river, with a bridge in the centre; and there was another bridge between the two gardens.

The models are in King's College Library. The letters of Dr Adams indicate that though they were made under the direction of Mr Hawkesmore they were sanctioned by Sir Christopher Wren¹. They represent the buildings on the east and west sides of the court respectively. The former has a large archway of entrance from the street in the centre; the latter a central block projecting some distance beyond the general line of the building, and a smaller archway leading to the grounds beyond. Both have a cloister along the side next the court. The rooms are arranged in three floors, and there are four rooms on each floor on each side of the archway. Each set consists of one large room with two smaller rooms behind. On the upper floor only these have a staircase between them, so that four small rooms are contained in the height of the large one. Thus two persons could occupy the large room and yet each have a bedroom and study to himself. These studies are lighted by small oblong windows looking into the court². The central portico is adorned with six disengaged columns, supported on masses of rustic-work, so high that the bases of the columns are on the level of the first floor. The bad effect of these quite justifies the Provost's condemnation of them.

We do not know why this plan was not adopted. The death of Queen Anne (1 August, 1714) and the failure of an attempt on the part of the Provost to interest her successor in his scheme may have induced delay, and his own death at the beginning of 1719 perhaps discouraged the College from any immediate attempt to continue a design which had depended so

¹ [In a letter dated 9 Sept. 1713 the Provost writes, "I have sent for the two models which I have ready made at Sir Christopher Wren's:" and again, 21 Jan. 1714, "Mr Hawksmore has sent me in an account of the Charge of the Two Models."]

² [This was the arrangement to which the Provost objected. His suggestion was adopted in the Gibbs Building, where the bedrooms do face the river.]

much upon his individual energy. However this may be, the work was not begun until 25 March, 1724, though the College Orders shew that it had been in contemplation for nearly two years; for at the beginning of 1723 (10 January) it was agreed to pay fifty guineas to the architect, James Gibbs, "for his journeys, designing and drawing plans, surveying and laying out the ground for the intended building;" and on 14 January in the same year it was resolved "that the west side of the intended new College be begun to be built." The reasons for discarding Hawkesmore and choosing Gibbs are not stated. According to the new plan the buildings were all to be arranged round a quadrangle, which was to measure from east to west 240 feet, the exact length of the side-chapels, and 282 feet from north to south. Each side of this quadrangle was to consist of a detached and independent mass of building, a space of twenty-two feet being left free at each angle. The style adopted was the Italian then in fashion, and the whole design would have been an excellent specimen of it, as the plates of what was intended and the portion built testify. The architect thus describes the portion erected, and the arrangements for the rest of the design :

"It is built of *Portland Stone*, and is detach'd from the Chapell as being a different kind of Building, and also to prevent damage by any accident of Fire. The Court could not be larger than is express'd in the Plan, because I found, upon measuring the Ground, that the South-East Corner of the intended East Side of the Building came upon *Trumpington Street*. This College, as design'd, will consist of Four Sides, (*viz.*) The Chapell, a beautifull Building of the Gothick Tast, but the Finest I ever saw; opposite to which is propos'd the Hall, with a Portico. On one side of the Hall is to be the Provost's Lodge, with proper Apartments: On the other side are the Buttry, Kitchin and Cellars, with Rooms over them for Servitors. In the West Side fronting the River, now built, are 24 Apartments, each consisting of three Rooms and a vaulted Cellar. The East Side is to contain the like number of Apartments¹."

The western building was to have been adorned with statuary, but this was probably given up from lack of funds. There was to have been a recumbent figure on each side of the pediments of the portico, and a statue on each of the dwarf piers

¹ ["A Book of Architecture, containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments." By James Gibbs. Fol. London, 1727. Plates xxxii.—xxxv.]

subdividing the balustrade. The Hall-portico would have been supported on eight Corinthian columns of noble proportions.

The following statement of the reasons which induced the College to begin when they did, and a description of the ceremony of laying the first stone, were published by Mr Gregory Doughty, one of the senior Fellows, as an appendix to the sermon he preached on the occasion in the Chapel¹:

"They are induc'd to take it [the new design] in hand at this time, by the following Considerations.

1st. As they are enabled to proceed in it to some Degree, by being possess'd of a considerable Sum of their own, which was appropriated to that Use some Years ago, and is now improv'd to about 4000 Pounds: which Instance of a publick Spirit, besides the Readiness of the respective Members to contribute farther, according to their several Abilities, 'tis hop'd will recommend their Undertaking to such as are generous and well dispos'd.

2dly. As some very great and eminent Personages, who had their Education in this College, have been pleas'd to give Assurances of being liberal Benefactors: whose noble Example, and powerful Influence gives life to the Design, and may be the probable Occasion of greater Success, than They could otherwise Have expected.

3dly. As the Members of the *Sister College* have been hearty Encouragers and liberal Promoters of this Work, both in their corporate and personal Capacities².

Lastly, Experience having shewn that many Benefactions have been lost by the Delay of this Undertaking: whilst such as wish'd and intended well to it, and only waited to see it set on Foot, have from time to time been snatch'd away, and their good Intentions prov'd abortive; it was judg'd advisable to give a fairer Opportunity to such, as may now, or hereafter, have the like favourable Disposition; of lending their Assistance not to an airy Scheme, but to a real Work, actually begun, and prosecuted with Earnestness and Vigour.

Accordingly (the Ground having been first laid out, and the foundation dug for the Westside of the Square, pursuant to a PLAN design'd by Mr Gibbs) on the 25th Day of *March* last, being the Anniversary of commemorating the *Founder*, and the *University* being met, as usual at

¹ ["A Sermon preach'd before the University of Cambridge in King's College Chapel on the 25th of March 1724. By Gregory Doughty, M.A. To which is added some Account of this New Design, with a Plan of the Intended Building, and the Inscription upon the First Stone. 4to. Cambridge, 1724." The sermon was probably issued in this form for the purpose of obtaining subscriptions.]

² [College Order, 10 January, 1723. "And it was then agreed to and desired of Mr Provost that he would be pleased by letter to the Provost and Fellows of Eton College to return the thanks of this College for their Contributing the summe of one hundred pounds towards the intended Building, and kindly promising further to encourage and promote the same."]

Kings College Chapel; after the Sermon, and an Anthem compos'd on the Occasion¹; The *Provost*, accompanied by the *Noblemen, Heads of Colleges, Doctors*, and other *Members* of the *University*, proceeding to the Corner of the Foundation, next the Chapel, where the first Stone was to be laid, bespoke Success to the Undertaking in the Form which follows, with such Actions, at proper Intervals, as the Words themselves express, or are customary in such Kinds of Ceremony.

Quod cedat in honorem Dei, in perenniorem Henrici nostri Memoriam, in Rei Literariæ Incrementum, in hujus Academiæ Decus, et Regni Britannici Splendorem, Novi Collegii Fundamenta jacere sic aggredior. Narratiunculam hanc Æri incisam seræ commendo Posteritati, et hæc substerno Numismata, Aurea, Argentea, Ærea. Faxit Deus optimus maximus ut diu intermissum opus, nunc denuo susceptum, jugiter procedat, et ad felicem perducatur Exitum; utque vobis omnibus qui favente et benevolo hic adestis Animo (quo Vos omnes, Academici, quin affecti huc veniatis, nullus dubito) nostris similes exoriantur Patroni, pari Nitore assurgant Mœnia."

The inscription on the stone is given by the same authority :

“QUI ANTIQUITATIS OLIM STUDIOsus,
DUM RUDERA PERSCRUTABITUR,
HANC LAMINAM SAXO INCLUSAM FORTE ERUET,
SCIAT HUNC LAPIDEM,
TEMPORIBUS HENRICI SEXTI
HUJUS COLLEGII FABRICÆ DESTINATUM:
UBI VERO PRIMUM RES TURBIDÆ,
DEIN MORS ATROCISSIMA
OPTIMI ILLIUS PRINCIPIS
OPERI INCHOATO LONGAM INJECISSENT MORAM;
EXINDE IN ADJACENTI AREA,
PER TERTIUM JAM FERE SECLUM,
(SI QUA TRADITIONI FIDES)
QUA HIATUS LAMELLAM EXCIPIT,
SEMI-SERRATUM JACUISSE.
NUNC DEMUM XXV^o DIE MARTII
ANNO SALUTIS HUMANÆ MDCCXXIV.
REGNI AUTEM EXCELLENTISSIMI REGIS
GEORGII. X^o.
NOVIS AUSPICIIIS REDINTEGRATO OPERE,
QUI IN PRIORE STRUCTURA NULLUM INVENERAT SITUM,
AB HOC EXORDIUM SUMPSSISSE
OCCIDENTALE MAGNI ATRII LATUS.
QUID IPSUM COLLEGIUM HUIC OPERI CONTULERIT,
QUIBUS SUBSIDIIS ADJUTUM,
QUOSVE HABUERIT FAUTORES,
TAM SOLENNIS COMMEMORATIO,
QUAM MONUMENTA LITERARIA,
HOC ÆRE PERENNIOra,
POSTERIS NOTUM FACIENT.”

¹ [The anthem, by Thos. Tudway, Mus. Doc., was from Ecclesiasticus, xxxix.]

The tradition about the stone has been preserved by Cole¹:

"When y^e News came of y^e Founders Deposition y^e Labourers who were sawing y^e stone in halves and not having finished it, imagining that there would be no further proceeding in y^e design by his Successors left of y^{ir} work and y^e Stone remaining half sawed in two. This was always y^e Story abt y^e Stone w^{ch} I myself have seen before any design of making y^e use of it w^{ch} was afterwards thought on; and a Cut of y^t Stone is in y^e Print of this Chapel engraved by David Loggan: in y^e cleft part was y^e Plate and Inscription, wth ye different Coins put."

Though the foundation had been laid, as we have seen, 25 March, 1724, the contract with Christopher Cass, citizen and mason of London, for "the materialls to be found and provided, and the Masonry work to be done and performed," is dated 5 October in the same year. The building was ready to receive the woodwork by the beginning of 1729, by which time the funds had also been exhausted, as the terms of the following Order shew:

"Aprill y^e 2^d: 1729. At a Congregation ... agreed to proceed in Covering flooring sashing staircasing of the new Building and to contract with the severall workmen for that purpose according to Estimates upon Credit at four p. Cent till the Principall is paid."

This further work occupied exactly two years, for it was not until April 1731 that the wainscoting and fitting up was ordered, subject to the approval of Mr Gibbs, who undertook to have it done "as chepe as the nature of the worke will allow²." The total cost of the building from 1724 to 30 October, 1749, was £11,539; and the interest of loans amounted to nearly £1300 more. The debt was not discharged until 1758—59, when the College came into possession of two-thirds of the estate of John Hungerford, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, as related above (p. 526). This enabled them not only to pay off the debt, but further to remunerate the Architect³.

¹ [MSS. Cole, i. 110.]

² [College Orders, 8 April and 10 April; Letter of Mr Gibbs to the Senior Bursar, 22 April, 1731. In 1727 it had been contemplated to obtain the Visitor's consent "to sell the Bells towards covering the Building," and on the same day (11 April), it was agreed "to sell the Trees in the Chapple Yard and Grove and Crouches for the same purpose."]

³ [Dr Snape's appointment contained the following clause: "To James Gibbs Esq^r. over and above £145. 10s. 0 which he had before received, the further sum of £154. 10. 0 for drawing plans," etc.; and, after other matters had been provided for,

No attempt to complete the quadrangle was made until 1822, by which time a sufficient sum had accumulated, derived principally from sales of timber. The design left by Gibbs was abandoned, and a competition of architects was invited (22 March) by advertisement in the principal newspapers¹. The competitors were at first requested to send in their designs on 10 October following; but on 14 June the time was extended by a second advertisement to 1 January, 1823, with an offer of prizes of £300, £200, £100, for the three best designs. The anxiety of the College to commence building without delay was shewn by notice being given on 7 October to the tenants of the houses in Trumpington Street to vacate them by 10 October, 1823.

On 25 March, 1823, the first prize was adjudged to the author of a design with the motto *Pentalpha* (William Wilkins); the second to that of one with the motto *Hæ mihi sunt artes* (Mr Inman); the third to that of one with the motto *In hoc signo vinces* (Mr Lapidge). The successful design was presently submitted to "a committee of Architects consisting of Messrs Wilkins, Jeffery, Wyatt, and Nash, with a view to their suggesting alterations and improvements," after which the following order was made:

"30 June, 1823. Agreed that Mr Wilkins's Plan as amended be adopted, with the following exceptions in conformity with the suggestions of Messrs Nash and Wyatt.

Agreed that there be two Lanthorns over the Hall instead of one.

Agreed that the two Pediments forming the central compartments on the right and left of the Gateway be omitted, and that the perforated Battlements both within and without the Screen should be similar to those of the low Chapels.

Agreed that Mr Wilkins be appointed Architect, and desired to furnish working plans and specifications in order to enable contractors to give tenders."

"The rest and residue ... towards discharging the debts owing by the said College on account of the said building." On this latter head £1654. 18s. 6d. was spent.]

¹ [22 March, 1822. "Agreed that the following advertisement be inserted in the Courier, Morning Post, Globe, Morning Herald, Times, Morning Chronicle, and New Times for one week; 'Architects who may be disposed to furnish Plans and Elevations for the new Buildings of King's College, Cambridge, are requested to send the same with their names sealed up on the 10th of October next, to Mr Gee, Solicitor, Cambridge, who will show the Ground-plan, etc., etc.'"]

At the end of 1823¹ the ground was cleared, and in the spring of 1824 a contract was entered into with Messrs Stannard of Norwich for the erection of the proposed buildings at an estimated cost of £73,000.

The plan, as then adopted, differed in several important particulars from that afterwards executed. There was to have been a cloister behind the screen, which would thus have formed an independent mass of building, separated from the Chapel on the north, and the hall-range on the south, by gateways; a second Fellows' garden would have occupied the angle between Trumpington Street and the new King's Lane; the Library would have stood at right angles to the Hall at its east end; and lastly, the Provost's Lodge would have been separated from the remainder of the range by a cloister, occupying the site of the present Library. The most extraordinary part of the scheme was a decision to alter the Gibbs building, so as to make it correspond, as far as possible, with that which it was proposed to execute. On the same day that the plan of Mr Wilkins was finally adopted, we find that the following orders were made:

"Agreed that when the above Contract shall be completely executed, the Provost be hereby authorized to enter into another Contract with any person or persons he may think fit to Gothicise Gibbs's Building, according to the plan originally proposed by Mr Wilkins.

Agreed that after Gibbs's Building shall have been Gothicised, the Provost be further authorised to Contract as aforesaid for the addition of Cloisters behind the Screen agreeable to the same plan."

No formal ceremony of laying the first stone took place. The excavations for the foundations were begun 19 April, and the Hall 11 July, 1824². The whole was completed in about four years at a cost of rather more than £100,000³.

¹ [College Order, 14 November, 1823.]

² [These dates are derived from the Cambridge Chronicle of 23 April and 16 July, 1824.]

³ [The exact total, including all extras, was £101,021. 1s. 11d. The principal items were: Contractor, £84,254. 3s. 4d.; ditto for extras, £2000; Lanthorns for Hall, £1475. 17s.; Clerk of Works, £610. 12s.; Architect, £4810; New Stables, £1909; New Almshouses, £545. 15s.; Sundries, £4,188. 14s. 7d.; Painter, £1227. The following inscription in the new kitchen gives the exact date of completion: "The 1 dinner dressed in this kitchen by T. Lawrance Feb. 27. 1828."]

After the acquisition of Mr Cory's house in 1870, as related in Chapter III., a range of building in continuation of the east front of Wilkins' work was erected from the design of Sir G. G. Scott at a cost of £6000. In 1873 the houses on the south side of King's Lane were fitted up as rooms for undergraduates, and the offices behind the Hall were transferred to the same side of the lane, and connected with the College by a sub-way.

GROUNDS, BRIDGE, GARDENS, ETC. Having now traced the steps by which the College buildings were brought to their present state, we must briefly describe the use that had been made of the ground on both sides of the river during the three centuries between its acquisition and the commencement of the Gibbs building in 1724, with the subsequent alterations down to the present time. The authorities for this are chiefly the maps of Hammond and Loggan. The former (fig. 57) is a birds-eye view, dated 1592; the latter (fig. 58) a ground-plan, dated 1688.

When the former was taken the ground on the right bank of the Cam was quite open and unoccupied, except by three buildings near the middle of the south side, and two enclosures on the west side, close to the river. The whole of this ground was called the "Church yard" or the "Chapel yard," and the portion nearest the river "le grene." It was mentioned above that there is evidence that it was cleared of buildings soon after its acquisition, and we shall find that some of the arrangements about to be described were undertaken without delay (p. 333). The wall along the river bank is mentioned as already in existence in 1466¹, and in the following year that on the south side between the College and S. Austin's Hostel was built. The court, as thus set out, was of about the same size as at present, as the ground-plans (fig. 3) of the original and the present site shew.

It had three gates of entrance; (1) Friars-gate, at the end of the part of Milne Street now called Queens' Lane; (2) a gate at the end of School Street; (3) a gate at the end of the other part of Milne Street now called Trinity Hall Lane. None of these, so far as we know, were interesting architecturally except the first, which was a rather lofty gothic arch, under a tiled pent-

¹ [Ibid. 1466—67. *Custus novi edificii*. "Item Johanni Fyne de Coton pro...co-opertura murorum prope le Ee." "Le Ee," or "Le Ree," is the old name for the Cam.]

house sufficiently large to be called "le Fryersgathouse" in 1692¹. No walks leading across the court are shewn by Hammond, nor any trees, except near Clare Hall. The court was not regularly planted with trees until the spring of 1580², and they had perhaps not grown sufficiently high when his plan was taken to be worth noticing. By 1688 those on each side of the path leading from Friars-gate to the Chapel had grown into a stately avenue (figs. 56, 58), and there was also a row round the south and east sides of the court. These were cut down in 1823 when the new buildings were begun. They were then as high as those in front of S. Catharine's Hall are now; and rooks used to build in them³. The walks were laid out when the trees were planted in 1580.

The building shewn by Hammond next to Friars-gate is the Stable. An extensive repair of it, under a separate heading, is recorded in 1507—8, and in many subsequent years. In 1688 it, and other offices, among which were probably the Brewery and the Slaughterhouse, had extended along the wall of Cholles-lane as far as the river (fig. 58), where they remained until 1823.

The bridge over the Cam was built in the position directed by the Founder as early as 1472—73, and frequently rebuilt in

¹ [A view of this gate is given by Dyer, *History of the University*, 8vo. Lond. 1814, II. 166. The determination of the different names of gates that occur in the accounts is very difficult. That of (1), by which it was known down to our own time, first occurs in the *Mundum-Book*, 1574—75. *Reparaciones*. "Item pro sera to the Fryers gate x⁴." Before this time it is called "porta australis," *ibid.* 1465—66; "magna porta prope stabulum," 1468—69; and "porta iuxta hospiciū Sancti Augustini," 1496—97. We find (2) called "porta orientalis" in 1473—74, and afterwards it may perhaps be identified with the "porta elemosinaria," or "Almes-gate." Both names occur frequently, and the above explanation is suggested by the following entries. *Mundum-Book*, 1509—10, *Expens. necess.* "pro vna sera pendula pro porta elemosinaria," and *ibid.* *Reparaciones*. "vni emendanti muros in vna domo elemosinaria in venella ij⁴." It is known that the Almshouses were in School Street. The original position of (3) is shewn in the plan (fig. 3). It was not placed in its present position until 1651, when Thomas Grumball and others are paid for stone-work and iron-work "circa nouum ostium versus Aulam Clarensem." A new iron gate, costing £53. 6s. 6d., was put up 1767—68.]

² [*Mundum-Book*, 1579—80. Term. Annunc. *Reparaciones*. "Item Westlie pro 200 ashes and for setting them in the churchyard ad ij d. peece x. li." There are many subsequent charges for planting. The trees mentioned are walnut and elm.]

³ [These details were communicated by the present Provost. Numerous entries shew the trouble given by birds building in the trees about the court: e.g. 1668—69. *Expens. necess.* "Solut' pro nitro grandineque scolopetanea ad arcend' volucres a nidificando in le Chapple yard, 00. 02. 08."]

the same place'. The stone bridge of two arches shewn in the illustration (fig. 59), was erected in 1627, when George Tompson, freemason agreed to take down "the great old wooden bridge," and build a new one "of the best and most durable freestone".

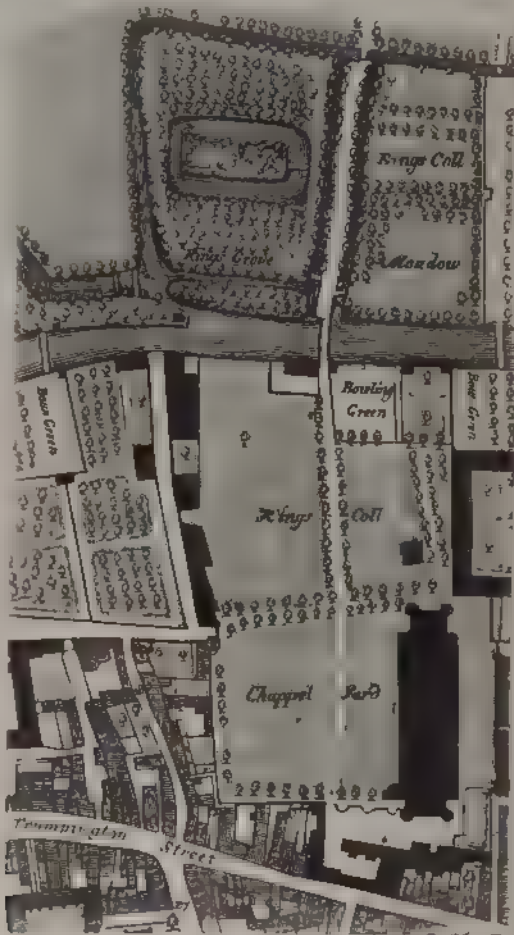


Fig 58. Ground-plan of King's College from Loggan's plan of Cambridge

[In 1595 a workman named Peere was paid for two designs for a bridge, which was shortly afterwards built of wood on stone foundations.]

² {The contract, dated 10 July, 1627, is in the College Muniment Room. The

At the east end of the bridge there was a lofty arch, closed by a gate, and surmounted by a tiled coping. A broad walk ran eastward from the bridge to the "clerkes' lodgings" on the other side of the court, planted on each side with trees as far as the avenue between Friars'-gate and the chapel.

Between the bridge and Clare Hall was the Senior Fellows' garden. It was at first called the "little garden" (*parvus ortus*) to distinguish it from the larger garden west of the Cam; and was originally divided into two (fig. 57), one of which was called



Fig. 59. View of the old Bridge of King's College, reduced from an engraving of a drawing by P. S. Lamborn made about 1790.

"the inner garden" (*hortus interior*); and afterwards into garden and bowling-green, first mentioned in 1658 (fig. 58). In the former, overhanging the river, was a "gallery," such as we have found in the Fellows' garden at Corpus Christi College (p. 260), first built in 1468—69¹. It is doubtless the building shewn next

drawing, from an engraving of which the woodcut has been reduced, is in the British Museum, King's Library, VIII. 58.]

¹ [Mundum Book 1468—69. *Custus non edificat.* "Item sol' pro mercedo et assensibus emptis in Nundinis Stirlingge pro stacione s' per aquam iuxta parvum

the river by Hammond and Loggan. The garden was rendered private by a high wall along its south and east sides, built 1578—79. Access to the river was provided by a water-gate, with stairs leading down to it; and stone seats, shaded by a vine stretched on a frame, are also mentioned¹. A second avenue, made 1589, led from the Seniors' Garden to the south-east corner of Clare Hall, passing close by the Belfry (fig. 58).

The enclosure opposite to the bowling-green (fig. 57) may be identified with the "Juniors' Garden²," on erecting the walls of which a legacy of £50, bequeathed by Barnabas Oley, M.A., Fellow of Clare Hall, was spent in 1689³. The small building on the bank of the river beyond it (fig. 57), may possibly be the swan-house, but this must be a matter of conjecture.

The ground on the west side of the river was bounded by running water on the south and west sides, as at present, and it was crossed by an avenue, raised on a causeway of considerable height, as the relics of it still remaining shew. It started from the bridge, and ran in a direction rather north of due west, until it reached the ditch along the west border, over which there was a wooden bridge with a gate, called "Field-gate." There were also watercourses on each side of the avenue, made probably by the excavation of the earth required for raising the causeway, crossed at their east end by bridges leading into the "meadow" and "grove," as Loggan styles these two spaces (fig. 58). The former, part of Butt-close, was used for the pasturage of the College horses, and was sometimes called "the geldinges close⁴." The latter, which in the 17th century was called "Laundress

Ortum Collegii xij. s. vjd." Ibid. 1478—79. "Item sol'...laboranti per .iij. dies in galeria super Aquam ix. d." Ibid. 1518—19. "Item pro conductione cimbe ad reparationem de le galery vj. d." Ibid. 1576—77. "New making the Fellowes gallery ouer the water."

¹ [Ibid. 1582—83. *Reparaciones*. "Item...in mending the groundsill of the vine and the seates of the Seniors garden." Ibid. 1594—95. Charges occur for "le water-howse gates in horto sociorum" and "in making the stayers downe to the water-gates." See the description of this and the other gardens, *History of Clare Hall*, p. 118.]

² [It is frequently mentioned by this name in the accounts. Ibid. 1626—27. *Expens. necess.* "Sol'... pro ligno sustinente vineam in horto Juniorum 01 . 07 . 00."]

³ [Mundum-Book, 1688—89. *Reparaciones*. Term Bapt. "Solut'... pro erigendo Muro lateritio in le Chappell Yard præter 50 Libras solut' per Executorem Magistri Oley socii Aulæ Clarensis Legatas sociis junioribus £77 . 09 . 05."]

⁴ [Ibid. 1583—84. "For...ditching about the geldinges close and the laundresse yard iij."]

Yard," was termed "le pond-yard" in early times, because about one-third of it was occupied by a pond, containing an island, on which there was a house in 1592; but by 1688 this had been taken down, and the ground laid out as a garden or orchard for recreation as well as use. The whole of this piece of land may be identified with the "new garden" laid out in 1450; and with the "large garden," from a charge "for cleaning the ponds in the large garden" in 1472—73¹. Part of it was laid out as a hop-yard², and it also contained the Pigeon-house³. In Loggan's time a strip along the eastern border had been formed into a separate island. The walk on the west side was called "Crouche" in 1707—8, and the walks generally are afterwards spoken of as "le crouches."

This arrangement of the grounds still existed in 1763, when we find the following description of them:

"There are several Gardens and Orchards belonging to this College; and, besides the River that runs thro' them, there are some Moats and Canals, with thick shady Groves of Elms, which render the Avenues to the College exceeding pleasant: and no Place is capable of greater Improvement, by cutting Vistas through the Grove, and laying out the Waste Ground about it into regular Walks and Canals: all which is designed to be done (when the remaining Part of the great Square is finished) according to the Plan given by the late ingenious M^r *Bridgman*⁴."

We do not know what Mr Bridgman proposed to do; but in 1741 "the Ingenious Mr *Essex*" published a "Prospect" in which he proposed to lay out four grass-plots of equal size in the quadrangle, separated by broad gravel walks; and two similar grass-plots between the new building and the river. The bridge was to be moved to its present position, and the ground beyond to be planted with trees in regular lines, round a rectangular lake or basin communicating with the Cam. A circular temple, with

¹ [Ibid. 1472—73. *Reparaciones*. "Item sol' ij. fossoribus pro mundacione Stagnorum in magno orto Collegii iiij^d." Ibid. 1639—40. *Expens. necess.* "Pro noua sella in y^a Laundresse yard in vsum Seniorum, £4. 17. 3."]

² [Ibid. 1581—82. *Expens. necess.* "Item laborantibus in digging and leveling le grownd de hopyard in the Launderes yard xxxiiij^d. iiij^d."]

³ [At the end of the *Mundum-Book*, 1570—71. "Charges extraordinary this yeere, viz. The Dovehouse new buylt in the Laundresyard about 50 li." It is curious that so accurate a draughtsman as Loggan should not shew its position.]

⁴ [Cantabrigia Depicta, Camb. 1763. It had been agreed to consult Mr Bridgman 20 December, 1720.]

a domical roof, was to be built on a central eminence westward of the lake¹. This ambitious design, which, it must be admitted, is not devoid of a certain beauty, was not accepted; but in August, 1749, a new walk was commenced along the west bank of the river, which was planted on both sides with limes in the following year, and turfed in 1751. While this work was proceeding a new walk was made along the south side of the court down to the river²; and in 1753 "the upper part of the Chappell Yard," by which the portion eastward of the Gibbs building must be meant, was laid down as a lawn, though not for the first time, to judge from Loggan's print of the south side of the Chapel (fig. 15)³. In 1771 it was contemplated to improve the ground west of the Gibbs building, by taking down the walls along the river-side and levelling the ground, under the direction of Mr Essex⁴. Part of this scheme was carried out in the following year; when the garden walls were removed, the trees cut down, and the whole space laid out as a lawn⁵. In 1775—76 the walls along the river were lowered, and in the next year the stone gateway at the east end of the bridge was replaced by iron gates⁶. The bridge built in 1627 remained until the beginning

¹ [An engraving of this scheme was published in 1741. The original is in King's College Provost's Lodge.]

² [This work, styled "novum ambulacrum ex australi parte in le Chappell Yard," lasted from 28 January, 1750, to 6 March, 1753.]

³ [College Order, 26 May, 1753. "Agreed to lay out and turfe the upper part of the Chappell Yard so soon as conveniently may be." A lawn is first mentioned in 1674—75. *Expens. necess.* "Solut' pro vehiculo spinarum ad defendendum novas arbores et viridar' recens factum in le Chappell Yard."]

⁴ ["Minutes of a Congregation in the late Mr Provost Sumner's hand writing," dated 15 November, 1771.]

⁵ [College Orders, 10 April, 14 April, 1772. The extent of the work done in 1771—72 is shewn by the cost charged Term. Bapt. 1772, which amounted to £201. 8s. 9d. The garden walls were taken down in December, 1772. The ground on the north side of the Chapel was levelled at the same time.]

⁶ [Mundum-Book, 1775—76. *Expens. necess.* "Paid Cotton and Humfrey for work done at the river 61. 15. 6." Ibid. 1776—7. "Paid Fuller for the Iron gates at the Bridge 53. 3. 9." The appearance of the ground after these alterations is shewn in a large print by Harraden, published 12 October, 1797. There were then no water-courses N. and S. of the avenue. It had been agreed, 16 Jan. 1795, that one of these, described as "the Ditch running from the River to Clare Hall piece," should be filled up; and perhaps the pond and islands were done away with at the same time, for neither are shewn in the plan of Cambridge by Custance, dated 1797.]

of the present century. In 1807 the rebuilding of it in the same place was contemplated, but nothing was done at that time. In 1815 a "Bridge Fund" was commenced; and in 1818 the state of the old bridge rendered it necessary that the work should be undertaken without delay, as the following orders shew:

27 May, 1818. "Agreed that the Bridge, being deemed by Rennie the Surveyor in such a ruinous state that in all probability it will soon fall into the River and impede the Navigation, be taken down and a new Bridge built of Stone.

Agreed that the Viceprovost Mess^{rs} Hinde and Leycester be commissioned to employ a surveyor who may point out the situation in which it will be most advisable to erect the new Bridge, give an estimate of the expence and furnish a plan or plans to be submitted to the College for selection, and that the same Gentleman do take means to ascertain the probable expence of sloping the Lawn to the River."

It was decided (26 June) to employ Mr Francis Braidwood, who offered "to build a new Stone Bridge of Fifeshire Stone for the sum of £2050." The design was to be furnished by Mr Wilkins; and the bridge was about to be begun, if not actually begun, in the old position, when at the suggestion of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A., Fellow, it was agreed to change the position to near the south-west corner of the site, and in connexion with this alteration, to rearrange the ground westward of the river. This will be best explained by the orders which sanctioned it:

30 September, 1818. "Agreed to the following alterations at Mr Simeon's expence, viz: The placing of the Bridge on an enlarged Scale in a line with the South walk; the pulling down the wall at the end and building it up again so as to make an opening to Queens Walk and the making that part as far as the last tree to correspond in a measure with Queens walk; the making a passage through the Stable next to Mr Simeon's and a door at the end of it; the making a walk from the New Bridge along the new Plantation, transferring three or four of the trees to another site;—the making a Bridge and putting up the Gates at the end of that walk; the putting up the other Gates (those which stood upon the late Bridge) on the opposite side of the Road to correspond with those Gates and to mark the unity of the property; the removing of the present walk with the two trees that are upon it and forming the remainder of the Avenue into two Mounds, taking down three trees that are near the middle of it in order to break the line into two Mounds, the five trees to go towards the expence of it; the planting of Clare Hall walk (the South side of it) with Ivy, and putting some ornamental Clumps of Trees or Shrubs to break the line.

29 October, 1818. "Agreed that if the additional Expence of carrying into effect all the alterations proposed by M^r Simeon and approved by Vote of Congregation on the 30th of September last do not exceed £300, the same be carried into effect at the expence of the College.

7 Jan. 1819. "Agreed that the alterations with respect to the Bridge and Field contemplated by the Vote of the 30th of September 1818 be carried into effect (with the exception of putting up Gates on the other side of the road) upon Condition that M^r Simeon pays £700 towards the expence, and that if the Sum of £300 agreed to by the Vote of the 29th of October 1818 be not sufficient to defray the extra expence an additional sum of £200 be paid by the College."

The span of the bridge, as finally agreed upon, was fifty-five feet. This measurement was decided 30 April, 1819, soon after which date the work was begun, and completed in about a year, at a cost of £3771. 6s. 6d. At the same time the old avenue was destroyed, and the grounds rearranged as suggested above.

The Fountain in the centre of the quadrangle must now be noticed. As we have seen, a conduit in this position was intended by the Founder; and a supply of water was provided in the last century. In 1826 Mr Davidson, the benefactor who has been before commemorated, gave £700 "for a Statue of the Founder and a handsome Fountain." The sum was allowed to accumulate until 1874, when a design in stone and bronze by H. A. Armstead, R.A., was accepted. It was completed in May, 1879, at a cost of £4132. 8s. 9d., of which the sculptor received £3490.]

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

1440. Eton. Conveyance of first site, with Church and Churchyard (11 October).
1441. King's. Acquisition and conveyance of site of Old Court (22 January).
King's. Foundation-stone laid (2 April).
Eton. Building-accounts begin (3 July).
1442. Eton. Contract with the quarry-men of Kent (4 April).
Eton. Supply of brick begins from the kiln at Slough (28 May).
1443. Eton. Acquisition of Playing-Fields and Shooting-Fields.
King's. Commencement of purchase of enlarged site (26 August).
Eton. Bekyngton celebrates mass in new Chapel, and gives a banquet in new buildings (13 October).
Eton. Contract with Thomas Whetelay for 10 chambers, a hall, cloisters, and 7 towers and turrets (30 November).
1444. King's. Reginald Ely commissioned to press masons.
1446. Eton. Acquisition of "Fellows Eyot" (1 February).
King's. Grant of quarry in Thetdale (4 March).
King's. Foundation-stone of Chapel laid (25 July).
King's. Consecration of Cemetery (2 November).
Eton. Design of Hall settled by Marquis of Suffolk (November).
Eton. Completion of Almshouse.
1447. King's. Langton ceases to be overseer of the works (12 March).
Millington succeeds.
King's. Acquisition of ground west of Cam (31 October).
King's. Grant of £1000 yearly for the works to begin at Michaelmas.
1448. Eton. Estimate for completion of Chapel and College (7 February).
The "Will of King Henry the Sixth" signed (12 March).
Eton. Stone from the Teynton quarry first brought in.
1449. Eton. Roger Keys is sent to Salisbury and Winchester to measure their choirs and naves (January).
Eton. Acquisition of the "Timberhaw" (9 February).
Eton. Grant of Hudleston quarry from Sir J. Langton (25 February).
Eton. New Hall in use (Midsummer).
King's. Completion of enlarged site, and conveyance of it to the College.
1450. King's. Nicholas Close ceases to be overseer, being made Bishop of Carlisle (14 March).
1452. King's. Robert Wodelarke made overseer (12 December).
1458. Eton. Ironwork for windows in the new choir ordered.
1459. Eton. Ironwork for east window of present Chapel ordered (October).
1463. Eton. Papal Bull uniting Eton to S. George's, Windsor (13 November).
1469. Eton. Work resumed by Bishop Waynflete (?).
1471. Deposition of Henry the Sixth.

1472. Eton. Edward the Fourth grants chalk and flints from Windsor Castle.
 1475. Eton. Bishop Waynflete contracts for Roodloft and Stalls (15 August).
 1476. Eton. Bishop Waynflete's glazier measures the Chapel windows.
 1477. King's. Attempt to carry on the works by private subscription.
 1479. Eton. Bishop Waynflete contracts for stone from Headington (8 January).
 1480. King's. Walter Field, Provost, appointed overseer of works. His accounts begin, 10 January. Ironwork ordered for windows.
 Eton. Stonework of Ante-Chapel probably finished. Frescoes in Nave begun.
 1482. Eton. Bishop Waynflete contracts for lead (15 July).
 1484. King's. Work resumed by Richard the Third (May). East window glazed.
 1488. Eton. Completion of frescoes in the Church.
 1508. King's. Work resumed by Henry the Seventh (28 May). Thomas Larke overseer.
 1509. King's. The King conveys £5000 to the College (24 March).
 1512. King's. The King's executors convey £5000 to the College (8 February).
 King's. Contract with Wastell and Semerk for the stone vault of the Chapel (22 April—7 June).
 1513. King's. Contract with Wastell for the pinnacles of 21 buttresses and the north-west tower (4 January).
 King's. Contract with him for the remaining three towers (4 March).
 King's. Contract with him for the vaults of 2 porches, 7 chapels in the nave, and 9 "behynd the quere;" and for the battlements of the porches and chapels (4 August).
 1514. Eton. Commencement (?) of Provost Lupton's Chapel.
 1515. King's. Stonework of Chapel probably completed (29 July).
 King's. Payment of £100 to Barnard Flower for glass (15 November).
 1517. King's. Second payment of £100 to Barnard Flower for glass (12 February).
 Eton. Commencement of west side of College Buildings and Lupton's tower (23 February).
 1520. Eton. Completion of Provost Lupton's buildings (27 December).
 1526. King's. Contracts for completion of the glass (30 April, 3 May).
 1531. King's. Glass to be completed in May of this year.
 1531—35. King's. Roodloft set up.
 1536. King's. Extensive building work begun at Lodge.
 1536—37. King's. Fall of old Chapel. New Chapel probably first used.
 1544—45. King's. Arrival of High Altar.
 1547. Eton. Hall panelled.
 1562. King's. Hall extensively repaired or rebuilt.
 1570. King's. Removal of Library to south side-chapels.
 1583—84. Eton. Trees planted in Playing-Fields.
 1592—93. King's. New Combination Room built
 1603. Eton. Sir H. Savile begins Head-Master's house as printing-house.
 1606. King's. Organ first set up on roodloft.
 1614—15. King's. West door made, and west end of Ante-chapel partially paved.
 1633. King's. Thomas Weaver gives heraldic woodwork for back of stalls.

1633. King's. Woodroffe commences erection of reredos.
 1636. King's. Doors of roodloft made by Woodroffe.
 1665—81. Eton. Upper School built by Provost Allestree.
 1675—78. King's. Canopies over stalls made by Cornelius Austin.
 1678—79. King's. Space between stalls and reredos panelled by Austin.
 1689. Eton. Present Upper School built.
 1699. Eton. Chapel panelled with classical woodwork.
 1702. King's. Choir of Chapel paved with black and white marble.
 1714. King's. Building-Fund commenced.
 1720. Eton. Hall repaired under direction of Mr Rowland.
 1724. King's. Foundation-stone of Gibbs Building laid (25 March).
 1725. Eton. Present Library commenced "according to Mr Rowland's plan."
 1758. Eton. Upper Story added to North and East sides of Cloister Court.
 1770—76. King's. Erection of altar-piece by Essex.
 1774. King's. Lord Godolphin gives £400 to pave Ante-chapel (23 September).
 1798. King's. Deed of exchange between King's and University (31 October).
 1818. King's. Bridge commenced in present position.
 1823. King's. Alteration in direction of King's Lane.
 1824. King's. Foundation dug for Wilkins building (19 April).
 1827. King's. Exchange of ground between Clare and King's ratified by Act of Parliament.
 King's. South-east bay of Chapel ashlarred as at present.
 1829. King's. Site and buildings of Old Court sold to University.
 1835. King's. Destruction of Old Court authorized by Senate.
 1842. Eton. Restoration of Chapel commenced.
 1844. Eton. Foundation-stone laid of New Building for Collegers (June).
 1845. King's. Mr Hedgeland glazes lower half of S.E. window.
 1847. Eton. Thorough restoration of Chapel undertaken.
 1852. Eton. Restoration of interior of Ante-chapel.
 1858. Eton. Restoration of exterior and interior of Hall.
 1870. King's. Purchase of Cory's house for £4000.
 King's. Building commenced at S.E. corner of site by Sir G. G. Scott.
 1876. Eton. Restoration of exterior of Chapel. Ante-chapel faced with Bath stone.
 1879. King's. Completion of Fountain in Great Court.
 King's. Glass for west window of Chapel completed (22 April).

APPENDIX.

THE HERALDRY OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL.

By C. J. EVANS, M.A., formerly Fellow.

In this paper I propose to give as accurate an account as I can of the shields of arms and heraldic badges to be found in and about the Chapel, arranged under the following heads :

- I. Those which are carved in stone, forming part of the fabric.
- II. Those which are painted in the windows.
- III. Those which ornament the wood-work and other furniture of the Chapel.
- IV. Memorial and Monumental Heraldry.

It may be well to mention, once for all, that in the stone and wood-work there is no attempt to indicate the heraldic tinctures, except in two instances where the shields are emblazoned in their proper colours. It may also be well to remind the reader that the Royal Arms from the reign of Henry VI. to that of Elizabeth, inclusive, were as follows: Quarterly; 1 and 4, Azure, three fleurs-de-lis or, *France*; 2 and 3, Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale or, *England*; differenced only by the supporters used by each sovereign: and that the Stuarts bore Quarterly of four grand quarters; I. and IV. Quarterly of *France* and *England*; II. Or, a lion rampant within a double tressure flory counter-flory gules, *Scotland*; III. Azure, a harp or, stringed argent, *Ireland*; Supporters, a lion rampant guardant imperially crowned or, and a unicorn rampant argent, armed, unguled, crined, and gorged with an imperial crown having a chain affixed to it, or.

I. SHIELDS OF ARMS AND HERALDIC BADGES WHICH FORM PART OF
THE ORNAMENTATION OF THE FABRIC.

The arms of Henry VII. crowned, and supported (except in one instance) by a dragon and a greyhound collared¹, occur seventeen times; viz. eleven times in the antechapel, twice on each of the porches, immediately under the west window, and (on a small shield without supporters) in the apex of the west doorway.

The shields on which they are carved are (with the exception of the last-mentioned one) oblong in shape, of two kinds: i. with straight top and sides, the bottom curving gently to a point; ii. with straight sides, the top and bottom engrailed with either six or eight cusps. Most of them are also what heralds call shields *à bouche*, being pierced in the dexter chief as if for a lance to pass through, with a considerable bulge round the opening. Of No. i. there are nine examples, two plain and seven *à bouche*; and seven of No. ii., one being plain and six *à bouche*. A good effect is produced in some cases by the shields being made to curve slightly forward at the top and bottom.

¹ A red dragon was the ensign attributed to his ancestor Cadwaladr the last king of the Britons, and the white greyhound collared is said to be for the House of York, or for that of Beaufort.

In the ante-chapel the crowned shield is placed in the centre of a set of foliated panels under each window. The supporters occupy the adjoining panels, and are flanked right and left by heraldic badges crowned. The west window having nine lights, there are nine panels beneath it, the three central ones are occupied by the shield and supporters, while of the remaining six two on each side have trailing roses, the stalks and leaves so arranged as to fill the panel, and the one between them a portcullis¹, the chains of which are arranged in the same way. Under each of the ten side-windows there are five panels, of which the easternmost has a portcullis, the western a trailing rose. The narrow panels between these windows and the vaulting shafts are also ornamented with crowned badges arranged vertically in sets of three. On either side of the west window are two roses (not trailing) with a portcullis between them; and this arrangement is repeated on the east side of each of the side-windows, the west side having two portcullises with a rose between them, except that against the second and fourth windows from the west on each side of the chapel the lower portcullis is replaced by a fleur-de-lis. Why the fleur-de-lis was used in these four instances and these only it is difficult to say. In the centre of the lower rose to the south of the west window is carved a half-figure of a woman, apparently the Blessed Virgin Mary.

These heraldic devices, from their great size and frequent repetition, have a somewhat monotonous effect, which the designer has tried to counteract by the boldness and variety of their details. The great shields of arms themselves are extremely fine. The attitude of the supporters is different in every instance, and they are treated in a very spirited way. Moreover it would be difficult to give an idea, to any one who has not looked into them, of the amount of thought and labour that has been bestowed upon the details of the crowns and portcullises. The latter are ornamented at the intersections with small flowers, roses, fleur-de-lis, lions' heads, trefoils, &c.; and the trailing of their chains is as varied in design as that of the stalks and leaves of the roses. The rims of the crowns are covered with foliage of the most various and elaborate character, very beautifully carved, with the motto *Dieu et mon droit* in some cases worked into it, in Old English letters of various kinds. The upper edge of the rim is sometimes embattled, sometimes enriched with the Tudor flower ornament. As particularly good specimens of ornamentation, I would point to the devices in the third bay from the west on the south side.

The key-stones of the great vault are carved with portcullises and roses alternately (not crowned), beginning at the west with a portcullis: the points of the portcullises are to the east. The key-stones of the vaults of the porches and of most of the side-chapels are also carved with roses.

In the string under the western jamb of the sixth window from the west on the north side (see p. 491) is a crowned shield supported by angels, and bearing *France* and *England* quarterly. This shield, which is only to be seen from the organ-loft, is very much broken, and the crown is almost entirely gone.

In the choir, over the doorway on the north side leading into the side-chapels, is carved the following coat: A cross fleury between five martlets, for Edward the Confessor (for whom Henry VI. seems to have had a special reverence²), viz.

¹ For the origin of the portcullis as a badge of the Beauforts, derived from the castle of Beaufort in Anjou, see Willemsen's *Regal Heraldry* 1851 8vo. p. 85. Henry VII. is said to have used it sometimes with the motto, *Altera securitas*, referring to his claim to the throne through his maternal descent from the Beauforts.

² Willemsen, *Regal Heraldry*, p. 36. Carter, p. 32.

Azure, a cross fleury¹ between five mallets or. The label of the same doorway ends in shields carried by angels, one of which bears *France and England* quarterly, the other bears three crowns for the traditional arms of East Anglia, viz. Azure, three crowns or. On the fronts of the north and south porches the arms of Henry VII. are placed in the centre of large multifoliated circles, which fill the upper part of the spandrels of the doorways, in the lower part of the spandrels are trailing roses. Over the west doorway are five pinnels, three of which are occupied by the arms and supporters, and the two outer ones by trailing roses crowned.

The arch of the west doorway is filled with a beautiful trailing rose, enfiled with eight crowns and bearing as many large roses, at the apex is a small crowned shield *à bouche*, rather different in character from the shields described above, charged with the arms of Henry VII.

Five buttresses on the north side of the ante-chapel, and four on the south, have heralric animals supporting shields on the first and second set-off. Immediately below these animals, and also below the lowest set-off (which is gabled and crocketed) are crowned roses and portcullises. As far as I can judge, the animals, eighteen in all, consist of five lions, five dragons, four antelopes (used as supporters by Henry VI.) and as many greyhounds. Those on the second and fourth buttresses from the west look westward, the others eastward. They are varied as much as possible; and the roses and portcullises, in sets of three, are arranged so as to alternate with each other; e.g. one buttress has a rose, portcullis, and rose; the next a portcullis, rose, and portcullis; and so on.

It is rather curious that Loggan's view of the south side of the chapel, dedicated to Sir Thomas Page (Provost 1675-1681), shews no devices below the lowest set-off of the third and fourth buttresses from the west. On inspection the badges here (a portcullis and a rose, do not appear to be insertions, though these buttresses may have been begun before the heralric ornaments of the upper part were designed. The manner in which the heralric badges on the buttresses, which clearly were not part of the original design, correspond with the heralric ornamentation of the ante-chapel under Henry VII., has been already explained in the text (p. 490). In the cornices of the side-chapels, however, the battlements of which were probably finished about 1515 (p. 480), such ornamentation is freely employed. The hollow molding under the parapet of each chapel has seven large *palmettes*, five of which are heralric, those of the first chapel from the east on the north side consisting of three roses and two fleurs-de-lis, while those of the second are roses similarly alternated with portcullises. This arrangement is followed in the cornices of the other chapels, fleurs-de-lis and portcullises appearing in the alternate cornices. The cornices of the porches, where the parapets are more minute and rich in design, have a different arrangement. In each of these there are sixteen small *palmettes*, of which the alternate ones are heraldic. The badges employed are the rose, the portcullis, the fleur-de-lis, and three ostrich feathers encircled with a coronet, two of the feathers bending to the sinister, and one to the dexter². Each of these badges occurs twice on each porch.

Crowned roses and portcullises (sixteen of each altogether) are carved on the tops of the octagonal corner turrets.

¹ The cross in this coat is charged sometimes as *palmette*, sometimes as *fleury*, occasionally as *palmette*. In the present instance it is *fleury*.

² This appears to be the earliest example of the use of three ostrich feathers encircled with a coronet. It is found on the effigy of Arthur Prince of Wales, who was buried at Worcester Cathedral in 1502. Edward Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VI.) is said to have been the first to use the three feathers with a coronet, and to have been the group's emblem. This example however is certainly not later than 1515, and the feathers must have been used simply as a royal badge.

On the heads of the stack-pipes of the porches are the arms of the College; Sable, three roses argent, barbed vert seeded or, on a chief per pale azure and gules a fleur-de-lis of France and a lion of England; with the date 1715.

II. ARMS AND BADGES IN THE WINDOWS.

The tracery of the great side windows (twenty-four in number) is arranged as follows, see fig. 43 (p. 488). In the apex of the window is a large quatrefoil, almost circular; below this are twelve small lights in two tiers of six each, flanked on either side by a large quatrefoil with a pointed head, in shape something like a pear. But in the two easternmost windows on each side, which are probably earlier than the rest, the spaces occupied by these quatrefoils are filled with small lights, two of which range in size with the twelve mentioned above.

In the large circular quatrefoils are the arms of Henry VII. (not crowned), encircled with the garter. The remaining compartments (14 in each window, or 336 in all) are filled with heraldic badges; of which (as nearly as I can tell) the Lancaster Rose occurs 94 times, the Hawthorn-bush 70, the Portcullis 32, the Fleur-de-lis 50, H. E. (for Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York) 23, H. R. 15, the Tudor Rose 13, the White Rose *en soleil* 12, and H. K. (for Henry VIII. and Katherine of Aragon, as Prince and Princess of Wales) 6. The pear-shaped compartments are invariably filled with roses, which have a trailing branch with three red rose-buds upon it. In the upper tier of small lights the badges are painted on a plain ground, generally blue, and are ensigned with a crown, the fleurs-de-lis and portcullises being gold. In the lower tier the badges are of a smaller size, charged on shields, which are generally white. These shields are borne by angels with coloured nimbus, "clothed in full white robes, which entirely hide the limbs and feet, and are disposed in large and elaborately bent folds peculiar to German and Flemish art of the 15th century".

The style of the glass in these tracery lights is the same throughout, whereas two or three different styles may be distinguished in the windows themselves. It seems likely that the lights were filled before the scaffoldings for the windows were removed; but there is nothing in the badges themselves which points to any particular date between 1515, when the first payment for glass was made to Barnard Flower the king's glazier, and 1526, when a contract was made for glazing the greater portion of the windows. The initials of Henry VII. and his wife may well have been placed in the windows after his death, especially as the arms, badges and other devices were to be devised by his executors. Those of Henry VIII. and Katherine of Aragon may have been placed there at any time between 1503, the year in which they were married, and 1527, when the validity of the marriage began to be publicly questioned. These last initials (it will have been seen) occur sparingly, as compared with the others. The lettering is mostly in bold capitals, gold on white shields. H. K. however occurs several times in small old English characters, black on gold shields. The hawthorn-bush is once accompanied by the letters H. E.: it is crowned or not, according as it appears in the upper or lower tier of lights. Generally speaking, it is represented simply as a green bush; but in a few instances it is fructed *proper*, i.e. with red berries, and sometimes with *white* berries. The occurrence of the white rose *en soleil* (a distinctly Yorkist badge) is remarkable, considering the great preponderance of Lancaster over Tudor roses. It must be clearly borne in mind that the whole shell of the chapel, stone-work and glass, represents Henry VII., either in his life-time or during the tenure of office of his executors. This period ends with 1530.

¹ See an elaborate paper on these windows by George Scharf, Jun., F.S.A., in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiii p. 43.

It is with the wood-work that the mark and influence of Henry VIII. as *King* first make their appearance.

The tracery of the east window is arranged in a different way. Each of the three main divisions of the window is sub-arcuated, and divided by super-mullions and curved tracery-bars into four compartments, of which the two central are long narrow lights, while those at the sides are pear-shaped, as in the side-windows. The upper part of the tracery is divided by super-mullions into small lights of various sizes.

The two central lights of the middle division are filled with the arms of Henry VII., represented on a banner, which is held by a red dragon on a green mount. A trailing rose crowned occupies each of the corresponding lights in the other two divisions; the roses being alternately Lancaster and Tudor. The following devices appear in the other lights: The Lancaster Rose (six times); the Tudor Rose (four times); the Fleur-de-lis (three times); the Portcullis (three times); H. R. (twice); the gold ostrich feather¹ with a scroll of *Ich dien* (twice); H. E.; H. K. All these devices are gold (except the roses) on a blue ground; and all are crowned with the exception of one Lancaster and one Tudor rose, the initials H. E. and H. K., and the ostrich feather. From the appearance of the last-named badge and initials, the date of 1503 might be approximately assigned for the execution of this part of the window, for on the death of Prince Arthur in 1502 Henry VII. invested his son Henry with the principality of Wales, and married him in 1503 to Katherine his brother's widow. In the same year Elizabeth of York died. There is no trace, however, in the College accounts of any payment for glass for the chapel between 1484, when the east window was glazed (probably with common glass), and 1515. The east window is mentioned by name in the indenture for glazing the windows, drawn up in 1516. And I think most persons would conclude, from an inspection of the window, that the glass in the tracery lights is by the same hand as the rest of the design. The presence of the ostrich feather and motto in this window alone is difficult to account for.

In the west window (see p. 516) the tracery lights have the following badges and coats of arms.

- I. The Portcullis.
- II. The Tudor Rose.
- III. The arms of the College.
- IV. The arms of Eton College; Sable, three lily-flowers argent; on a chief per pale azure and gules a fleur-de-lis of France and a lion of England.
- V. The arms of the University; Gules, on a cross ermine between four lions of England, a book lying fesse-wise of the field, clasped and garnished or, the clasps in base.
- VI. The arms of the College.
- VII. *France* and *England* quarterly, supported on a rose stalk; for Henry VI., the founder.
- VIII. The same, supported on a stalk with a Lancaster Rose; for Henry VII., at whose expense the chapel was finished.
- IX. The same, supported on a stalk with a Tudor Rose; for Henry VIII., in whose reign the chapel was finished, and the other windows filled with stained glass.
- X. Quarterly of four; 1 and 4, *England*; 2, *Scotland*; 3, *Ireland*; for Victoria, in whose reign the stained glass was placed in this window.

¹ The tips of these feathers have an inclination to curl, rather than to bend, and somewhat resemble those of the feathers on the tomb of Prince Arthur at Worcester. See Boutell's *Heraldry*, pp. 232, 234, 2nd edition, 1863.

XI. The arms of *Stacey*; Azure, on a bend between three owls or as many fleurs-de-lis of the field; for F. E. Stacey, donor of the glass.

XII. The letters F. E. S. intertwined with a knot in gold on a blue shield; for the donor.

XIII. The arms of the See of Lincoln; Gules, two lions of England; on a chief azure the Blessed Virgin sitting crowned and sceptred and holding the Holy Child, or; impaling *Wordsworth*; Argent, three bells azure; for Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln 1869, Visitor of the College when the window was executed.

XIV. The arms of *Okes*; Argent, between two bendlets sable three human hearts gules; for Richard Okes, D.D., Provost 1850, Head of the College when the window was executed.

XV. and XVI. H. and R., each intertwined with a rose stalk shewing green leaves and red petals; for the Founder.

The Royal shields¹ and badges are all crowned. The other shields are each borne by an angel, like those in the tracery of the side-windows.

At the bottom of the central light in the lower portion of the window, is an angel carrying a shield with the arms of the Founder.

III. ARMS AND BADGES ON THE WOOD-WORK AND OTHER FURNITURE OF THE CHAPEL.

In the middle of the west door, on the edge of its northern leaf, just opposite the spring of the arch, is carved a small crowned shield, bearing the letters H. R. and an interlaced knot.

The upper part of the organ-loft is ornamented with crowned roses, fleurs-de-lis, and portcullises. The under side of the projecting cove which carries it is divided into panels in which the following devices appear: crowned roses, fleurs-de-lis, and portcullises; H. R., H. A., R. A., H. R. A. S.², crowned and entwined in knots; a demi-falcon displayed crowned; and a crowned falcon holding a sceptre, with a bunch of roses before him. This last was Anne Boleyn's badge, and I suppose the demi-falcon also refers to her. The lower part of the screen is divided into six bays by pilasters carrying round arches. In the tympanum of each of these bays except the fifth (which has a representation in high relief of the casting down of the rebellious angels) a shield is carved, bearing arms or initials. On a round boss in the lower part of each bay, and on similar bosses on the gates, are the initials H. R. crowned; and above this, in the three northern bays, a small label appears charged with a motto; in the sixth bay, in the place of this label, is a bull's head cabossed, which probably refers to the arms of *Boleyn*, Argent, a chevron gules between three bull's heads coupé sable. The following is a description of the charges, &c., counting from the north:

I. R. A. upon a shield crowned, and supported by Cupids or angels. Motto: DIEV ET MON DROIT.

II. Arms of Henry VIII. encircled with the garter, and supported by lions³. Motto: SOLA SALVS SERVIRE DEO.

¹ These are the only instances in and about the Chapel of the Royal Arms crowned without supporters, except the small shield carved in the apex of the west doorway.

² Cole thought that S. might stand for the last letter of *Henricus*. This does not seem very likely; but I can offer no better suggestion.

³ This use of two lions as supporters appears to be uncommon. The authorities generally give Henry VIII.'s supporters as the golden lion and red dragon, and occasionally the dragon on the dexter, and on the sinister a bull, a greyhound, or a cock, all argent.

III. The same, without the garter, crowned, and supported by a lion and a dragon. Motto: HENRICVS 8.

IV. H. R. on a shield crowned, and supported by a lion and a dragon.

VI. On a crowned shield, the arms of Henry VIII. impaling the following coat for Anne Boleyn:

Quarterly of six grand quarters;

i. Gules, three leopards of England, in chief a label of three points azure, each point charged with three fleurs-de-lis or. *Lancaster.*

ii. Azure, semee of fleurs-de-lis or, a label of five points¹ gules. *Engoulesme.*

iii. Gules, a lion passant or. *Guienne.*

iv. Quarterly; 1 and 4, Per fesse indented azure and or. [Or, a chief indented azure?] *Butler.* 2 and 3, Argent, a lion rampant sable, crowned gules. *Rochfort.*

v. Gules, three leopards of England, a label of three points argent. *Brotherton.*

vi. Chequy or and azure. *Warrenne.*

Supporters; Dexter, a leopard of Guienne or, collared and chained of the same. Sinister, a male griffin (i.e. with rays or spikes of gold instead of wings) argent, armed collared and chained or.

The tinctures (not shewn on the screen) are given in Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, from a MS. in the Heralds' College Library. The first three quarters were an augmentation granted to Anne Boleyn when she was made Marchioness of Pembroke. The griffin had come to the Boleyns from the Butlers, Earls of Ormond.

The arms of Henry VIII., crowned, and supported by a lion and a dragon, are carved in the tympanum of each of the four larger bays in the thickness of the screen. They also appear, encircled with the garter, above the stalls of the Provost and Vice-Provost, which are of the same date as the screen; and (without the garter) on the door leading to the vestries on the north side of the choir. The arms of Henry VII., supported by a dragon and a greyhound, occupy a corresponding place on the opposite door.

On the choir gates are carved the arms of Charles I., crowned, and supported by a lion and an unicorn; with the date 1636.

Roses and portcullises are carved on the west side of the organ-case. On the east side, the arms of Charles II. encircled with the garter, crowned, and supported by a lion and an unicorn, are carved on the top of the great organ. On the top of the choir organ are the arms of the College. Below the choir organ, immediately over the choir door, are the arms of the College, and those of Eton. These two shields are carved, and emblazoned in their proper tinctures; possibly they are the "scutchins of this College and Eton armes" for which the carver was paid xxx^s in 1605—6. At that date the king's arms were on the choir organ; but the present case of the choir organ is supposed to be of the date of 1661 (see p. 519).

At the ends of the desks of the returned stalls are carved eight figures of heraldic animals supporting as many shields, of which five are charged with initials and three are blank. On the Provost's side are two lions, one with H. R.; a dragon, with R. A.; and a greyhound collared. On the Vice-Provost's side are a lion, with H. R.; a dragon; a greyhound collared, with H. R.; and a male griffin (as on the rood-screen), with R. A. These initials in various combinations, crowned and entwined in knots, are carved in the backs and the canopies of these stalls. On a boss in the back

¹ So carved here; Willement blazons it as a label of *three* points.

of the Provost's stall are the letters H. R. A. S. intertwined. The letters H. R. occur on the door leading to the vestries on the north side of the choir, as well as on the canopies of the side-stalls, and of the sub-stalls, which are also ornamented with roses, fleurs-de-lis, and portcullises, in many cases crowned. On the miserere of the twenty-sixth stall from the west on the Provost's side two angels support a crowned shield which is charged with a rose.

At the back of the side-stalls are thirty shields of arms (fifteen on each side) carved in elm, which were put up in 1633 (see p. 521). Each shield is backed with boldly-carved mantling. The royal arms are encircled with the garter and ensigned with a lion standing on a crown above a helmet full-faced; they have also the motto, *Dieu et mon droit*, carved in Roman capitals on a long straight scroll below the shield, on which the supporters stand¹.

The arms are as follows :

Provost's side, beginning from the west :

- I. Charles I. ; with his badges, the rose and thistle, carved below the shield.
- II. Henry VI. ; supporters, two antelopes collared ; badge, the rose.
- III. Mary I. (?) ; supporters, a lion and an eagle crowned ; a bunch of roses on the breast of the eagle² ; badge, the rose. The eagle is one of Philip's supporters, and should be used (according to the authorities) only when her arms are impaled with his. Here however the arms are simply France and England quarterly.
- IV. Henry VII. ; supporters, a dragon and a greyhound ; badge, the rose.
- V. The arms of the College, supported by winged boys kneeling.
- VI. Charles I., as I.
- VII. Henry VI., as II.
- VIII. Mary I., as III.
- IX. Henry VII., as IV.
- X. The arms of the University, supported by angels in rochets kneeling.
- XI. Charles I., as I. ; badge, the rose.
- XII. Edward IV. (?) ; supporters, a lion and a hart. These supporters were sometimes used by Henry VI., but as his arms are represented here with his undoubted supporters (No. II.) it seems more natural to refer these to Edward IV.
- XIII. Henry VIII. ; supporters, a lion and a dragon.
- XIV. Henry VII., as IV. ; badges, roses and pomegranates. The use of the pomegranate, which was the badge of Katherine of Arragon, is peculiar. But the arms would seem to be meant for those of Henry VII.
- XV. The arms of the College, supported by angels in rochets kneeling.

Vice-Provost's side, beginning from the west :

- I. Charles I., as before.
- II. Edward IV. (?), as before.
- III. Henry VIII., as before.
- IV. Henry VII., as before.
- V. The arms of Eton College, supported by winged boys kneeling.
- VI. Charles I., as before.

¹ See Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, p. 98, for a somewhat similar example of this arrangement, copied from a contemporary print of the arms of Queen Anne.

² This supporter somewhat resembles the badge of Anne Boleyn (page 580), which Elizabeth is known to have used, and it might lead to the supposition that the arms were meant for those of Elizabeth, especially as Weaver seems to have set up her arms, together with those of the Founder, his two Colleges, the two Universities, and others, in Eton College Chapel. But Elizabeth does not seem to have used the eagle or falcon as a supporter.

VII. Henry VI., as before.

VIII. Mary I., as before.

IX. Henry VII., as before.

X. The arms of the University of Oxford, supported by angels in rochets kneeling; Azure, on a book open proper, having on the dexter side seven seals or, between three ducal coronets of the last, the words SAPIENTIÆ ET FÆLICITATIS. The present motto is well known to be *Dominus Illuminatio mea*. Edmonson, writing about 1780, gives the motto as *Sapientia Felicitas*, and says the words have been changed to the present motto "within these few years last past."

XI. Charles I., as before.

XII. Edward IV. (?), as before.

XIII. Henry VIII., as before.

XIV. Henry VII. (?), as No. XIV. opposite, in every respect.

XV. The arms of Eton College, supported by angels in rochets kneeling.

It will be seen that these two groups of fifteen shields are marked off into groups of five by Nos. V., X. and XV., which represent respectively, on the north side, this College, this University, and this College, and, on the south side, Eton College, Oxford University, and Eton College. Further, the four which in every case precede these College and University shields, observe an order among themselves, representing, 1, a Stuart, 2, a Plantagenet, 3 and 4, a Tudor Sovereign. The first of the four is invariably the then reigning Sovereign, Charles I. The second is in three cases Henry VI. and in the other three (either Henry VI. with a difference or) Edward IV. The third is in three cases Henry VIII. and in the other three his daughter Mary (or possibly Elizabeth). The fourth is uniformly Henry VII.

These shields are divided from each other by pilasters, of which the first and second on either side, counting from the west, are each carved with four small shields, bearing the arms of *England, France, Scotland, and Ireland* respectively. The third, fourth, eleventh and twelfth on the Vice-Provost's side are each carved with three similar shields, bearing the arms of *England, France, and King's College*; and of *England, France, and Eton College*; twice with and twice without "H. 6." below each of the royal shields. The shields are placed one above another, the arms of *England* being uppermost in every case. Two pilasters on each side are also carved with wheatsheaves (or *garbs*) and scallop-shells, for Thomas Weaver the donor, whose arms are thus painted in Hatcher's MS., mentioned below: Quarterly; 1 and 4, Or, on a fesse azure cotised gules two garbs of the field; 2, Gules, on a bend cotised argent three escallops of the field; 3, Sable, a lion rampant argent, armed and langued gules. The second quarter may be meant for the arms of *Dawtra*, which are thus given by Papworth from Glover's *Ordinary*; Gules, on a bend argent between two cotises or three escallops sable. The arms in the third quarter are given by Papworth to "*Kydd, and Williams alias Cromwell, temp. Elizabeth.*" On the twenty remaining pilasters the flower-work with which they are ornamented terminates in heraldic badges, of which the fleur-de-lis, the pomegranate, and the thistle each occur four times; a rose for this College, a lily for Eton College, three roses on one stalk, and three lilies on one stalk, each occur twice.

In the canopies of the fifteenth and twenty-fifth stalls from the west on the Provost's side are carved these arms: Quarterly; 1 and 4, On a pale three crosses pattée within a bordure engrailed; 2 and 3, On a chevron three helmets. The first and fourth quarters are no doubt the arms of *Crouch* described below as being on the book-cases in the side-chapels. Cole blazons the second and third quarters as

follows, without giving his authority for the tinctures; Argent, on a chevron sable three helmets or. He gives no name for the coat; Papworth gives a similar coat to *Ireland*, and (from Glover's *Ordinary*) to *Skot*.

Over the panelling to the east of the stalls, which was completed in 1678—79 (see p. 525), appear the following arms:

North side:

A buck's head cabossed; for George Legge, afterwards Earl of Dartmouth and Admiral of the Fleet, who was a Fellow Commoner and gave plate to the College. (*Legge*; Azure, a buck's head cabossed argent. *Burke's Armory*.)

Ermine, on a saltire a crescent, within a bordure engrailed. Of this coat Cole says "Whether this be for Samuel Thomas who was born in y^e Parish of St Martin in Cornwall and who was admitted Scholar here in 1649...and died at Truro in Cornwall November 3^d 1691 where he had been Preacher 26 years...I can't pretend to say; but am inclined to think it was put up for him both as y^t he was a Benefactor to y^e stalls giving 10 p^d & y^e Arms of Thomas are thus blazoned, Ermine, on a Saltire Gules a Crescent Argent; w^{ch} is like these over y^e wainscote except that they have a bordure, w^{ch} is very usual to add to those of y^e same name to make a difference. Upon w^{ch} acc^t I sh^d conclude it belonged to him absolutely if his Arms were not otherways blazoned in Hatcher's MS. viz: Party Pale Nebulè Argent and Azure. So must leave it undetermined; but if they belong not to him, they don't to any of y^e rest of y^e Benefactors to y^e same use." The arms of Thomas are not blazoned as Cole blazons them in any printed ordinary that I have seen; but they are so described in an addition by a later hand to a MS. ordinary by William Smith Rouge Dragon in 1604, now in King's College Library (MS. 15), where Cole probably saw them. Hatcher's MS. is a list of the Provosts and Fellows begun by Thomas Hatcher (scholar in 1555), which has the arms of some of those who are mentioned painted in the margin. The entry relating to Thomas, with the coat party per pale nebuly, was probably made early in the eighteenth century, and it does not seem likely that the ermine coat carved on the panelling was meant for him. But I, like Cole, "must leave it undetermined," as I have not been able to find any other owner for this coat.

Five mascles in bend between two talbots passant; for Gabriel Whistler, of Combe in Hampshire, who was a tenant of the College and contributed £10. (*Whistler*; Gules, five mascles in bend between two talbots passant argent)

South side:

Ten roundels, 4, 3, 2, 1; impaling Per pale nebulè, six martlets, 2, 2, 2; the whole ensigned with a mitre; for James Fleetwood, D.D., admitted scholar in 1623, Provost 1660, Bishop of Worcester 1675, died 1683. (See of Worcester; Argent, ten torteaux. *Fleetwood*; Per pale nebulè or and azure, six martlets counter-changed. *Burke's Armory*.)

A griffin segreant holding a mullet; for Sir John Collins, M.P. for Andover; admitted scholar in 1639, knighted by Charles II. in 1681. (*Collins*; Vert, a griffin segreant or. *Burke's Armory*.)

This panelling is ornamented with crowned roses, fleurs-de-lis and portcullises.

Crowned roses and portcullises appear also on Essex's woodwork at the east end of the choir.

The arms of the College are engraved on the brazen desk (the gift of Provost Hacomblen) which stands in the middle of the choir, and also on two brazen candelabra which stand near the altar-steps.

On the bookcases in the chapels on the south side of the choir, formerly used as the library, are painted the arms, crests and initials of two considerable benefactors: Nicholas Hobart, of Lindsey, in Suffolk, scholar in 1620, some time secretary to the English embassy at Constantinople; and Thomas Crouch, scholar in 1626, ejected by the Parliamentary Commission in 1643, and after the Restoration Fellow of Trinity Hall. He was M.P. for the University in 1660 and 1661, and died 30 August, 1679, leaving his library to the College. The arms and the crests are painted in separate compartments in the cresting of the bookcases; the initials are immediately below.

Hobart; Sable, an estoile of seven points or, between two flanches ermine. Crest: on a wreath or and sable a bull passant party per pale gules and sable, guttée or.

Crouch; Argent, on a pale sable three crosses pattée or; a bordure engrailed of the second. Crest: on a wreath argent and sable a lamb couchant of the first.

IV. MEMORIAL AND MONUMENTAL HERALDRY.

In the Ante-Chapel:

On a mural brass near the south door are engraved four coats;

I. *The University*;

II. *The College*;

III. *Eton College*;

IV. *Stokys*; Argent, on a bend engrailed sable three dolphins embowed or.

John Stokys, first of this College, afterwards of Clare Hall, Public Orator and Licentiate in Medicine, died 17 July, 1559. The brass was erected by his brother, Matthew Stokys of this College, Esquire Bedell. For the inscription see Cooper's *Athene Cantabrigienses*, i. 198, where the word "scaccario" in the last line but one should be "sacrario;" and some fifteen or sixteen of the words which are there made to begin with capitals should begin with small letters.

In the side-chapels on the north side beginning from the west:

I. On a slab in the floor:

On a bend cotised three lions passant gardant. Crest, on a helmet, a lion as in the shield. For John, son of Ralph Hawtreys Esq. of Ruislip, Middlesex, a fellow-commoner, who died in 1673, aged 19. Burke gives for *Hawtreys* of Ascott, Middlesex, Argent, three lions passant in bend sable between two bendlets of the last; and for *Hawtre*, Argent, on a bend cotised sable four lions passant gardant of the first.

II. In the window:

The College; impaling *Goade*; Gules, a chevron or between three lions rampant argent. The whole shield is surrounded by a wreath of red and white roses and white lilies. Above is the date 1610, and below are the words ROGERVS GOADE, HVIVS COLLEGII PRÆPOSITVS. Below this again is the text

τὸ ῥῆμα
'Εμοὶ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ κέρδος
τὸ ἀποθανεῖν

bordered with a white rose, a white lily and two skulls.

In the window looking into the Ante-Chapel are the letters R. G., and ROGER GOAD, with the dates 1570 and 1610.

Roger Goade, D.D., was Provost from 1570 to his death in 1610, and left many legacies to the College. For the part he took in disposing of the ecclesiastical vestments, &c., belonging to the College, see a paper by the Rev. George Williams in the *Ecclesiologist* for 1859, p. 314.

III. In the window :

Stokys as before with the letters M. S.; for Matthew Stokys, Esquire Bedell, who died 16 Nov. 1591. See *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii. 109. The crest afterwards used by the family of Stokes, viz. a hand or, habited argent, holding barwise a bedell's staff of the first, is here blended with the arms in a very curious way; the hand and arm occupying the sinister chief, while the staff passes behind the bend palewise, and projects above and below the shield.

IV. On slabs in the floor :

A chevron between three arrows, points downwards. Crest : a stag's head erased, in the mouth an arrow. For Ralph Flyer, M.D., a senior Fellow, son of Francis Flyer, of Brent Pelham, who died 20 Jan. 1685, in his 58th year. (*Floyer* of Floyer Hayes, co. Devon; Sable, a chevron between three arrows argent, points downwards. Crest : a stag's head erased or, in the mouth an arrow argent. Burke's *Armory*.)

Crouch, as before, without the tinctures; a crescent for difference. For the inscription see p. 539, and Cooper's *Memorials of Cambridge*, i. 252.

V. On a mural monument :

The College; impaling *Page*; Or, a fesse dancette between three martlets azure, all within a bordure of the second; an annulet on the fesse for difference. Crest : a demi-griffin rampant ermine holding a ducal coronet or. For Sir Thomas Page, Provost from 1675 to his death in 1681.

On a hatchment : The same.

On slabs in the floor :

The same, without the tinctures.

Two bars, each charged with three mascles; on a canton a leopard's face. Crest : a leopard's head erased, gorged with a bar as in the shield, between two wings. For Thomas Gearing, 28 years Vice-Provost, who died 17 Oct. 1694, aged 84. (*Gearing*; Gules, two bars or, on each three mascles of the first; a canton azure charged with a leopard's face of the second. Burke's *Armory*; where *Geare* has the same arms, with the tinctures slightly varied, and this crest : A leopard's head azure ducally gorged or, between two wings gules.)

VI. On a slab in the floor :

George; A fesse between three birds volant¹; impaling, On a bend three pheons. Crest : a demi-lion rampant. (*Bland*; Argent, On a bend sable three pheons of the field. Burke's *Armory*.) For William George, D.D., Dean of Lincoln 1748; Provost from 1743 to his death in 1756.

IX. On a hatchment :

Thackeray; Vert, an arrow in pale point downwards or, feathered and barbed argent, between two garbs of the second; on a chief purpure a cherub's head proper winged silver between two estoiles gold; impaling *Cottin*; Azure, a chevron between

¹ It is difficult to say what the tinctures of this coat ought to be; probably the field should be argent, the fesse gules, and the birds (falcons?) azure.

three cotton-hanks argent. Crest : a falcon with wings elevated proper, charged on the breast with a like cherub's head ; in the beak an arrow as in the arms. Motto : *Nobilitas sola virtus*¹. For George Thackeray, D.D., Lower Master of Eton 1809—1814, Provost of King's from 1814 to his death in 1850 ; who left valuable legacies in money and books to the College. For a memoir of him see *Gentleman's Magazine*, N. S., xxxiv. 664. A mural tablet with a Latin inscription to his memory is in the westernmost side-chapel, south side.

On slabs in the floor :

Quarterly ; 1, A saltire. 2 and 3, A lion rampant. 4, On a bend cotised three roundles. For John Gerard, a senior Fellow, who died in 1690, aged 53. (*Gerard* ; Argent, a saltire gules. *Burke's Armory*.) The lion rampant seems to be another bearing of *Gerard* ; the roundles on the bend cotised are possibly for the family of *Bishop*, which bears Argent, on a bend cotised gules three besants.

A crescent. For John Smith, who died 23 August, 1706, in his 79th year. "Qui suavi indole ad modestiam lenitatem concordiamque facta longaevam vitam placide produxit et Collegarum beneficentiam vel in senectute et caecitate ad extremum retinuit." The common ordinaries give no such arms as these for *Smith* or *Smyth*. But the MS. ordinary of William Smith, referred to above, gives as the last entry for *Smith*, *Smith* alias *Hovell*, Sable, a crescent or.

In the side-chapels on the south side, beginning from the west :

I. In the window looking into the Ante-Chapel :

Freeman ; Azure, three lozenges argent ; a crescent for difference.

The same, without the tinctures, on a mural monument against the west wall ; for Martin Freeman, M.A., Fellow, who died 7 April, 1630, in his 34th year. "Quem Deus nobis non diu daturus statim talem dedit qualis diu effici potuit."

On another mural monument against the west wall, are two shields, as follows :

The College.

Brocklebank ; Argent, a fesse wavy azure within a bordure sable. Crest, a badger passant proper. For Thomas Brocklebank, M.A., Fellow, 19 years Bursar and 6 years Vice-Provost, who died 27 July, 1878, aged 53.

On a mural monument against the east wall :

Argent, a chevron² between three griffin's heads erased sable ; the two in chief respecting each other. Motto : *Respiciendo et Prospiciendo*. For William Scawen, Fellow-commoner, eldest son of Thomas Scawen, of Cornwall, who died 21 Nov. 1710, in his nineteenth year, of fever, "multis tunc temporis ædibus funesta, Collegio Regali longe funestissima." In Harwood's *Alumni Etonenses*, p. 289, two persons are mentioned as having died of a fever in College, in December 1710.

On slabs in the floor :

On a saltire a rose. Crest : on a wreath a bull's head collared. For Charles Nevill, scholar 1627, Vice-Provost 1655, died 1662. He is said by Harwood (*Alumni Etonenses*, p. 228) to have been "descended from the ancient family of the Lords

¹ The coat granted in 1755 by Leake Garter and Townley Clarendieux to Dr Thomas Thackeray, Head-master of Harrow, grandfather of Provost Thackeray, is as follows : Vert, two garbs or, in base an arrow in pale argent ; on a chief purpure a cherub's head proper between as many estoiles of the third. The crest is blazoned as an eagle, not a falcon. See *Herald and Genealogist*, ii. 449.

² The tincture of the chevron is gone ; it ought to be gules.

Abergavenny," whose arms are thus given in Burke's *Armory*: Gules, on a saltire argent a rose of the first, seeded or, barbed vert.

On a fesse between three saltires as many lion's heads erased. Crest: a lion rampant holding a saltire. For Eldred Gaell of Hadleigh in Suffolk, scholar 1687, some time an Assistant at Eton, who died Dean of Arts 9 May 1702, aged 33. Glover's *Ordinary* (as printed by Edmonson) gives the following arms and crest for Gale: Azure, on a fesse between three saltires argent as many lion's heads erased of the first. Crest: a unicorn's head, paly of six or and azure, attired of the first.

II. In the south window:

The arms of Henry VIII.; supporters, a red dragon and a white greyhound collared.

A Tudor and a Lancaster rose.

The College.

Hacomblen; Vert, a saltire between four lilies slipped argent; with "1509. R. H. Præpos: 1528." Robert Hacomblen, D.D., Provost from 1509 to his death in 1528, fitted up this chantry, where his brass, despoiled of its armorial bearings, remains in the floor. (See p. 486.)

Thackeray, as before, without the crest, motto, and impalement; with "1814. G. T. Præpos: 1850."

Quarterly of four grand quarters;

1 and 4, *Ostorne*; Quarterly ermine and azure, a cross or.

2 and 3, *Godolphin*; Gules, an eagle with two heads displayed between three fleurs-de-lis argent: the whole accompanied by an earl's coronet and "G. 1774."

Francis, Earl Godolphin, gave £400 in 1774 to pave the Ante-Chapel. (See p. 527.)

Davidson; Azure, on a fesse argent between three pheons or a stag couchant gules; a martlet for difference; with "I. D. Soc. 1825."

Joseph Davidson, Fellow (admitted Scholar in 1766), was a very considerable benefactor both in his lifetime and by his will. See above, p. 515.

In the window looking into the Ante-Chapel are lilies, white roses, and the letters R. H. The same letters, together with roses, fleurs-de-lis, and stars, are painted on the stonework of the same window.

On a mural monument against the west wall are four shields, as follows:

I. Per pale and per chevron;

1. *The College.*

2. *The Regius Professorship of Divinity*; Gules, on a cross ermine between four doves¹ argent a book fesse-wise of the field, garnished and clasped or, thereon the Greek letter Θ sable.

3. *Collins*, as before, p. 584, without the mullet.

II. *The College*; impaling *Collins*.

III. *The Regius Professorship of Divinity*¹; impaling *Collins*.

¹ The doves have quite disappeared from these shields, except in the first quarter.

IV. *Collins.*

Samuel Collins, D.D., Provost 1615, Regius Professor of Divinity 1617, deprived of the Provostship and other preferments (except the Professorship) 1644, died 16 Sept. 1651.

On a large altar-tomb in the middle of the chapel are two shields each ensigned with a marquis's coronet;

I. *Churchill*; Sable, a lion rampant argent; on a canton of the second St George's Cross; a label for difference.

II. Quarterly of six;

1 and 6, *Churchill*, as before.

2, *Wildyard* alias *Widworthy*¹; Argent, five bendlets azure, a bordure or.

3, *Winston*; Per pale gules and azure, a lion rampant argent supporting between the paws a tree eradicated or.

4, *Tyll*; Argent, a fesse per fesse indented or and gules, in chief three trefoils slipped sable.

5, *Jennings*; Argent, on a fesse gules three besants.

John Churchill, Marquis of Blandford, only son of John, first Duke of Marlborough, a Fellow-commoner, died of the small-pox 20 Feb. 1702, aged 16. The Latin inscription, written by Francis Hare his tutor, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, describes him in what seems to be more than mere conventional language as a young man of singular promise.

III. In the window looking into the Ante-Chapel are the letters R. B., and ROBERT BRASSIE.

On a mural monument on the west wall:

Quarterly of four;

1, *The Deanery of Ely*; Gules, three keys argent.

2, *Roderick*; Or, a lion passant (gardant?) gules; a crescent for difference.

3, *The College*.

4, *Bullock*; Gules, a chevron between three bull's heads cabossed argent, horned or.

Charles Roderick, D.D. and LL.D., was Head Master of Eton 1680, Provost of King's from 1689 to his death in 1712, Dean of Ely 1708.

For the inscription see Ormerod's *Cheshire*, ii. 138. For the details of Roderick's election, in which the Fellows successfully asserted against the Crown their right to choose their Provost, see Cooper's *Memorials of Cambridge*, i. 210. The arrangement of this shield, and those of Provost Collins, and of Matthew Stokys the Esquire Bedell, afford some curious examples of the combination of official and personal coats; and they are probably among the "heraldic curiosities" to be met with in this College, referred to by Dr Woodham². I am not aware of any parallel instances, though very possibly some exist.

¹ These arms are not to be found in any of the printed ordinaries which I have seen, but they are given in a MS. scheme of quarterings compiled for the Duke of Marlborough's family, a copy of which I owe to the kindness of Sir Albert W. Woods, Garter. In that scheme the arms are given as Bendy of six, argent and azure, a bordure or. Sir A. W. Woods tells me that on the Duke's garter plate at Windsor they are engraved as Argent four bendlets azure, a bordure or.

² Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, No. IV., 4to. 1841.

[The following interesting letter has been found in King's College Muniment Room since the above essay was written. It is addressed 'To the Right Wthfull M^r. Dr. Collins Provost of the Kings Coll: and [in] his absence to y^e Vice Provost and Seniors'; and relates to the wood-work which the writer Thomas Weaver placed in the Chapel in 1633 (pp. 521, 586).

Myne humble Duetie Remembred

Sir yf myne abilitie were answerable to myne affection to the Worthy Fowdacions wherin I have R^d liberall maintenance and education, I would not onlie bring Badgers skins, but the thinges of greater value for y^e adorninge and bewtifying of the same : But my hope is that God will accept y^e will, and that your Worship together with y^e worthy Societie will receave with favour what I shalbe able to performe : I have sent the Workeman William Fells a Carver to vieu the Chappell, and according to his skill to advise what is fitt to be done, My desyre is that y^e would be pleased, to request Sir Sloper to write downe y^e platforme and dimensions of heighth length and breadth of y^e worke, proportionable to y^e materialls allreadie provided at Eton that the Carver maye bring them with him to helpe his memorie and to direct his proceedings : The Lord blesse y^e and y^e whole Coll :

I have made my Will, wherin I have bequeathed one hundred pounds, and the planckes and other materialls for y^e finishing of y^e intended worke :

May 20
1629

Y^r Wth in all duetye and love

Tho: Wever.ʼ]

[The seal is almost gone.]

I subjoin an alphabetical list of the coats described in this paper, with a reference to the page at which each is blazoned.

Anglia, East, 580	Crouch, 588	Gearing, 589
Bishop, 590	Davidson, 591	George, 589
Bland, 589	Dawtree, 586	Gerard, 590
Boleyn, 583	Edward the Confessor,	Goade, 588
Boleyn, Anne, 584	579	Godolphin, 591
Brocklebank, 590	Edward IV., 578	Guienne, 584
Brotherton, 584	Edward VI., 578	Hacomblen, 591
Bullock, 592	Elizabeth, Queen, 578	Hawtreys, 588
Butler, 584	Ely, Deanery, 592	Henry VI., 578
Cambridge University, 582	Engoulesme, 584	Henry VII., 578
Charles I., 584	Eton College, 582	Henry VIII., 578
Charles II., 584	Fleetwood, 587	Hobart, 588
Churchill, 592	Flyer, 589	Ireland, 587
Collins, 587	Freeman, 590	James I., 578
Cottin, 589	Gaell, 591	James II., 578
Cromwell, 586	Gale, 591	Jennings, 592

King's College, 581	Regius Professorship	Tyll, 592
Kydd, 586	of Divinity, 591	Victoria, Queen, 582
Legge, 587	Rochfort, 584	Warrenne, 584
Lancaster, 584	Roderick, 592	Weaver, 586
Lincoln, See, 583	Scawen, 590	Whistler, 587
Mary I., 578	Skot, 587	Wildyard alias Widworthy,
Nevill, 590	Smith, 590	592
Okes, 583	Stacey, 583	Williams, 586
Osborne, 591	Stokys, 588	Winston, 592
Oxford University, 586	Thackeray, 589	Worcester, See, 587
Page, 589	Thomas, 587	Wordsworth, 583

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

I. A. *Reginald Ely is directed to press masons and buy materials for the construction of the King's College, 16 June, 1444. (Rot. Pat. 22 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 15.)*

Rex dilectis sibi Reginaldo Ely capitali Cementario Collegii nostri regalis beate Marie et sancti Nicholai de Cantebri'g', Willelmo Roskyn, et Henrico Beuerley, salutem.

Sciatis quod assignamus vos coniunctim et diuisim tam ad tot lathamos, Cementarios, Carpentarios, Plumbarios, Tegulatores, Fabros, Plastratores, ac omnes alios artifices et operarios quoscumque quot pro operacionibus nostris edificacionis Collegii nostri predicti necessarii fuerint quam ad petras, maeremium, ferrum, plumbum, vitrum, tegulas, lattas, cindulas, bordas, clauos, calcem, zabulum, ac omnia alia que pro edificacione dicti Collegii nostri necessaria fuerint, ac equos, cariagium, et frettagium sufficiens in hac parte tam per terram quam per aquam vbicumque inueniri poterunt tam infra libertates quam extra pro denariis nostris in hac parte rationabiliter soluendis capiend' arestand' et prouidend' et ad (*sic*) eosdem lathamos, Cementarios, Carpentarios, Plumbarios, Tegulatores, Fabros, Plastratores, et omnes alios huiusmodi arestetis et operarios in operacionibus nostris huiusmodi ad vadia nostra ponend' et ad omnes illos quos contrarios seu rebelles inueneritis in premissis seu aliquo premissorum, prisonis nostris committend' et mancipand' in eisdem moratur' quousque securitatem inuenerint nobis in operacionibus nostris predictis seruitur'. Et ideo vobis et cuilibet vestrum mandamus quod circa premissa diligenter intendatis et ea faciatis et exequamini in forma predicta. Damus autem vniversis et singulis vicecomitibus Maioribus Ballivis Constabulariis Ministris ac aliis fidelibus et subditis nostris quibuscumque, tam infra libertates quam extra, tenore presencium firmiter in mandatis quod vobis et cuilibet vestrum in execucione premissorum et eorum cuiuslibet intendentes sint, consulentes, et auxiliantes prout decet. In cuius etc quamdiu nobis placuerit duratur'. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xvj die Junii

I. B. *Table of the building accounts of Eton College.*

Regnal Year.	Anno domini.	Name of Clerk of Works.	Nature of Account-book.	Cost of Materials.	Cost of Wages.	Total.
xix—xx	1440 to 1441	William Lynde	Wage-book { 3 July, 1441, to 5 Feb., 1441—42	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d. not summed.
xx—xxi	1441 to 1442	William Lynde	Wage-book { Feb. 12, 1441—42 to Feb. 4, 1442—43 Cost of Materials	623 18 6½	712 19 1	1336 17 7½
xxi—xxii	1442 to 1443	William Lynde	Cost of Materials { 11 Feb. 1442—43 to 6 June 1443	173 16 3½		173 16 3½
xxii—xxiii	1443 to 1444	John Vady	Compotus Roll { Mich ^a to Mich ^a	1067 5 7½	830 19 1½	1898 4 10
xxiii—xxiv	1444 to 1445	John Vady	Compotus Roll { Mich ^a to Mich ^a Wage-book	443 3 5½	410 12 5	853 15 10
xxiv—xxv	1445 to 1446	John Vady	Compotus Roll { Mich ^a to Mich ^a Particule Wage-book	702 6 7½	484 16 10½	1187 3 6
xxv—xxvi	1446 to 1447	Richard Burton	Compotus Roll { Mich ^a to Mich ^a Particule	538 0 10½	489 15 7½	1027 16 6½
xxvi—xxvi	Sept. 29, 1447, to Mar. 25, 1448	Richard Burton	Compotus Roll { Mich ^a to Annun ⁿ	467 15 8½	391 5 9	859 1 5½
xxvi—xxviii	Mar. 25, 1448, to Sept. 29, 1449	Roger Keys	Compotus Roll { Mar. 25 to Sept. 29, 1449 Particule and Wages	1188 11 3	1365 19 7½	2554 10 10½
xxviii—xxix	1449 to 1450	Roger Keys	Compotus Roll { Mich ^a to Mich ^a	337 2 7½	444 7 6	781 10 1½
xxix—xxx	1450 to 1451	John Medehill	Account for materials only Account for Huddleston stone	410 16 11½		410 16 11½
xxx—xxxi	1451 to 1452	John Medehill	Compotus Roll	468 18 1	324 10 7½	793 8 8½

Regnal Year.	Anno domini.	Name of Clerk of Works.	Nature of Account-book.	Cost of Materials.	Cost of Wages.	Total.
xxxii—xxxiii	1452 to 1453	John Medehill	Compotus Roll	991 5 9	566 10 6	1557 16 3
xxxiii—xxxiiii	1453 to 1454	John Medehill	Compotus Roll Wage-book	250 9 3½	254 12 5½	505 1 8½
xxxiiii—xxxv	1454 to 1455	} Wanting				
xxxv—xxxvi	1455 to 1456					
xxxv—xxxvi	1456 to 1457	John Medehill	Particule (imperfect)			305 3 5½
xxxvi—xxxvii	1457 to 1458	John Medehill	Compotus Roll Particule (imperfect)	157 13 8	244 13 4½	402 7 0½
xxxvii—xxxviii	1458 to 1459	John Medehill	Compotus Particule Wages } In one volume	177 9 6½	230 19 2	408 8 8½
xxxviii—xxxix	1459 to 1460	John Medehill	Compotus Particule Wages } In one volume	175 17 8	182 9 4½	358 7 0½
xxxix—xl		Wanting				
Total				8174 12 0	6934 11 7	15,114 9 0

I. C. *Contract with Walter Nicholl for a Roodloft and Stalls in Eton College Chapel, 15 August, 1475.*

This indenture made betwene the Right reuerend Fader in god William Bisshop of Winchestre of that oon partie. And Walter Nicholl of Suthwerk in the Counte of Surrey karver of that other partie Witnessith

that it is encovenanted appoynted accorded and agreed betwene the said partiez that the said Walter shall take downe at his owne propre costez and expensez the Rode loft Stallis and dextis with the appurtenauncez in the Quere of the Chirche of Eton nowe beyng.

And so the same Walter shall make reyre wele clenly sufficiently and workmanly in the newe Chirche of the said Collage of Eton a Rode loft of the lenght of the brede of the said newe Chirche of the whiche Rode loft the utter parte therof toward the Bowke of the same Chirche shalbe made like to the Rode loft late made in Bisshop Wykehams Collage at Winchestre and accordyng to the same fourme.

And the inner parte of the said Rode loft with the Garnysshyng of all the stallez of the Quere from the cowntre upward the same Walter shall make like to the Rode loft and Quere of the Collage of seint Thomas of Acrez in London.

And the said right reuerend fader shall fynde at his owen propre costez and expensez all maner of stuff and cariage goyng to the same werk that is to say tymbre borde waynescotte glewe naylez and all other Irnewerk redy wrought necessarie of and to the said Rode loft and stallez in maner and forme abouesaid to be made. And also it is encouenaunted betwene the said partiez that the said Walter shall haue deluered unto hym all suche bordez as war late ordeyned for the Selyng of the said newe Chirche redy wrought toward the makyng of the said Rode loft and stallez. And as for all other thynge necessarie to be made vnto the said werk that longith to masondrie, to be don and made at the propre costez of the said right reuerend Fader.

And as for all maner of laborers in suche labour and werk as they can or may doo of and aboute the makyng of the said Rode loft and stallez The said right reuerend Fader shall fynde at his owne propre costez and expensez. Also the said Right reuerend Fader shall fynde the said Walter and all his servauntis with hym workyng in the said werk for the tyme beyng an hous sufficient to frame and make the same werk yn And also certeyne chambrez to the same Walter and his said servauntis to be loggid ynn during the season that the said Rode loft and stallez of the said newe Chirche been yn makyng.

And the said Walter Nicholl shall make fynyshe and set up or do to be made fynysshed and set up at the ferthest the said Rode loft stallez and garnysshyng of the said Quere in euery poynt in maner and fourme as it is abouesaid on this side the fest of Assumpcion of oure lady the Virgyn the whiche shalbe in the yere of our lord God m^c.ccccxxvij And the said Right reuerend Fader shall pay or do to be paid to the said Walter for makyng and garnysshyng of the said Rode loft stallez and Quere accordyng to the fourme afore rehersed C marke of lafull money of Englund to be paide in maner and fourme folewyng that is to say in hande the day of sealyng of this indenture viij. li. vj. s. viij. d. and the xv day of Nouembre than next folewyng viij. li. vj. s. viij. d. And the xvj day of Februarij than next commyng viij. li. vj. s. viij. d. And the xvij day of Maij than next folewyng viij. li. vj. s. viij. d. And so from yere into yere and quarter into quarter on after another continually and immediatly folewyng euery yere at like Daiez as is aboue expressed viij. li. vj. s. viij. d. unto the said som of C marke be fully to the same Walter and his assignez content and paide Also it is encouenaunted that the said Reuerend Fader shall gif to the said Walter ij gownez by thise presentez. Into witnesse wherof to that oon parte of this indenture toward the forsaid Walter remaynyng the said right reuerend Fader hath put his sealx And to that other parte of the same indenture toward the forsaid right reuerend Fader abidyng the said Walter hath put his sealx

Date the xvj day of the moneth of August in the xv yere of the reigne of kyng Edward the fourthe.

(On the back)

Memorandum that Water Nicholas keruer hath Receyved of the provost of Eton of his covenaut for the making of the Rode loft and stallis of the church of Eton at diuers tymes the summes that folewith

In primis the iij day of October	...	...	...	...	iiij. li.
Item the xxv day of the same monthe	...	...	...	...	iiij. li. vj. s. viij. d.
Item the xviij day of Decembre	...	...	...	...	vij. li. vj. s. viij. d.

Item the ix day of Marche the yer of the regne of Kinge E.	
the iiij th the xvj	vij. li. vj. s. viij. d.
Item the xxiiij day of May the same yer of the King for the	
iiij th payment	vij. li. vj. s. viij. d.
Item the xxix day of August	vij. li. vj. s. viij. d.
Item the secunde day of Decembre at London the xvj yer of	
the king	vij. li. vj. s. viij. d.
Item the x day of Marche at London the xvij yer of the kyng	vij. li. vi. s. viij. d.

I.D. *List of paintings in Eton College Chapel.*

The following list of the subjects of these paintings (p. 412) has been chiefly made from the beautiful drawings of them executed in 1847, by Mr R. H. Essex, an artist whom Dr Hawtrey employed to preserve a record of them. These drawings are now in the College Library at Eton. I have compared with them the careful lithographs drawn by Miss Georgina Cust, Miss Eleanor Cust, and Miss Charlotte Cust, which supplement Mr Essex's work in several important particulars. Unfortunately the Clerk of the Works had caused a considerable portion of the upper row to be destroyed before he was stopped by one of the Fellows (Lyte's Eton, p. 431). The paintings had previously been damaged by the erection of the Organ-Screen in 1700—1701 as above related (p. 448), two of the subjects in the lower row on each side having been wholly obliterated, and others much injured.

The paintings commenced immediately under the string-course beneath the four western-most windows on the north and south sides of the Chapel; and were arranged in two rows, each about 67 feet long, and 6 feet broad. The rows were separated by a border, 2 feet broad, and there was a similar border beneath the lower row. A space of about 4 feet intervened between the latter border and the floor. There were 8 subjects in each row, occupying spaces 5 feet wide, and separated by single figures standing on brackets under canopies. As each row began and ended with one of these figures, there were 9 in each.

The following enumeration begins at the east end of the upper row on the south side, where the whole series appears to commence with the Assumption of the Virgin. The second picture gives an occurrence which is supposed to have taken place shortly before that event; and the remainder give various instances of the protection granted by the Virgin to believers in all ages and countries. It has been already mentioned (p. 412) that a legend descriptive of each picture is written beneath it, usually with a reference to the book quoted. These quotations are not exact, but only give a general idea of the story narrated. Roman numerals denote the figures, Arabic numerals the subjects.

A very similar series of paintings, executed between 1498 and 1524, still exists in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral. As will be seen from the list given at the end of this description of those at Eton, several of the same stories are illustrated in both places. It has been conjectured, from the style of the composition, and from the close connection between Winchester and Eton, that the same artists might have been employed at both places. The Winchester series has been engraved in 'Specimens of the ancient Sculpture and Painting now remaining in this Kingdom,' by John Carter, Fol. London, 1780—7; and more recently has been described by Mr J. G. Waller, in "Transactions of the British Archæological Association at its Second Annual Congress held at Winchester, August, 1845." I am indebted to him for the identification of several of the subjects. See also the Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral; by Rev. R. Willis, p. 39.

The Eton series has been noticed in Lyte's Eton, pp. 86—94, 166—168, and 431: Notes and Queries, 4th series, I. 341, II. 474: The Ecclesiologist, VIII. 242, and XI. 247: The Times for 17 July, 1847: Archæologia Cantiana, IX. 239: Gentleman's Magazine, 1847, XXVIII. 187. For these references, and for several valuable suggestions, I am indebted to my friend Charles E. Keyser, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.

UPPER ROW, SOUTH SIDE.

The upper part of this row, about one-third of the total space, has been destroyed.

I. A figure of which the lower half only has been preserved.

1. *Gaudent . Angeli . letantur . archangeli.*

The Assumption of the Virgin. Four angels, winged, support the Virgin. Rays of glory extend behind them to the margin of the picture. The lower part only of the Virgin's body remains.

II. A figure in the same condition as the last.

2. *Judex . quidam . feretrum . beate . virginis . tangens.*
.....*liberatur . Vinc. lib. 6. Cap. 78.*

The figures have been so much damaged that the treatment of the subject cannot be made out. In the centre of the picture a man is lying on the ground. The story, as given by Vincent of Beauvais, and in the *Legenda Aurea*, relates that as the Apostles were carrying the body of the Virgin to the grave, the Chief Priest laid his hands on the bier, with the intention of stopping the procession. Straightway his hands withered, and he remained hanging, immoveably fixed to the bier. When however, by the exhortation of S. Peter, he had confessed Christ and His mother, the use of his hands was restored to him.

III. A figure in the same condition as the last, holding a scroll. At its feet an Ox, couchant. S. Luke?

3. *Theophilus . Christum . et . beatam . virginem . abnegat.*

The right half of the picture has been obliterated; and in the left half the lower portion of three figures only remains. Of these the one in the back ground is naked, covered with hair, and the right foot has a cloven hoof. The story is in the *Legenda Aurea*, *De Nativitate beate Mariæ virginis*. In the year 537 there lived in Sicily one Theophilus. At the instigation of the devil he renounced Christianity, denied Christ and His mother, and giving to the devil a bond written with his own blood, and sealed with his own seal, entered into his service. At length, however, he repented, and prayed to the Virgin for help. She appeared to him in a vision, and after he had confessed his sin, and professed Christianity once more, as a proof of his pardon she gave him back the bond, which she placed upon his breast.

IV. Wholly obliterated.

4. Legend obliterated. Subject more than half obliterated. A kneeling figure is resting clasped hands on a semicircular block; behind which stands a figure clad in long drapery with many folds. One hand only is seen.

V. Lower part of a figure holding a cup. At its feet a bird, which may be intended for an eagle. S. John?

5. Legend obliterated. Three men are turning a winch, supported on two uprights, let into a thick beam which lies on the ground. A rope is twisted several

times round the roller. Four spokes pass through a square block at each end. Round the roller there are several turns of a rope, the end of which passes upwards. The men are using great exertions to turn the spokes round, so as to raise some object which has been obliterated. In the foreground is a figure looking upwards, with his hands stretched out as though in astonishment. The whole picture has suffered grievous damage. According to Mr Waller, it illustrates a story related by Gregory of Tours: "The Emperor Constantine was constructing a church in honour of the Virgin, to which columns were brought, which the workmen were unable to raise, and day by day they were wearied with vain labour. The Virgin, however, appeared to the architect in a dream, saying, 'Be not sad, for I will show you in what manner you will be able to raise the columns.' She showed, moreover, both what machine should be chosen, and how they should suspend the pulleys and extend the ropes, adding, 'Join with you three boys from the school, by whose aid you will be able to accomplish it.' He did as she directed him, and having called three boys from the school, raised the columns with the greatest velocity; and the people marvelled that what many strong men were unable to raise, three weak children could perform with ease."

VI. The lower part of a figure with a scroll. At its feet a small figure, or winged angel (for it appears to have been extremely indistinct when copied), is kneeling. S. Matthew?

6. *Qualiter . imago . quedam . beate . virginis . annulo . despoliavit . et . renunciavit . Vinc . lib . 6 . cap . 88.*

The legend has evidently been incorrectly copied; but there can be no doubt that it refers to a story told by Vincentius (*l.c.*) of a young man who was playing at ball outside a church. He wore a ring on his finger, which had been given to him by his sweetheart. Being afraid of breaking it, he entered the church to look for a place in which he could bestow it safely; and seeing an image of the Virgin, he placed it on one of her fingers. To his surprise the finger bent back, so that he could not draw it off again. Shortly after he married, and on his wedding night the Virgin appeared to him, standing between him and his bride, and holding out the ring. So he took refuge in the desert, and passed the rest of his days in prayer and meditation.

VII. A figure with a scroll, the upper part obliterated.

7. *Qualiter . beata . virgo . sancto . Bonito . [aluernensi] . episcopo . post . missam . solennem . vestem . celestem . tradiderat . Vinc . lib . 6 . cap . 98.*

The lower part of three figures only is preserved. One of these, standing on a dais, is presenting a vestment to the other, who kneels on the ground, before the dais. Vincentius (*l.c.*) relates that Bonitus, Bishop of Auvergne, being in a trance, saw a vision of the Virgin and Saints, who descended into the Church where he was, and commanded him to say mass. At the end of the service, the Virgin gave him her cloak, which is still preserved, says the chronicler, and has been seen by many persons.

VIII. A mitred figure with a staff in his left hand, and a lion couchant at his feet. S. Mark?

8. *Qualiter . cuiusdam . Judei . filius . cum . christianus a . crudeli patre . in . fornacem . projicitur . Legenda . sanctorum.*

In the left-hand corner of the back ground is an altar, before which a priest is standing. Four persons are kneeling at his feet. On the extreme right is the opening

of a furnace, out of which the head and bust of the person who had been thrown into it is seen projecting. A figure in front of it is turning his head away, as though refusing to release him.

In the *Legenda Aurea*, *De Assumptione sanctæ Mariæ Virginis*, it is related that in the year 527, at Bourges, a Jew boy approached the altar with his Christian school-fellows, and received the Communion with them. His father, on hearing what had happened, was filled with indignation, and threw him into a fiery furnace. The Virgin, however, appeared to him in the likeness of the image which he had seen over the altar, and preserved him from the fire, free from all harm. The populace, on learning the miracle that had been wrought, took the boy's father, and cast him into the furnace, where he was presently burnt to death.

IX. A mitred figure.

SOUTH SIDE, LOWER ROW.

The whole of the eight pictures on this row seem to have illustrated the following story, preserved by Vincent, Lib. 6. Cap. 91—93. We give it as told by Mr Lyte, p. 90. 'Once upon a time there was a Roman Emperor, who had a beautiful and excellent wife. None on earth were happier than they, and he trusted her entirely; so when he was starting on a long journey to the Holy Places, he committed the care of his kingdom to her. But he had a wicked brother, who loved the Empress with an unholy love, and tormented her daily with his suit. So she imprisoned him in a tower, and she ruled the country wisely and well. When five years were past, the Empress heard that her dear husband would soon return to her again, so, in her joy, she released the wicked brother. But he was not grateful for this kindness, and hastened to meet the Emperor, and said to him, "Thy wife hath been false to thee; so grievously hath she sinned that I shut myself up in a tower, so that I might not be the witness of her crimes." Then the Emperor fell on his face and wept, and he lay for an hour like a dead man. So when the Empress came to welcome her lord the next day, he looked at her reproachfully, and smote her to the ground with his own hand, and ordered his servants to take her away and put her to death in a wood. But when they were about to ill-treat her, there passed a good knight returning from the Holy Land. And he rescued her from shame and death, and took her home with him to be nurse to his own child. This knight also had a wicked brother who loved the fair nurse. But she would not love him. So he swore that he would be avenged, and coming secretly one night into her chamber he killed the child who was sleeping in her arms, and placed the bloody dagger in her hand. Thus the good knight and his wife were led to believe that the nurse had murdered the child. And they sent her away in a ship, saying to the captain, "Take this wretched woman hence, and leave her in some distant land, so that we may never see her face again." Then the wicked sailors, struck by her beauty, would have tempted her to evil, but, finding her to be good and virtuous, they left her on a desolate rock in the midst of the sea. And she lay down and slept sweetly. And there appeared to her a wondrously fair lady, who was none other than the Holy Virgin, who said to her, "Gather the herbs that grow beneath thee on the ground, and with them thou shalt be able to heal the sick." So she did as she was bidden, and the next day some men passed by the rock in a boat, and taking pity on her, conveyed her to a neighbouring port. And there she saw many lepers and other sick folk; so she mixed the herbs with wine in a cup; and the sick folk drank of the wine and were healed. And among them there came to her one day the murderer of the good knight's child, but he knew her not. So when he was confess-

ing his sins to her, one sin he hid, for he would not tell of the murder. Therefore the Empress would not heal him; but at last he repented of it, and then she healed him. And the good knight would have persuaded her to become the wife of his penitent brother, but she refused, for she loved none but her own husband. So she journeyed on till she came to Rome, curing many lepers on the way. Now it so chanced that the Emperor's wicked brother, who was afflicted with a grievous illness, came and prayed her to give him to drink of her medicine. But before she would give it to him she made him confess his evil deeds and his slanderous words before the Pope and the Senate. And when the fact of her innocence was thus clearly established, she made herself known to the Emperor, who received her with joy, and would fain have taken her back to be his wife. But she said, "When I was in sore distress I took an oath that I would give myself entirely to God." So she bade him farewell, and renouncing her royal station, she entered a convent and became a holy nun.'

I. A female saint, crowned, a closed book in her right hand, her left hand resting on the cross-hilt of a drawn sword. S. Catherine?

1. *Hic. devotus. imperator. peregrinaturus. uxori ...*

The Emperor, on horseback, leans forward to bid farewell to his wife, who is on her knees. He turns so that his right hand clasps her right hand, and his left hand is laid on her neck. Behind the Emperor's horse part of a second horse is seen, ridden by an attendant. This subject occupies the left half of the picture. In the right half the Empress is standing at the foot of a tower, which a man, dressed in a long flowing robe, no doubt the Emperor's brother, is entering. She holds up her left hand, as though she were bidding him begone. Her right hand is under her garment.

II. S. Barbara, bearing her tower in her right hand, and a palm-branch in her left. Under her right arm is a book.

2. *Hic. rediens. imperator. accusatam. falso. sibi. uxorem. jubet. in. libiam. deduci, et. decapitari. Vincentius li. 6. cap.*

In the centre of the picture the Empress is on her knees; the Emperor lays his left hand on her shoulder and raises his right as though about to strike. Behind him are three attendants, and a tall man who may be intended for the one who was consigned to the tower in the last picture. In the right half of the picture the Empress is being led away weeping by two soldiers. On the breast of the one who stands on her left is embroidered the word AMALE.

III. A female saint; in her right hand a closed book, in her left a pair of forceps claspng a tooth. S. Apollonia.

3. *Hic. ... superuenientes. nobiles.*

A young man with the name AMALEY embroidered on his breast has been thrown to the ground by a man who stands behind him, about to transfix his skull with a sword. An attendant stands behind, and also a man on horseback. The Empress is on her knees, her back turned to the group.

The right half of the picture is destroyed.

IV. }
 4. } destroyed.
 V. }
 5.

VI. S. Dorothy.

6. Legend obliterated except '*Vincent. lib. 6. cap.*' The Empress is standing in the middle of a group of sick persons. With her left hand she is giving a cup to a man who kneels before her; her right hand is raised in benediction.

VII. A female saint, a closed book in her right hand, a palm-branch in her left.

7. *Hic. imperator. ipsam. ... et. reconciliacionem. exoptat. ut. videret. fratrem. suum. Vinc. . li^o 6^o. cap. 90.*

The Empress is putting something into the mouth of a man who kneels before her, supported by an attendant. On her right hand stands the Emperor, crowned, and bearing a sceptre in his right hand. Behind him is an attendant. Behind the sick man stand a Bishop and a Cardinal.

VIII. A female saint; in her left hand she holds a chain which is attached to a small demon at her feet. S. Juliana?

8. *Hic. eadem. imperatrix. marito. suo. et. mundo. renuncians. monachali. veste. velata. castitatem. servare. deo. et. beate. virgini. decernit. Vinc. P. 6^o. cap. 93.*

The Empress is on her knees before an abbess who bears a crozier; behind the Empress stands an attendant, who turns to tell the Emperor what is passing. Her crown is on the ground behind. The Emperor, in crown and sceptre as before, is pleading with her. Behind him stands an attendant.

IX. A female saint, bearing a sword, of which she holds the hilt in her right hand, while the blade lies across her left arm. S. Agnes?

NORTH SIDE, UPPER ROW.

The upper third of this row is destroyed. The pictures are counted from the west end.

I. A saint, half obliterated.

2. *meritis. beate. virginis. peste. . liberatur. legenda sanctorum.*

A procession advancing. The central figure holds a picture of the Virgin and Child before him with both hands. The one next to him holds a book half open, from which he is apparently chanting. On his right are one or more figures bearing candles.

This refers to a story of S. Gregory told in the *Legenda Aurea* (*De sancto Gregorio*). Rome was being devastated by a pestilence, whereupon S. Gregory caused the city to be traversed by a procession, at the head of which was borne a picture of the Virgin, painted, it was said, by S. Luke. The pestilence gave way at the sight of it, angelic voices were heard singing Hallelujah!, and over the castle of Crescentius Gregory beheld an angel, sheathing a sword stained with blood. So he understood that the plague was stayed, and the castle was ever after called the Castle of the Angel.

II. A figure, as before.

2. *Qualiter. miles. quidam. . convertitur. . virginis. liberatur.*

In the centre of the picture, quite apart from the other figures, stands the soldier. His feet have grown into claws. Four other persons in different attitudes, stand behind him.

III. A figure, as before.

3. *Qualiter . ab . ore mortui . in . hora . beate . virginis . certos . psalmos . dicentis . rosa . excrevit . inscripta . ave . maria . Vinc . lib . 6 . cap . 116 .*

On the right of the picture a man is digging with a spade. At his feet are some bones. In front of him another labourer is raising a pickaxe above his head.

The story as told by Vincentius (*l. c.*) is that there was a monk in a convent at S. Omer, who was in the habit of saying every day the five psalms which begin with the letters of the name 'Maria,' and that when he died five roses were found growing out of his mouth.

IV. A figure, as before.

4. A person in bed. The spectator is looking straight at the bed foot, in front of which is placed a large closed box. On the right stands a figure. Legend obliterated.

V. A figure, as before.

5. Legend obliterated. Two mailed figures are fighting. One is on the ground, held down by the right hand of his opponent, who is about to drive a sword into his heart with his left. Other figures stand near.

VI. Figure obliterated.

6. *incola . retentus . est . ab . insidio . diaboli .*

A man is hastily carrying a ladder forwards, and seems to be turning round to speak to some persons who are following him, of whom the feet only remain.

This picture may possibly illustrate the following story. It is one of the series at Winchester, mentioned above. Mr Waller gives the legend as follows :

A certain painter of Flanders venerated our Lady above all things. He, as often as he had occasion to paint the devil painted him as ugly as he knew him to be ; by which the afore-named enemy being angered, made a great noise over him, in a vision of the night, and threatened if he did so any more he should rue it. But he, rejoicing in his offence to the devil, studied that he might paint him still more terrible. It happened, that the same painter was depicting the image of the Virgin in the portico of a certain church, and the figure of the demon under her feet, according to the text, 'She shall bruise thy head.' The devil thus provoked, struck suddenly with a whirlwind the scaffold which bore him painting, and cast it to the earth ; which as the man felt, he raised his hand and heart to the Virgin ; and she thrusting forth her hand, retained the man, and kept him unhurt, until assistance arrived.

In the picture at Winchester the painter is dangling in the air before the figure of the Virgin ; the scaffold is in the act of falling ; while one of the spectators is hurrying with a ladder to his assistance.

VII. A figure, as before.

7. *Qualiter . sutor . quidam . ad . tellurem morte . deliu .*

A man lies on his back dead in the centre of the picture. Part of a figure is seen behind him.

VIII. }

8. }

IX. }

Entirely obliterated.

NORTH SIDE, LOWER ROW.

I. A female saint, holding in her right hand a scythe, of which the blade passes behind her head. S. Sidwell.

1. *Qualiter . beata . virgo . mulierem . ad . mortem . usque . laborantem . de . peccato . gravi . commisso . non . confessam . vite . restituit . et . a . periculo . dampnationis . liberavit . Vinc. lib. 6. cap. 117.*

In the front of the picture the woman is lying apparently dead. Behind her the Virgin, crowned, is on her knees, praying. Christ appears above in glory. On the right the woman is seen on her knees, confessing her sin to a priest. The story, as told by Vincentius, adds nothing to the above particulars.

II. A female figure: in her right hand she holds a broad leash, attached to a dog, which is springing forward, as though trying to escape; in her left hand there is a palm-branch. S. Sira?

2. *Qualiter . mulier . quedam . per . filium . beate . virginis . suum . filium . a . carceribus . liberatum . sibi . restituit . legenda . sanctorum.*

On the left of the picture a woman, kneeling, is taking a small image out of a trunk. Behind her is a boy, holding on to her dress. On the right the same woman is ascending the steps that lead to a small chapel, in which is a figure of the Virgin, to whom she hands the image. The story is in the *Legenda Aurea* (*De Nativitate beatae Mariae Virginis*). A certain widow had an only son, of whom she was passionately fond. He was taken by enemies, and cast into prison. His mother besought the Virgin to procure his release. When however she perceived that her prayers availed nothing, she entered a certain church, where there was an image of the Virgin, and thus addressed her: "O blessed Virgin, I have often besought thee to set my son free, but as yet thou hast availed me nothing. Therefore, as my son has been taken away from me, so will I take thy son away from thee, and keep him in ward as a hostage for my own." Having thus spoken she took the image of the child from the Virgin's bosom, and carrying it home, wrapped it in fine linen, and placed it in a chest which she locked and guarded diligently, rejoicing that she had found so sure a hostage for her son. To whom on the next night the Virgin appeared, and opened his prison door, and bade him go home to his mother and tell her 'to give me back my son, even as I have given her own to her.' Then the woman rejoiced exceedingly, and took the image of the child, and went to the church, and restored it to the Virgin.

III. S. Etheldreda.

3. *Qualiter . mulier . quedam . nobilis . in . die . purificationis . beate . Virginis . . . sanctorum.*

A woman, apparently asleep, is seated in a church at the corner of a dais upon which is an altar. She holds a lighted taper in her hand, which an angel is trying to take from her. On the left of the picture a procession of maidens, each of whom carries a lighted taper, is entering. At their head walks the Virgin, crowned, with a taper like the rest. On the right of the picture, in the back-ground, two boys, vested as priests, are celebrating mass.

The story here depicted is related as follows in the *Legenda Aurea* (*In Die Purificationis beate Marie Virginis*). A certain noble lady, who had built a chapel to the Virgin, was unable to have mass said there on the festival of the Purification in a

certain year. So she repaired to her chamber, and prostrating herself before an altar of the Virgin fell into a trance. She thought that she was in a most beautiful church, into which a company of virgins entered, headed by one who wore a crown. They were followed by a company of youths. Presently one bearing a great bundle of tapers, came in, and gave one first to the virgin who wore a crown, then to each of her companions, and to each of the youths, and lastly to herself. Next she saw two persons bearing torches, a deacon, a subdeacon, and a priest, approach the altar, as though they would say mass there; and she thought that the two acolytes were S. Lawrence and S. Vincent; the deacon and the subdeacon two angels; and that the priest was Christ. Then, after confession, two most beautiful youths came forth into the middle of the choir and said mass. Which being ended all present handed their tapers to the priest. She however refused; though the queen of the virgins sent a messenger to her more than once. At last the messenger tried to take the taper from her by force, and a struggle ensued, in the course of which the taper broke, and part remained in her hand. Whereupon she woke out of her trance, and was greatly astonished to find herself holding a piece of taper; which she carefully treasured, and all who touched it were healed of their infirmities.

VI. The figure of the saint is obliterated, as also is the left half of the following picture.

6. [*Qualiter miles*] *quidam . a . diabolo . deceptus . uxorem . eius . ad . diabolum . conduit . Legenda . sanctorum .*

A young man is conversing with a naked, hairy figure, evidently intended to represent the devil. Behind him are the hind-quarters of a horse, on which a female figure is sitting. The story is in the *Legenda Aurea* (*De Assumptione sancte Mariae Virginis*). A certain soldier had squandered his fortune in too liberal largess. To him the devil appeared, and bade him go home and look in a certain spot, where he would find a vast treasure, on the condition that on a certain day he was to bring his wife to him. On the day appointed he bade her mount her horse, and ride abroad with him. She, not daring to disobey, commended herself to the protection of the Virgin, and went with him. On the way she entered a church, and prayed, her husband remaining outside. There the Virgin caused her to fall asleep, and taking her form, mounted the horse and rode with the soldier. At the appointed place they met the devil, who, on finding out what had happened, upbraided the soldier bitterly; but the Virgin bade him return to his own place, and never more presume to injure those who prayed to her.

VII. A female saint, bearing a cross in her right hand. At her feet a griffin or eagle. S. Margaret?

7. *Qualiter . ymago . filii . beate . virginis . a . perfidis . percussa . sanguinem . dedit . Vinc. lib. 6. cap. 111.*

A woman is on her knees before an image of the Virgin and Child, placed in a niche in the gable of a church. Beside her is a man lying on the ground, beside whom stands another, similarly dressed. Close to him stands a third, with a spear in his hand. A portion of the right side of this subject has been obliterated.

This legend is given as follows by Vincentius :

Near to the castle of Rudolph is a certain abbey called Dol, and on a buttress of the church is a stone image in honour of the Blessed Virgin; to which when a poor woman came for the purpose of praying, two men of Brabant, present in the porch,

upbraided her, and blasphemed the image; one of them even cast stones at it, and broke the arm of the child Jesus. When the stone had fallen, drops of blood issued from the arm, as though from a living person; and immediately he who had cast the stone died, and the other, wishing to take the dying man in his arms that he might give him help, was seized with a devil, and died the following day. This happened in the year 1187, at the time of the war between Philip of France and Henry of England, when the former was encamped at Dol, the latter with his army. Moreover, I who write this have seen the blood with my own eyes.

VIII. }
8 } Obliterated.
IX. }

A list is appended of the subjects at Winchester, numbered as in Mr Waller's paper. It will there be seen that many of them are duplicates of those at Eton. As there, they are arranged in two tiers.

1. A young man puts his ring on the Virgin's statue.
2. An illiterate priest restored to his office by the Virgin's intercession.
3. Portrait of Prior Silkstede, during whose tenure of office (1498—1524) the paintings were probably executed (over the south door).
4. A young Jew rescued by the Virgin from the furnace into which his father had thrown him.
5. S. Gregory stays a pestilence in Rome by carrying a portrait of the Virgin in procession through the streets.
6. A woman procures her son's release from prison by taking away the Virgin's Son as a hostage for her own.
7. A woman and her child saved by the Virgin from the waves near Mont S. Michel.
8. The Virgin points out the method of raising a column for a church that was being built in her honour.
9. A woman restored to life that she might confess a deadly sin.
10. The Virgin saves a monk from drowning.
11. An image of the Virgin and Child, being struck by a stone, gives forth drops of blood.
12. The Virgin stills a violent storm at sea.
13. A devout lady receives a lighted taper in a vision.
14. The Virgin restores to S. John of Damascus his hand which had been cut off.
15. The Virgin rescues a devout thief from the gallows.
16. The story of a monk out of whose mouth roses grew.
17. The Virgin preserves a painter whose scaffold was thrown down by the devil.
18. The Annunciation (over the north door).
19. A knight saved from a demon who prompted him to robbery.
- 20—24. Much defaced, subjects unknown.

II. A. *Draft contract for building the stone roof of King's College Chapd. 4 Henry viij, about May, 1512.*

This indenture made the day of in the iiijth yere of the Regn of our souerain lord kyng Herry the viijth betwyne M' Robert Hacumblen provost of the Kynges College Royall at Cambryge and the scolers of the same with the advise and agrement of M' Thomas Larke surveyour of the kynges workes there on the oon partye, And John Wastell M' Mason of the said workes and Herry Semerk oon of the wardens of the same on the other partye witnesseth

that hit is couenaunted bargayned and agreed betwyn the partyes aforesaid that the said John Wastell and Herry Semerk shall make and sett vpp or cawse to be made and sett vpp at ther costes and charges a good suer and sufficient vawte for the grete churche ther to be workmanly wrought made and set vpp after the best handlyng and fourme of good workmanship accordyng to a platt therof made and signed with the handes of the lordes executours vnto the kyng of most famous memorye Herry the vijth whos sowle god pardon.

And the said John Wastell and Herry Semerk shall provide and fynde at their costes and charges asmoche good sufficyent and able ston of Weldon quarryes as shall suffice for the perfourmyng of all the said vawte together with lyme, sand, scaffoldyng, cyncours, moldes, ordynaunces, and euery other thyng concerning the same vawtyng, aswell workmen and laborers as all maner stuff and ordenaunces that shalbe required or necessary for the perfourmaunce of the same.

Except the seid M' provost and scolers with thassent of the said surveyour graunten to the said John Wastell and Herry Semerk for the great cost and charge that they shalbe at in remevyng the great scaffold there to haue therfore in recompence at the end and perfourmyng of the said vawte the tymbre of ij seueres of the said grete scaffold by them remeved to their own vse and profit.

And over that the said provost scolers and Surveyour graunten that the said John Wastell and Herry Semerk shall haue duryng the tyme of the said vawtyng the vse of certeyn stuffes and necessaryes there as Gynnes, wheles, cables, robynettes, sawes and such other as shalbe delyuered vnto them by indenture. And they to delyuere the same agayn vnto the College there at the end of the said worke.

The said John Wastell and Herry Semerk graunten also and bynde themself by thies couenauntes that they shall perfourme and clerely fynyssh all the said vawte within the term and space of iii yeres next ensuyng after the tyme of their begynnyng vpon the same.

And for the good and suer perfourmyng of all the premysses as is afore specyfyed the said provost and scolers couenaunte and graunte to pay vnto the said John Wastell and Herry Semerk. xij^s li. that is to sey for euery seuerie in the seid churche. C li. to be paid in fourme folowyng from tyme to tyme asmoche money as shall suffice to pay the Masons and other ratelly after the numbre of workmen; And also for ston at suche tymes and in such fourme as the said John Wastell and Herry Semerk shall make their Bargeynes for ston so that they be evyn paid with C li at the perfourmyng of euery seuerie. And yff ther remayn any parte of the said C li at the fynysshyng of the said seuerie, than the said M' provost and scolers to pay vnto them the surplusage of the said C li for that seuerie. And so from tyme to tyme vnto all the said xij seueres be fully and perfithly made and perfourmed.

B. Agreement between John Wastell and Henry Semerk regarding the division of the work; 7 June, 4 Henry VIII. 1512.

This Indenture made the vijth day of June in the iiijth yere of our souerayn lord kyng Herry the viijth bytwyn John Wastell M' Mason of the kynges workes within his College Royall at Cambraye on the oon partye; And Herry Semerk oon of the Wardeynes of the said workes on the other partye, witnesseth:

that wher the said John and Herry haue joyntly couenaunted and bargayned with M' provost and Bursers of the said College to make, set vpp and perfourme a vawte for the grete Churche there, as by indentures therof made more playnly dothe appere;

Neuerthelasse hyt is agreed and couenaunted betwyn the said John Wastell and Herry Semerk that the fornamed John Wastell shall occupye, vse, and haue the hole Bargayn of makynge the seid vawte, to his own profyght and advauntage. And to bere also almaner charges concernynge the same.

And the seid Herry Semerk to be no partyner with hym in the said bargayn As longe as hyt shall please almyghty god the said John Wastell shall lyve and haue his helth to rewle the werke.

And the said Herry Semerk is agreed that duryng the lyff and helth of the said John Wastell he shall dayly and houely gyff his dylygent attendaunce to the said workes withoute he haue lycence of the said John Wastell to be absent for seasons as they shall both be content.

And the said John Wastell graunteth to gyff vnto the said Herry Semerk for his contynuall attendaunce in fourme aforesaid . xx markes . euery yere duryng the contynuaunce of the seid werkes and standynge the lyff and helth of the said John Wastell.

And yff hyt happen as god forebede the seid John Wastell to discece or elles to fall in suche syknesse that he can not be able to gyff attendaunce to perfourme the said workes; than the partyes aforesaid be agreed that the said Herry Semarke and Thomas Wastell sone vnto the said John Wastell shall joyntly be partyners in the said bargayn. And so they shall see the seid bargayn to be perfourmed, And shall parte aswell costes and charges as profytes and advauntages evynly betwyn them bothe in euery thyng concernynge the same bargayn.

C. Contract for the Finials of 21 Buttresses; and for one Tower of the Chapel, 4 January, 4 Henry VIII. 1512-13.

This Indenture made the iiijth. day of January in the iiijth. yere of the Regn of our souerayn lord Kyng Henry the viijth. Betwene M' Robert Hacumblen provost of the kynges College Royall in Cambraye and the scolers of the same with the advise and agrement of M' Thomas Larke Surveyour of the kynges workes there on the oon partye; And John Wastell master Mason of the seid workes on the other partye, Witnesseth

that hyt is couenaunted, bargayned, and agreed betwene the partyes aforesaid that the seid John Wastell shall make...the fynyalles of all the Buttrasses of the grete churche ther which be xxi in nombre; The seid fynyalles to be wele and workmanly wrought, made, and sett vpp after the best handelyng and fourme of good workmanship acordynge to the plattes conceyved and made for the same, and acordynge to the fynyall of oon buttrasse which is wrought and sett vpp: Except that all thies new fynyalles shalbe made sumwhat larger in certayn places acordynge to the mooldes for the same conceyvid and made.

Also hit is couenaunted...that the seid John Wastell shall make...the fynysshyng and perfourmyng of oon towre at on of the corners of the seid churche, as shalbe assigned vnto hym by the Surveyour of the seid werkes; All the seid fynysshyng...with Fynyalles, ryfant gablettes, Batelmentes, orbys, or Crosse quaters, and euery other thyng belongyng to the same to be wele and workmanly wrought, made, and sett vpp, after the best handelyng and fourme of good workmanshipp, acordyng to a platt therof made, remaynyng in the keypyng of the seid Surveyour.

The seid John Wastell to provide and fynde at his coste and charge asmoche good sufficient and able ston of Weldon quarryes as shall suffyse [for the finials and tower]... Together with lyme, sand, scaffoldyng, mooldes, ordenaunces and euery other thyng concernyng the fynysshyng and perfourmyng of all the buttrasses and towre aforseid, aswele workmen and laborers as all maner stuff and ordenaunces as shalbe required or necessary for perfourmaunce of the same:

Except the seid M' Provost, Scolers, and Surveyour graunten to lende vnto the seid John Wastell sum parte of olde scaffoldyng tymbre, and the vse of certayn stuff and necessaryes there; as Gynnes, wheles, Cables, Robynattes, sawes and suche other as shalbe deluyered vnto hym by Indentures. And the seid John Wastell to deluyere the same agayn vnto the seid Surveyour assone as the seid Buttrasses and towre shalbe perfourmed.

The said John Wastell graunteth also, and byndeth hymself...to perfourme and clerely fynyssh all the seid buttrasses and towre on thisside the Feeste of the Annunciacion of our blessed lady next ensuyng after the date herof.

And for the good and sure perfourmyng of all thies premysses as is afore specyfied the seid provost and scolers couenaunten and graunten to pay vnto the seid John Wastell for the perfourmyng of euery buttrasse vijli. xiijs. iiijd. whiche amownteth for all the seid buttrasses Cxl. li.; and for the perfourmyng of the seid towre, C li. to be paid in fourme folowyng, That is to sey; from tyme to tyme asmoche money as shall suffyse to pay the Masons and other laborers ratly after the numbere of workmen, And also for ston at suche tymes and in suche fourme as the seid John Wastell shall make his provisyon or receyte of the same ston from tyme to tyme as the case shall requyre;

Provided alwey that the seid John Wastell shall kepe contynually .lx. Fremasons werkyng vppon the same werkes assone as shalbe possible for hym to calle them in by vertu of suche Commissyon as the seid surveyour shall deluyere vnto the seid John Wastell for the same entent.

And in case ony Mason or other laborer shalbe founde vnprofytable or of ony suche ylle demeanour wherby the workes shuld be hyndred or the company mysordred not doying their duties acordyngly as they ought to doo, than the seid Surveyour to indeavour hymself to refourme them by such wayes as hath byn ther vsed before this tyme.

And also the fornamed M' Provost scolers and Surveyour shall fynde asmoche Iron werke for the fynyalles of the seid buttrasses as shall amownte to v. s for euery buttrasse, that is in all iiij li v. s. And what soeuer Iron werke shalbe occupied and spent abowte the seid werkes, and for suertie of the same above the seid v s. for a buttrasse, the seid John Wastell to bere hyt at his own cost and charge.

And for all and syngler couenaunts afor reherced of the partie of the seid John Wastell wele and truly to be perfourmed and kepte he byndeth hymself, his heires and executours in CCC li of good and lafull money of Englonde to be paid vnto the seid M' provost, scolers, and Surveyour at the Fest of Ester next commyng after the date of thies presentes. And in lyke wise for all and syngler couenaunts afor reherced of

the partye of the seid provost, scolers and Surveyour wele and truly to be perfourmed and kepte they bynde them their Successours and executours in CCC li....to be paid vnto the seid John Wastell at the seid fest of Ester. In witnesse wherof the partyes aforesaid to thies present indentures entrechaungeably haue sett their Seales the day and yere above wryten.

D. *Agreement between Thomas Larke and John Wastell respecting a record to be kept of money and materials delivered to him, 24 January, 4 Henry VIII. 1512-13; with the memorandum of account to 12 May, 1514.*

This Indenture made the xxiiijth day of January, in the iiijth yer of our souereyn Lord Kyng Henry the viijth betwene M' Thomas Larke Surveyour of the Kings werks at Cambrige on the oon partye, and John Wastell M' mason of the seid werks on the other partye, witnesseth :

that wher as a bargayn is made and other bargaynes be in contemplacon betwene the parties aforesaid for perfourmyng certeyn masonry of the great church of the Kyngs Colledge there as by Indenture therof made clerely doth appere, hyt is agreed and appointed betwene the parties aforesaid that specyal mencyon shalbe made in both parts of thies present Indentures shewyng particlerly from tyme to tyme all and singuler suche sumes of money and ston as the seid John Wastell hath receyued or shall receyue of the fornamed M' Thomas Larke for the accomplishment and perfourmyng of the said bargaynes made and of all other hereafter to be made. In witnes wherof the parties aforesaid to thies presents have sett their Seals the day and yere above wryten.

Money and ston delyuered	The same xxiiij th day of January the aboue named John Wastell hath receyued of M' Thomas Larke vpon the bargayn for the fynyalls in money lxxi . li xij s. v d. Item the seid John Wastell has receyved at the same tyme for fynyshyng of the seid fynyalls Ciiij ^{ss} . xij ton iij p. of Weldon ston at vj s. the ton Lviij li. xij s. x d summa	Cxxix li. v. s. iiij d.
Yet ston delyuered	Item delyuered to the seid John Wastell x ton ij ped' of Weldon ston for the Corbel tables of the Chapells at vj s. the ton	lx s. ix d.
Ston remaynyng	Item the same day remayned in the place over and above the forsaid ij parcells of ston CCCxxxj ton v. ped' of Weldon ston. Item lxxvij ton xiiij ped' of Yorkshir ston. Item xxvij ton v. ped' of Clypsham ston. Item left in the place certeyn refuse ston and sawyns of both Weldon Yorkshir and Clypsham and molded stones of sondry sorts not moten nor counted in the premisses	CCCC xxvij ton iij ped'
Money delyuered	Item betwene the xxvij th of January and the xxv th day of Marche in the same iiij th yere of the Kyng, the afofnamed John Wastell hath receyued at sondry tymes of the forsaid M' Thomas Larke by the hands of M' John Ray	C lxiiij li.

Money delyuered	Item betwene the xxv th of March and the xiiij th day of Aprylle in the same iiij th yere of the Kyng the aforname John Wastell hath receyued at sondry tymes of the forsaied M' Thomas Larke	C li.
Money delyuered	Item betwene the above wryten xiiij th day of Aprill anno iiij ^{to} and the xxiiij th day of May A ^o . v ^{to} . the aforname John Wastell hath receyued at sondry tymes of the forsaied M' Thomas Larke by the hands of M' John Ray for the pay dayes and caryage of ston by land and by water with xx li prest to Chikley and his felowes	C xxvi li. x s. x d.
Money delyuered	Item betwene the above wryten xxiiij th day Maii and the viij th day of July then next folowyng the aforname John Wastell hath receyued of the forsaied M' Thomas Larke at sundry tymes by the hands of M' John Ray for the pay dayes and caryage of ston by land and by water with certain prests delyuered to the Quarrymen as appereth in the fourtynght Bokes	C xlvij li.
Money delyuered	Item betwene the said viij th day of July A ^o . v ^{to} . and the xvij th day of the same month than next folowyng, the aforname John Wastell hath receyued of the forsaied Thomas Larke for payments of ston, werkmanship prests and such other	lvj li. xvij s. ij d.
Money delyuered	Item betwene the seid xvij th day of July A ^o . v ^{to} . and the xxvj day of Septembre than next folowing the aforname M' Wastell hath receyued of the aforname M' Thomas Larke by the hands of M' Ray at sondry tymes	C xiiij li. x s.
Money delyuered	Item the seid xxvj day of Septembre the aforname M' Thomas Larke hath paid vnto M' Kyrkeham for Cxlij ton iiij fote and an half of Weldon ston at ijs. iiij d the ton receyued by M' Wastell by land xvij li. xix s. ix d. and iiij ton xix p. by water xxij s. iiij d.	xx li. iij s. j d
	Summa of all by water and land	
Money delyuered	Item betwene the above wryten xxvj th day of Septembre A ^o . v ^{to} . and the xij th day of Maii than next folowyng A ^o . vi ^{to} . the aforname M' Wastell has receyued of M' Thomas Larke by the hands of M' Ray at sondry tymes	CCC ^{xx} iij li. lxxij s. vj d.

Signed "per me Johannem Wastell" and sealed. The original of this agreement is lost, and the document is only known through a copy in the Betham MSS. preserved in King's College Library.

E. Contract for building 3 Towers of the Chapel. 4 March, 4 Henry VIII. 1512—13.

This Indenture made the iiijth day of Marche in the iiijth. yere of the reign of our souuerayn lord king henry the viijth, betwene maister Robert Hacumblen Clerk provost of the kinges College Royall in Cambryge...and John Wastell maister Mason

of the seid werkes on the other parte witnessith: that hit is cowenaunted.....that the seid John Wastell shall make...ijj towres at iij Corners of the great new church there: All the seid fynsshying and perfourmyng of the seid iij towres with fynyalls, ryfant Gablettes, batelmentes, orbis, crosse quaters, Badges, and euery other thyng belonging to the same to be wele and workmanly wrought, made and set vp after the best handelyng and fourme of good workmanship acordyng to oon towre at the iiijth corner that to sey at the North west ende of the seid Church which is now redy wrought.

[Then follow the covenants; which are exactly the same as in the former Indenture, except that the guarantee on both sides is £400, and the Towers are to be finished before Midsummer Day.]

F. *Contract for the vaulting of two porches in the chapel, of seven chapels "in the body of the same," and of nine chapels "behynd the quere": together with the construction of all the battlements of the said porches and chapels. 4 August, 5 Henry VIII. 1513.*

This indenture made the iiijth day of August in the vth yere of the regne of our souuerayn lord kyng Henry the viijth, Betwene Mr Robert Hacumblen provost of the kynges College Royall in Cambrige and the scolers of the same with the advise and agreement of M' Thomas Lark Surveyour of the kynges werkes there on the oon party, and John Wastell M' Mason of the seid werkes on the other party, witnesseth, that hyt is couenaunted, bargayned, and agreed betwene the parties aforesaid, that the seid John Wastell shall make and sett vpp, or cause to be made and sett vpp, at his propre costes and charges, the vawtyng of ij porches of the new church of the kynges College aforesaid with Yorkshier ston;

And also the vawtes of vij Chapelles in the body of the same Church with Weldon ston, acordyng to a platte made as wele for the same vij Chapelles as for the seid ij porches;

And ix other Chapelles behynd the quere of the seid church with like Weldon ston to be made of a more course worke, as apperith by a platte for the same made:

And ouer that the seid John Wastell shall make and sett vp or cause to be made and sett vpp at his cost and charge the Batelmentes of all the seid porches and chapelles with Weldon ston acordyng to another platte made for the same remaynyng with al the other plattes afore rehersed in the kepyng of the seid Surveyour signed with the handes of the lordes the kynges executours:

All the seid vawtes and batelmentes to be wele and workmanly wrought, made, and sett vp after the best handelyng and fourme of good workmanship, and acordyng to the plattes afore specified:

The forsaid John Wastell to provide and fynde at his cost and charge not only as moch good sufficient and hable ston of Hampole quarryes in Yorkshier as shall suffice for the perfourmaunce of the seid ij porches, but also as moch good sufficient and hable ston of Weldon quarryes as shall suffice for the perfourmyng of all the seid chapelles and batelmentes, Together with lyme, sand, scaffolding, mooldes, ordinaunces, and euery other thyng concernyng the fynsshying and perfourmyng of al the seid vawtes and batelmentes, aswele workmen and laborers, as almaner stuff and ordinaunce as shalbe required or necessary for perfourmaunce of the same:

Provided alwey that the seid John Wastell shall kepe continually lx fremasons workyng vppon the same.

The seid John Wastell graunteth also and byndeth hymself by thies presentes to performe and clerely fynysh al the seid vawtes and batelmentes on thisside the feest of the natiuite of Seynt John Baptiste next ensuyng after the date herof;

And for the good and suer perfourmyng of al thies premisses, as is afore specified the said provost and scolers graunten to pay vn to the seid John Wastell for ston and workmanship of euery of the seid porches with al other charges as is afore reherced xxv li.

And for euery of the seid vij Chapelles in the body of the Church after the platt of the seid porches xx li.

And for vawtyng of euery of the other ix Chapelles behynd the quere to be made of more course worke xij li.

And for ston and workmanship of the batelmentes of al the seid chapelles and porches devided in to xx seueres euery seurey at C s. summa C^{li}.

And for al and singler couenauntes afore reherced of the partye of the seid John Wastell wele and truly to be perfourmed and kept, he byndeth hym self, his heires and executours in cccc^{li} of good and lawfull money of England to be paid vnto the seid M^r Provost, scolers and Surveyour at the Feest of the Purificacon of our Blessed Lady next commyng after the date of thies presentes; and in lyke wise for all and singler couenauntes afore reherced, of the partye of the seid M^r Provost, scolers and Surveyour wele and truly to be perfourmed and kept, they bynde them self, their successours and executours in cccc^{li} of good and lafull money of England to be paid vnto the seid John Wastell at the seid feest of Purificacon of our blessed lady. In witnesse wherof the parties aforeseid to thies present Indentures entrechaungeably haue sett their Seales, the day and yere above wryten.

Signed "per me Johannem Wastell" and sealed.

G. Note of expenditure from 28 May, 1508, to 29 July, 1515.

Summa totalis anno primo	M ⁱ CCCC.iiij li. xix s. ob. q.	M ⁱ CCCClvij li
Item pro feodis	liij li. xv.s	xiiij s. ob. q.
Summa totalis anno ij ^{do}	M ⁱ M ⁱ lvij li. ij d. ob. q.	M ⁱ M ⁱ Cxxxix li.
Item pro feodis	iiij ^{xx} .j li. viij s. iiij d.	vij s. vj d. ob. q.
Summa totalis anno iij ^{do}	M ⁱ DCCCC.iiij ^{xx} . xij li. ix s. x.d	M ⁱ M ⁱ lxxij li.
Item pro feodis	iiij ^{xx} .j li. viij s. iiij d.	xvij s. ij d.
Summa totalis anno iiij ^{do}	M ⁱ DCCCC. xx li. v s. v d. q.	M ⁱ M ⁱ xvj li. xij s.
Item pro feodis	iiij ^{xx} . xvj li: viij s. iiij d.	ix d. q.
Summa totalis anno v ^{to}	M ⁱ iiij ^{xx} .ij. li: j d.	M ⁱ C.iiij ^{xx} . ij li.
Item pro feodis	Cj li. viij s. iiij d.	vij s. v. d.
Summa totalis anno vj ^{to}	DCCC. iiij ^{xx} .ij li. vij s. v d. q.	DCCCC. iiij ^{xx} .ij li.
Item pro feodis	Cj li. viij s. iiij d.	xv s. ix d. q.
Summa totalis anno vij ^{mo}	C.xliij li. xvij s. xj d.	Clxx li. v s.
Item pro feodis	xxv. li. vij s. j d.	
Summa totalis	X ^{ML} .xxvj. li. iij s. ix d.	

M^r Iark surveyour.

M ^r Masons	John Wastell. John Alec
M ^r Carpenter	Richard Russell.
M ^r Plummer	John Burwell.
M ^r Carver	Thomas Stocton.

These totals may be represented in modern figures as follows:

					£	s.	d.
First year	...	...	...	...	1458	14	0½
Second „	...	...	...	...	2139	8	6½
Third „	...	...	...	...	2073	18	2
Fourth „	...	...	...	...	2016	13	9½
Fifth „	...	...	...	...	1183	8	5
Sixth „	...	...	...	...	983	15	9½
Seventh „	...	...	...	...	170	5	0
					10,026	3	9

H. *Agreement with Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve, and James Nicholson, for glazing the East window, the West window, and 16 other windows in King's College Chapel. 30 April, 18 Hen. VIII. 1526.*

“This indenture made the laste day of the moneth of Aprelle, in the yere of the reigne of Henry the viijth by the grace of god kyng of England and of Fraunce, defendour of the Faythe and lord of Ireland the eightene, betwene the Right Worshepfulle Maisters Robert Haccombeleyne Doctour of Diuinitie and provest of the kynges Colledge in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, maister William Holgylle Clerke maister of the hospytalle of Seint John Baptiste called the Savoy besydes london, And maister Thomas Larke Clerke Archedeacon of Norwyche on that oon partie; And Galyon Hoone of the parisshe of Seint Mary Magdelen next Seint Mary Overey in Suthwerke in the Countie of Surrey Glasyer, Richard Bownde of the parisshe of Seint Clement Danes without the Barres of the newe Temple of london in the Countie of Middelsex Glasyer, Thomas Reve of the parisshe of Seint Sepulcre without Newgate of london, Glasyer, And James Nycholson of Seint Thomas Spytell or Hospitalle in Suthwerke in the Countie of Surrey Glasyer, on that other partie, Witnesseth,

That it is couenaunted condescended and agreed betwene the seid parties by this indenture in maner and fourme folowing, that is to wete, The seid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nicholson couenaunte, graunte and them bynde by these presentes, that they shalle at their owne propre costes and charges wele, suerly, clenely, workemanly, substauncyally, curiously and sufficiently glase and sette vp, or cause to be glazed and sett vp eightene wyndowes of the vpper story of the great churche within the kynges Colledge of Cambrydge, wherof the wyndowe in the Este ende of the seid Churche to be oon, And the wyndowe in the westeende of the same Churche to be a nother; And so seryatly the Resydue, with good, clene, sure and perfyte (Normandy, *drawn through*) glasse and Oryent Colours and Imagery of the story of the olde lawe and of newe lawe after the fourme, maner, goodenes, curiouslytie, and clenelynes, in euery poynt, of the glasse wyndowes of the kynges newe Chapell at Westmynster; And also accordyngly and after suche maner as oon Barnard Flower Glasyer late deceessed by indenture stode bounde to doo.

That is to sey, six of the seid wyndowes to be clerely sett vp and fynysshed after the fourme aboueseid within twelve monethes next ensuyng after the date of these presentes; And the twelve wyndowes residue to be clerely sett vp and fully fynysshed within foure yeres next ensuyng after the date of these presentes¹.

¹ We ought to read “after that” instead of “after the date of these presentes.” The correction has been made in the contract with the other two glaziers (p. 618); and the term of “fyve yeres” in the supplementary indenture in both cases shews that the correction ought to have been made here also.

And that the said Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve, and James Nicholson shalle suerly bynde alle the seid wyndowes with dowble Bandes of leade for defense of great wyndes and outrageous wetheringes.

Furdermore the seid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nycholson couenaunte and graunte by these presentes that they shalle wele and sufficiently sett vp at their owne propre costes and charges alle the glasse that nowe is there redy wroughte for the seid wyndowes at suche tyme and whan as the seid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nicholson shalbe assigned and appoynted by the seid maisters Robert Hacombleyne, Wylliam Holgylle, and Thomas Larke or by any of them; And wele and sufficiently shalle bynde alle the same with dowble bandes of lede for the defence of wyndes and wetherynges, as is aforesaid, after the Rate of two pence euery Footte.

And the seid maisters Robert Hacombleyne, William Holgylle, and Thomas Larke couenaunte and graunte by these presentes, That the foreseid Galyon, Richard Bownde Thomas Reve and James Nicholson shalle haue for the glasse workemanship and setting vp of euery foot of the seid (Normandy, *drawn through*) glasse by them to be provided, wrought, and sette vp after the fourme aboueseid sixtene pence sterlinges;

Also the seid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nicholson couenaunte and graunte by these presentes that they shalle dilyuer or cause to be delyuered to Fraunces Williamson of the parisshe of Seint Olyff in Suthwerke in the Countie of Surrey glasyer, and to Symond Symondes of the parisshe of Seint Margarete of Westmynster in the Countie of Middelsex glasyer, or to eyther of them good and true patrons otherwyse called A vidimus, for to fourme glasse and make by other foure wyndowes of the seid Church, that is to sey, twoo on the oon syde therof and two on the other syde, wherunto the seid Fraunces and Symond be bounde; The seid Fraunces and Symond paying to the seid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nycholson for the seid patrons otherwyse called A vidimus asmoche redy money as shalbe thought resonable by the foreseid maisters William Holgylle and Thomas Larke.

And where the seid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nycholson by their writtyng obligatory of the date of these presentes be holden and bounden to the seid maisters Robert Hacombleyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke, in the somme of fyve hundrethe markes sterlinges to be paide at the Feeste of the Natiuitie of Seint John Baptiste nowe next comyng after the date of these presentes, as in the same writtyng obligatory more playnely at large may appere;

Neverthelesse the same maisters Robert Hacombleyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke for them and their executours wolle and graunte by these presentes that yf the seid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nycholson on their parties, wele and truly perfourme, obserue, fulfille, and kepe alle and euery the covenantes, bargaynes, grauntes, promyses and agrementes aforesaid in maner and forme as is aboue declared, That than the seid writtyng obligatory shalbe voyde and had for nought; And els it shalle stande in fulle strength and effect.

In witnesse wherof the seid parties to these indentures interchaungeably haue sett their Sealles.

Youen the day and yere aboueseid."

Below are the autograph signatures:

"per me Galieno Hone" (seal gone).

"per me Rychard Bovnd" (seal remaining).

"per me Thomas Reve" (seal remaining).

"per me Jamys Nycolson" (do.)

By a second indenture made on the same day between the same parties, after reciting the terms of that just printed, including the condition "that the seid xviiij wyndowes shalbe sette vp and fully synysshed within fyve yeres next ensuyng after the date of this indenture," it was agreed "that the seid maisters Robert Haccombeleyne William Holgylle and Thomas Larke haue paide vnto the seid Galion Richard Thomas Reve and James Nycholson in hande atte ensealing of this indenture threescore poundes as in a preste before thande, wherof they knowlege them selves wele and truly contented and paide, And therof acqypte and dycharge the seid Maisters...by these presentes. [And that the same persons shall pay] in the Feeste of the Natiuitie of our lord god now next comyng or within forty dayes the same Feeste next ensuyng oon hundreth poundes; atte feeste of the natiuitie of Seint John Baptiste than next folowing or within forty dayes than next folowing oon hundreth poundes; And so from the[n]s-furth from halfe yere into halfe yere oon after an other than next and immediatly folowing, that is to sey at euery lyke Feeste of the Feestes aboueseid or within forty dayes next ensuyng after euery of the same Feestes oon hundreth poundes sterlinges vnto suche tyme as asmoche money as the foreseid glasse and workemanshep after the Rate and price aforeseid shalle extende and ammount vnto shalbe fully satisfied and paide."

Below are the autograph signatures as before, with the seals to the last 3 remaining.

I. *Agreement with Fraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes for glazing four windowes, two on each side, of King's College Chapel, 3 May, 18 Hen. VIII. 1526.*

"This indenture made the thirde day of the monethe of May in the yere of the Reigne of Henry the viijth by the grace of god kyng of England and of Fraunce, defendour of the feythe, and lorde of Ireland the eightene betwene the right worshepfulle maisters Robert Haccombeleyn Doctour of Diuinitie and proveste of the kynges College in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, William Holgylle Clerke, Maister of the hospitalle of Seint John Baptiste called the Savoy besydes London; And Thomas Larke Clerke Archdeacon of Norwyche on that oon partie, And Fraunces Wylliamson of the parisshe of Seint Olyff in Suthwerke in the Countie of Surrey glasyer; And Symond Symondes of the parisshe of Seint Margarett of the Towne of Westmynster in the Countie of Middelsex, glasyer, on that other partie, Witnesseth,

That it is couenaunted, condescended, and agreed betwene the seid parties by this indenture in maner and fourme folowing; that is to wete; The seid Fraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes couenaunte graunte and them bynde by these presentes, that they shalle at their owne propre costes and charges wele, suerly, clenly, workemanly, substauncyally, curiously, and sufficiently glase and sett vp or cause to be glased and sett vp foure wyndowes of the vpper story of the great churche within the Kinges College of Cambridge, that is to wete, two wyndowes on the oon syde of the seid Churche, And the other two wyndowes on the other syde of the same Churche, with good, clene, sure and perfyte (Normandy, *drawn through*) glasse and Oryent Colours and Imagery of the Story of the olde lawe and of the newe lawe after the fourme, maner, goodnes, curiouslytie, and clenlynes in euery poynt of the glasse wyndowes of the kynges newe Chapell at Westmynster; And also accordyngly and after suche maner as oon Barnard Flower

glasyer late deceased by indenture stode bounde to doo ; And also accordyngly to suche patrons otherwyse called A vidimus, as by the seid maisters Robert Haccombleyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke or by any of them to the seid Fraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes or to either of them shalbe delyuered, for to fourme, glase, and make by the foreseid foure wyndowes of the seid church ;

And the seid Fraunces Williamson and Symond Symondes, couenaunte and graunte by these presentes that two of the seid wyndowes shalbe clerely sett vp and fully fynysshed after the fourme aboueseid within two yeres next ensuyng after the date of these presentes ; And that the two other wyndowes, residue of the seid foure wyndowes, shalbe clerely sett up and fully fynysshed within three yeres next ensuyng after that [*here some words have been erased, see the other indenture quoted above (p. 615)*] without any furdur or lenger delay.

Furdermore the said Fraunces Williamson and Symond Symondes couenaunte and graunte by these presentes, that they shalle strongly and suerly bynde alle the seid foure wyndowes with dowble bandes of leade for defence of great wyndes and other outrageous wethers :

And the seid maisters Robert Haccombleyne, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke couenaunte and graunte by these presentes, that the seid Fraunces Wylliamson and Symonde Symondes shalle haue for the glasse, workemanship and setting vp of euery foot of the seid (Normandy, *drawn through*) glasse by them to be provided, wrought and sett vp after the fourme aboueseid, sixtene pence sterlinges ;

And where the seid Fraunces Williamson and Symond Symondes, And also John A More of the parisshe of Saint Margaret of the Towne of Westmynster in the Countie of Middelsex, Squyer, John Kellet of the same parisshe, Towne and Countie, yoman, Garrard Moynes of the parisshe of Saint Olyff in Suthwerke in the Countie of Surrey, Joyner, and Henry Johnson of the parisshe of Saint Clement Danes without the barres of the newe Temple of London in the Countie of Middelsex, Cordewaner, by their writtyng obligatory of the date of these presentes be holden and bounde to the seid Maisters Robert Haccombleyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke in the somme of two hundreth poundes sterlinges to be paide at the Feste of the natiuitie of Saint John Baptiste now next comyng after the date of these presentes, As in the same writtyng obligatory more playnly at large doothe appere ;

Neverthelesse the same Maisters Robert Haccombleyn, William Holgylle, and Thomas Larke for them and their executours couenaunte and graunte by these presentes, that yf the seid Fraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes on their parties wele and truly perfourme, obserue, fulfille and kepe alle and euery the couenauntes, bargaynes, grauntes, promyses, and aggrementes aforeseid in maner and fourme as is aboue declared, That then the same wrytyng obligatory shalbe voyde and had for nought ; And els it shalle stande in fulle strength and effect.

In witnesse wherof the seid parties to these indentures interchaungeably haue sett their seales. Yoven the day and yere aboueseid."

Below are the autograph signatures :

"by my Francys Willem zoen," seal gone.

"by my Simon Simenon," seal gone.

By a second indenture made the same day between the same parties, after reciting the commencement of the former document as far as the words: "newe Chapell at Westmynster," it was provided: "that the seid foure wyndowes shalbe sett vp and fully fynysshed within fyve yeres next ensuyng after the date of the seid indenture,

And where also the seid maisters Robert Haccombeyn, William Holgylle, and Thomas Larke by the seid indenture haue couenuanted to pay to the seid Fraunces and Symond for euery foote of the seid glasse so to be redy wrought and sette vp sixtene pence sterlinges, As by the seid indenture at large may appere, And forasmoche as there is no expresse mencion made in the seid indenture how that the seid money for the makyng and setting vp of the seid glasse wyndowes shalbe paid to the seid Fraunces and Symond,

It is therfore nowe couenaunted and Aggreed betwene the seid parties by this indenture in maner and fourme folowing, that is to wete That the seid Maisters... shalle paye vnto the seid Fraunces and Symond atte Feeste of Lammes now next comyng after the date of these presentes thyrtye poundes; in the Feeste of the natiuitie of our lord god now next comyng or within forty dayes the same Feeste next ensuyng thirtie poundes; atte feeste of the natiuitie of seint John Baptiste than next ensuyng or within forty dayes than next folowing thirty poundes; And atte Feeste of the natiuitie of our lord god than next folowing or within forty dayes the same Feeste next ensuyng thirty poundes; And atte fulle fynysshyng of the seid wyndowes alle the residue of the money that the seid foure wyndowes after the Rate and price abouesaid shall extende and Ammounte vnto....."

Below are the signatures of Williamson and Symonds as before, with both seals remaining.

ADDITIONS TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

Peterhouse.

p. 19, l. 8. Professor Willis has left the following note on the doorway at the south end of the hall-screen: "It [the doorway] belongs in fact to the thirteenth century, and is earlier in style than the foundation of the college. Standing as it does on the ground bought from the Friars of the Penitence in 1307, it must, with part of the wall of the hall adjacent to it, be considered as a portion of their buildings which was appropriated to the use of the college."

p. 49. Eight windows in the chapel, four on each side, are now (1886) filled with Munich glass. The following list gives the subjects in each window, beginning with the westernmost window on the north side:

- The Sacrifice of Isaac.
- Moses with the Tables of the Law.
- S. John the Baptist preaching in the Wilderness.
- The Nativity.
- The Resurrection.
- S. Peter and S. John healing the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple.
- S. Paul before Festus and Agrippa.
- The Martyrdom of S. Stephen.

Clare Hall.

p. 99. The statement (l. 21) that John Westley died in 1656 is disproved by an entry in the register of the parish church of S. Benedict, Cambridge:

"John Westly buried from S. Buttolphe decemb. the 22. 1644."

The bursar, Mr Oley, was ejected from his fellowship in April of the same year, and, as he has himself recorded (p. 99, *note*), "was forced away by the warrs." His absence from

Cambridge, if not from England, will account for the long delay in settling accounts with Westley's widow, which, as stated in the text, did not take place until 1656.

Pembroke College.

p. 147. The following contemporary record of the consecration of the chapel is worth quotation :

"*Cambridge*, Sept. 23, [1665]. Upon the beginning of this Month, you gave us advice of a new Church erected at Plymouth; and now toward the end of it you may take notice of another memorable work of the like piety and charity.

A new Chappel in *Pembroke Hall* in this University, founded by the Right Reverend Father in God, *Matthew* Lord Bishop of *Ely*; which being now raised to just and gracefull proportions, and being by his singular liberality, not only beautified with a splendid and decorous Furniture, but also amply endowed with an annual Revenue, was upon the Feast of St *Matthew*, being the 21. Instant, and in the 28. year of his Lordships second Translation (from *Norwich* to the *See* of *Ely*), and in the eightieth year of his Age, by himself in person, and by his Episcopal Authority, solemnly consecrated and dedicated to the honour of Almighty God. A noble and lasting Monument of the rare piety and munificence of that great and wise *Prelate*, and in every point accorded to his Character: which is so well known, that the sole nomination of the Founder is a sufficient accompt of the elegance and magnificence of the Foundation. The Vice Chancellor, and several Masters of Colleges, the Heads of the University, with the Dean and Canons of *Ely*, were present at this sacred Solemnity; which was celebrated with signal Instances of a high devotion. Before Evening service, the Exterior Chappel, and the Cloyster leading to it (a new Erect of Sir *Robert Hitcham* Foundation) were by his Lordship also consecrated, for places of sepulture to the use of the *Society*, together with a Cell at the East end of the Chappel under the Altar, for a Dormitory for his Lordship. And now this great Prelate having paid his vows to the Almighty, and given order with the holy Patriarch *Joseph*, for his Interment, he betakes himself with the devout *Simeon*, to his *Nunc dimittis*; leaving it doubtful whether he has signalized his name more by the greatness of his sufferings, or the glory of his Actions, whether he were a more loyal Subject to his Prince, or a devout Father of the Church: I shall only add to this accompt, that by the blessing of a singular Providence all the Colleges have hitherto continued without any suspicion of Contagion¹."

¹ From: The Intelligencer, published for satisfaction and information of the people; for Monday, 2 October, 1665 (No 80), p. 945. This extract was kindly sent to me by my friend Henry Bradshaw, M.A., Fellow of King's College, and University Librarian.

The chapel was not "dedicated to the Saint who bore his own name, Matthew," as stated in the text. In the Act of Consecration (preserved in the Treasury of Pembroke College) Bishop Wren says: "we consecrate this chapel to the honour of God, under the title or name of *The New Chapel*"; and the only connection of it with S. Matthew was that the ceremony of consecration took place on his day, 21 September.

p. 153. The extensive series of alterations by Mr Waterhouse having been completed, several further questions demanded attention. In the first place, the number of undergraduates had increased so largely, that additional rooms, with an extension of the chapel, were required; and, secondly, it was necessary to come to some decision respecting the old library, and the old court generally, part of the west side of which had been left bare by the removal of the south range which abutted against it. Under these circumstances the following Order was made:

"13 June, 1878. It was agreed to authorise the Treasurer to consult M^r Gilbert Scott as to the front building in Trumpington Street, the Chapel (an apse suggested), and the old Library: and also as to a detached block of new buildings on the site of the Tennis Court etc. facing Tennis Court Road."

Mr Scott's plans were ready by the end of 1879, as shewn by the following Order, made 10 October:

"1. That M^r Scott's plans for the Chapel be accepted, and that he be authorised to commence the work as soon as convenient.

2. That M^r Scott's plans for the west side of the first Court be also accepted.

3. That M^r Scott's plans for the north side of the first Court, as far as the east end of the kitchen (with certain alterations so as to give attics over the Library), be approved, it being left to M^r Scott's discretion to introduce any modifications which he may think desirable, and which may be approved by the College.

4. That M^r Scott be requested to prepare revised plans for the New Hostel, with one more staircase to the west of the building of his present plan, with the view to ultimately pulling down all the Pembroke Street Houses."

These revised plans were accepted in the following December¹, and the work was at once commenced. It may be concluded

¹ "6 December, 1879. It was agreed that M^r Scott's plans for the new Hostel be accepted, subject to minor alterations, and that the work be commenced as soon as conveniently may be."

from the last paragraph of the following Order that it had been originally intended to pull down the old library, notwithstanding the historical interest attaching to it, and the beauty of the ceiling and fittings.

"17 May, 1880. The following modifications in Mr Scott's plans were approved:

1. That the roof of the west side of the first court should be raised a little.

2. That a turret should be erected at the N.E. corner of the first court, according to the plan submitted.

3. That an oriel-window facing the garden should be made in the new hostel on the first floor at the south end.

4. A strong representation having been received from the architect in a letter dated 14 May, 1880, recommending the preservation of the old library, it was ordered that notwithstanding the College Order of October 10, 1879, the library building be retained; and Mr Scott be requested to submit plans for adapting it to College purposes."

The position of the new Hostel, as it is called in the above Orders, will be understood from the ground-plan (fig. 1). The two ranges of which it is composed occupy the north and east sides of the Paschal Yard; the tennis-court, and the dwelling-houses next Pembroke Street, having been pulled down to make way for it. The north range was extended in the direction of the Master's Lodge, after the work had been commenced¹, in order to provide additional accommodation. These buildings contain a porter's lodge, and thirty-nine sets of rooms. They are in three floors, worked in a style borrowed from the early French Renaissance, the upper floor having dormer-windows, with lofty, picturesque, gables. The walls are ashlarred with Casterton stone, the dressings being of Ancaster and Clipsham. The roof, of Dantzic oak, is covered with slates from Colley Weston². The east range, and the greater part of the north range, were occupied in the Michaelmas Term, 1882; the six sets added in 1881, in the Lent Term, 1883.

The chapel was lengthened twenty feet (fig. 1). The added portion, or sanctuary, is separated from the body of the chapel

¹ "10 October, 1881. It was agreed that Mr Scott should be authorised to extend the Pembroke Street front of the new hostel to the west, thereby providing six additional sets of rooms."

² These details are given in *The Building News*, for June 30, 1882, illustrated by a ground-plan of the building.

by a semicircular arch resting on coupled Corinthian columns. Their shafts are of the marble which used to be called *Africano*, and was known only as a material employed by the Romans. Recently, however, the quarries which produced it have been discovered near Sarrazzezza, in the Apennines, and reopened. These shafts have bases of brass, set upon plinths of black marble from Dent. The altarpiece and panelwork which occupied the east end of the old chapel have been preserved at the east end of the added portion; and the north and south walls have been lined with panelwork of similar character. A small piscina, found under the old chapel, has been let into the south wall. In the older portion of the chapel no alteration was made, except that the woodwork was cleaned and repaired, and that the organ was enlarged by Messrs Hill. The chapel was reopened, and the added portion consecrated, by James Russell Woodford, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ely, 25 March, 1881.

In connection with this new construction the stucco was removed from the exterior, as well as from the east side of the adjoining cloister, which, like the chapel, had been built originally of red brick. The whole was repointed, and made uniform, with excellent effect. A few other judicious alterations were carried out at the same time. The cloister being no longer required as a passage from the first to the second court, the north end was utilised as a vestry; and about one-third of the width of the remainder was cut off to supply a gyp-room, and staircases. In connection with this work the door by which the cloister used to be entered from the street was blocked up, and the two-light windows in the west front were reopened. At the same time the chambers were entirely rearranged.

On the north side of the court the old library was fitted up as a lecture-room¹, and the space above it, popularly known as "the Wilderness"² (p. 136), was turned into a set of garrets. A turret-staircase, entered from the buttery, was built in the north-east angle of the court, with the object of providing access to the gallery over the hall-screen. Lastly, the kitchen was gutted, increased in height, and rearranged on an improved plan.

¹ For the treatment of the bookcases see the essay on "The Library," Vol. III. p. 465, *note*.

² See the essay on "The Chambers and Studies," Vol. III. p. 317.

Gonville and Caius College.

p. 172. The Admission Book shews that Caius Court was not occupied until 1569, for opposite to the name of a student admitted 18 October, 1569, are written the words : *primus incola Collegii Caii*¹. The chamber which he occupied was on the uppermost storey over the Gate of Virtue. It has been shewn that the stonework of the west side of the court had occupied rather less than four months in building, viz. from 5 May to 1 September, 1565; and, if we allow a somewhat longer period for the east side (begun 25 September in the same year), because containing so elaborate a building as the Gate of Virtue, we may conclude that the whole would be finished, so far as the walls were concerned, by Midsummer, 1566. A delay of three years in completing the woodwork, and getting the buildings ready for occupation, is a striking illustration of what Professor Willis insists upon so frequently, the lingering of all college work.

p. 190. Two lecture-rooms, begun in June, 1883, and completed at Easter, 1884, have been built at the south-west corner of the site (fig. 1), from the designs of Alfred Waterhouse, architect. The building which contains them is 77 feet long, by 29 feet broad, externally. The larger lecture-room is 41 feet long, by 26 feet broad; the smaller, 30 feet long, by 23 feet broad. The internal fittings, as remarkable for their beauty as for their convenience, are well deserving of imitation in rooms intended for a similar purpose elsewhere.

The Gate of Humility, which it was necessary to remove from the position in which it had been placed in 1868 (p. 177, *note*), has been rebuilt, and now gives access from the Master's garden to the passage leading to the larger lecture-room.

p. 196. The central window on the south side of the chapel has been filled with stained glass by Mrs Guest, as a memorial to her husband, Edwin Guest, LL.D., Master 1852—80. The glass, designed and executed by Mr Ion Pace, is intended to commemorate Dr Guest as an Anglo-Saxon scholar and a

¹ I owe this extract to the kindness of my friend, John Venn, M.A., Fellow.

Christian. For this reason the principal theme of the subjects selected is the conversion of Britain by the preaching of S. Augustine, and at the bottom of the window is the legend: NON ANGLI · SED ANGELI · SI CHRISTIANI, divided between the three lights as indicated by the punctuation; but an attempt has been made to give to these historic pictures a wider significance, by introducing other subjects in the upper and lower compartments, so that the window, taken as a whole, exhibits not only the conversion of Britain by the teaching of S. Augustine, but the conversion of the world by the teaching of Christ.

Corpus Christi College.

p. 250, l. 16. The house at the corner of Bene't Street was not pulled down until the middle of June 1830. The Cambridge Chronicle for 11 June in that year contains the following paragraph:

"The houses at the corner of Bene't Street in the occupations of Mr Rutledge and Mr Byford will be pulled down in a few days; and the house to be erected for the former occupant will be in a line with the new buildings belonging to Corpus Christi College."

The alterations to the Bull Hotel opposite, spoken of in the Tripos Verses dated 7 March, 1826, as about to be undertaken (p. 307), were not begun until 1828. The Cambridge Chronicle for 7 March, 1828, advertises for sale the contents of the Black Bull Inn, Trumpington Street, "in consequence of the said Inn being about to be taken down, and a new one erected."

King's College and Eton College.

p. 358, l. 17. Instead of: "On the south side there was to be a porch, etc."—it should have been stated that: "There was also to be a west door, and on the south side a porch, etc."

p. 398, l. 15. "We will now quote the estimate, etc." This passage should have run as follows:

We will now quote the estimate mentioned in the previous chapter (p. 352, l. 11), as forming part of the scheme for the buildings of the college dated 7 February, 1447—48 (p. 351). It is a most important document for the architectural history of Eton College, but one which has not as yet been studied as it deserves to be. It contains (1) a detailed estimate of the materials, money, and workmen, required for the choir of the church during 32 weeks from 12 February, 1447—48, to Michaelmas next ensuing; §§ 1—9; (2) a memorandum of the work to be done during the same period, mentioning some of the buildings by name, § 10; (3) a balance-sheet, shewing that at Michaelmas, 1448, the balance in hand would be £767, §§ 11, 12; (4) a similar estimate for the next year, namely, from Michaelmas, 1448, to Michaelmas, 1449, §§ 13—15; (5) a balance-sheet for the same period, shewing that at Michaelmas, 1449, the balance in hand would be £652. 3s. 4d., §§ 16—21.

p. 401. The following summary of this document will be useful for reference:

I. Estimate of work, and cost of work, during 32 weeks, from 12 February, 1447—48, to Michaelmas, 1448.

Payments.

Staff of 100 workmen (§§ 1, 2)	418	13	4
Superior officers (§ 9)	60	0	0
Materials (§§ 3—8):			
300 ton of Huddleston and Caen stone (§ 3) ...	100	0	0
8000 feet of Hewston of Kent (§ 4).....	89	6	8
1000 ton of ragg, hethstone, and flints (§ 5) ...	116	13	4
2000 quarters of lime } (§ 6)	108	6	8
2000 cartloads of sand }			
Ironwork (§ 7)	10	0	0
Coals, ropes, scaffold-timber, etc. (§ 8)	30	0	0
	454	6	8
Bills for materials still unpaid	80	0	0
Works to be executed (§ 10):			
Housing which shal close ynnne the quadrant...	40	0	0
Paving, etc. of the vestry	10	0	0
Removal of kitchen, and completion of oven			
and bake-house	10	0	0
Completion of almshouse	20	0	0
	80	0	0
	£1093	0	0

Receipts.

Due from the Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster at Lady Day and Michaelmas, 1447 (§ 11) ...	860	0	0
Due from the same at the same periods, 1448 (§ 12)	1000	0	0
	<u>£1860</u>	0	0
Estimated payments, as above	<u>£1093</u>	0	0
Balance in hand, Michaelmas, 1448	<u>£ 767</u>	0	0

II. Estimate, as above, for a whole year, from Michaelmas, 1448, to Michaelmas, 1449.

Payments.

Staff of 186 workmen (§ 13):

60 freemasons	}			
24 hard hewers				
12 leyers				
12 carpenters "working one the rofe of the seid quere"				
3 smiths				
12 plumbers				
24 "carpenters and carvers working upon the stalles"				
40 labourers		1192	6	8

Superior officers, as above (§ 14) 104 18 4

Materials (§ 15):

1000 ton of Huddleston and Caen stone	}			
16,000 feet of ashlar of Kent				
1500 ton of ragge of Kent, hethstone, and flints				
2000 quarters of lime				
2000 cartloads of sand				
300 ——— timber				
40 fother of lead		1126	13	4

Ironwork 50 0 0

Coals, ropes, scaffold-timber, carriage, etc. 50 0 0

£2423 18 4

Receipts.

Balance in hand, as above (§ 16)	767	0	0
Due from the Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster at Lady Day and Michaelmas, 1449 (§ 17) ...	1000	0	0
Due from the King (§ 18)	533	6	8
Given by the Marquis of Suffolk (§ 19)	666	13	4
— William Waynflete, Bp of Winchester (§ 20)	75	15	0
— William Ayscough, Bp of Salisbury (§ 21)	33	6	8

£3076 1 8

Estimated payments, as above £2423 18 4

Balance in hand, Michaelmas, 1449, § 21... £ 652 3 4

p. 451. It was decided in 1879, at a meeting of Etonians held in London 9 December, to erect by subscription a stone screen under the arch which divides the chapel from the ante-chapel, as a memorial to the officers educated at Eton who had lost their lives in the South African and Afghan campaigns. The work, designed by the late George Edmund Street, architect, was inaugurated by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, 5 June, 1882. The organ has since been set up upon it, and is now (April, 1886) nearly completed.

p. 471, l. 22. In a document dated 17 August, 1476, John Wolrych is mentioned as master-mason, and John Bell as warden of masons¹. This furnishes an additional proof that work had been seriously resumed at this time.

p. 517, l. 25. A stone roodloft was originally intended. The evidence of this may be best seen on the south side, where part of the wall has been left rough, and a few stones still project from the wall at right angles, manifestly the commencement of the structure which was subsequently abandoned.

p. 534, l. 4. The clock was given to the parish church of S. Giles, Cambridge. On the iron framework is the following inscription: "Gulielmus + Clement + Londini + fecit + 1671 +"; and on the brass dial: "Georg Waren Richard Rowley Church Wardens 1819."

p. 548, l. 11. The old Provost's Lodge was pulled down in January, 1828².

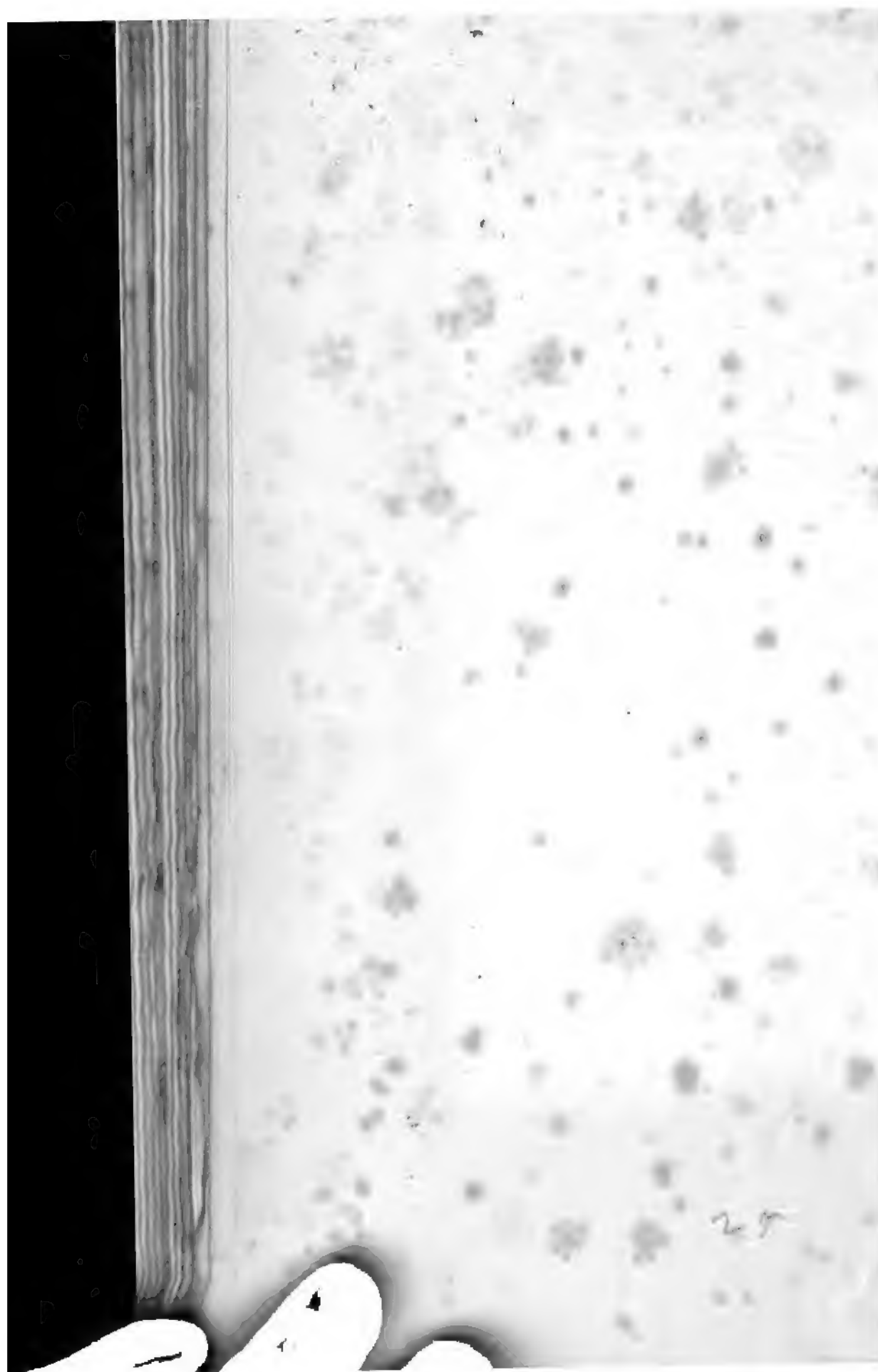
p. 565, l. 31. The design of the Hall is said to have been suggested by that of Crosby Hall, London³.

¹ Malden, *Account of King's College Chapel etc.* p. 20, *note*. The document in which Wolrych receives this style is said to be preserved in the archives of Caius College." The reference occurs in the portion of the work written by the Rev. E. Betham (p. 489, *note*). An ingenious essay on the changes in the architecture of the chapel, with special reference to Wolrych's possible share in designing them, is to be found in: *An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture*, by Geo. Gilb. Scott, 4to. London, 1881, pp. 180—186.

² An advertisement in the *Cambridge Chronicle* for 21 December, and 28 December, 1827, announces that the materials will be sold 4 January, 1828.

³ The *Cambridge Portfolio*, p. 344, *note*.

p. 566. In 1884 a building was begun on the ground between the Hall and King's Lane, so arranged as to form the west side of a small court, of which the Scott Building forms the east side. It is in two floors, and contains five sets of chambers, with a large lecture-room on the first floor. It was ready for use in October, 1885. The architect was William Milner Fawcett, M.A., of Jesus College.



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